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THE NATIONAL REVIEW

VOL. XLVIII

SEPTEMBER 1906 TO FEBRUARY 1907

PUBLISHED BY THE PROPRIETOR AT
23 RYDER STREET, ST. JAMES'S, LONDON, S.W.

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Printed by BALLANTYNE & Co. LIMITED
Tavistock Street, London

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NATIONAL REVIEW

No. 283.—September 1906

EPISODES OF THE MONTH

The Crusade against Prestige.

ALTHOUGH truth compels us to recognise that we owe the existence of the present Cabinet in a large measure to the performances of its predecessor, of which it is the natural and logical outcome, we are by no means reconciled to the Campbell-Bannerman *régime*. Indeed we regard its vagaries with progressive alarm. It is going from bad to worse, though it may be hoped that we have now touched bottom, as it would be difficult to eclipse the record of the last few weeks in treason and treachery to national interests. But it would be rash to be sanguine, as there may still be unplumbed depths of humiliation to be sounded. Ultimately, no doubt, the tide will turn, the inevitable re-action will come, as it came a quarter of a century ago against the Gladstonian Government, and once more the Little Englander will stink in the nostrils of the people, and the still small voice of the Liberal Imperialist will be heard in the land, though never again will he be listened to, as he stands a convicted and confessed fraud. Meanwhile it will be nothing short of a miracle if the British Empire escape irreparable injury, for which the historical execration of the Bannermanns, the Burnses, the Birrells, the Bryces and the Buxtons will afford poor consolation to succeeding generations. When a Cabinet with a mammoth majority deliberately devotes itself to weakening British influence and to damaging British interests, infinite mischief can be done in an incredibly short space of time. Lord Ripon, in the days of his Viceroyalty,

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used to startle the Indian official world by saying, "I hate the word 'prestige.'" It is as though a banker or a merchant denounced "credit," because Empires depend upon prestige quite as much as men of business depend on credit. Lord Ripon and his present associates certainly have the courage of their convictions. They are daily giving effect to their prejudice against British "prestige," which they are busily undermining in many directions, while incidentally enhancing the prestige of competitive communities. Fortunately, however, and it is our single stroke of luck, they have so far failed to persuade Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Minister, to join in the glorious game, though how long he will be able to stand out is becoming a subject of anxious speculation. So curious is the Radical temperament that it has no prejudice against any form of foreign prestige. Thus Mr. Bryce, the littlest of Little Englanders, who published a preface to his book on South Africa on the eve of the South African War for the express purpose of inflaming American opinion against British policy, has publicly expressed his admiration for President Roosevelt, who personifies American prestige, while the Potsdam section of the Cabinet (which includes Mr. Bryce), are only awaiting the psychological moment for licking the boots of Wilhelm II., who stands for German prestige. Their prejudice is exclusively directed against British prestige. They are the warm friends and ardent admirers of the greatness of every country but their own. We have sometimes thought of offering a prize for the best essay on Radical Anglophobia. A scientific diagnosis of this disease could not fail to be interesting.

"Mandates."

THERE is a certain grim irony in recent events, because much as we have heard of "mandates" since the General Election, no serious politician can pretend that the Bannerman Cabinet received any authority from the constituencies for their insane crusade against British prestige. The electors were fed with lies about Chinese Labour, but they were never informed that the work of the South African War was to be undone, and that the vast expenditure of blood and treasure so cheerfully borne by the nation would be followed by another, only more gigantic Majuba. Nor were they allowed to know that Mr. Haldane was preparing to deal a vital blow at the army. On the contrary, on the eve of the elections the War Minister went out of his way to mislead the country as to his future intentions. Here are the *ipsissima verba* he addressed to an apprehensive City audience (January 4), which we quoted last month, and which we hope to quote on many future occasions: "Some people I know say the Liberals cannot

be trusted to look after fighting efficiency. I have the authority of Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman to say—and he is an old War Secretary himself—that such stress does he lay on efficiency that, if necessary, *he is prepared to find more men and more money for the promotion of efficiency*" (our italics). Did this utterance, upon which such stress was laid at the time, contain any inkling that Mr. Haldane's first administrative act would be to cripple the artillery, to disband our most efficient regiments, and to reduce our diminutive army by over forty thousand men ?* Nor was it ever explained to the country that the whole future of British Sea Power would be compromised, and an immense impetus given to the expansion of the German Navy ? Lord Tweedmouth, on becoming First Lord of the Admiralty, spoke heroically of his determination to maintain our naval supremacy, and any suggestion by the Opposition that the Navy might be compromised under a Radical administration was savagely resented. But Lord Tweedmouth appears to have spoken without his master. "The Trident must be in our fist," said the German Emperor on a memorable occasion. To this Lord Tweedmouth obligingly replies after the elections, "By all means. If we can only manage to drop a *Dreadnought* for every *Montagu* we lose, the Trident will be yours without any unpleasantness."

A Minister's "Word of Honour."

As regards Home Rule there was equally active concealment from the electorate. Eminent Liberal Imperialists haughtily affirmed that "the votes given for Free Trade would not be given to introduce Home Rule"; while Mr. Birrell, speaking with all the authority of an ex-Chairman of the Liberal Publications Department, as well as a Cabinet Minister, stated that "Home Rule was not the issue, and it could not be." Mr. Sydney Buxton was equally explicit: "As far as I am concerned, I am not, if returned to Poplar, going to support a measure for Home Rule

* A correspondent demurs to our reference last month to the Army Council, to whom we imputed direct personal responsibility by virtue of the Letters Patent of March 1904, as against which he quotes the Order in Council of August 10, 1904, which appears to make the Army Council responsible only for "so much of the business relating to the organisation, disposition, *personnel*, armament, and maintenance of the Army as shall be assigned to them, or each of them, from time to time, by the Secretary of State." We need not say we should deeply regret doing any injustice to the members of the Army Council, but so long as the members of the Army Council allow themselves to be used as a weapon in debate by the Secretary of State for the purpose of silencing criticism of indefensible schemes, the public will attach to these distinguished officers a direct and personal responsibility.

in the coming Parliament," while Sir Henry Fowler pledged his honour in a passage of which a good deal more is likely to be heard :

> He [Sir Henry Fowler] indignantly denied that the present Government, if under the pretext of Free Trade they obtained a majority at the poll, would attempt to use that majority for the purpose of bringing in a measure of Home Rule. Such conduct would be not only a fraud, but it would be a breach of faith and an act of dishonesty. Personally, he would pledge his word of honour that he would be no party to the introduction of a Home Rule Bill in the Parliament that was now about to be elected.

Thanks to the indiscretion of Mr. George Wyndham's "colleague," Sir Antony MacDonnell, the cat has been let out of the bag. The Irish are to obtain Home Rule next year without the risk of a Home Rule Bill, which would miscarry in the House of Lords. As our distinguished contributor *Quirinus* points out, there is to be another abuse of the royal prerogative, similar to that by which the Transvaal is about to be transferred to the Boers. Will the Liberal Imperialists ride off on this quibble ?

The New Majuba.

THESE matters are sufficiently important to be worth pursuing in ampler detail. The new Transvaal Constitution was expounded in both Houses of Parliament on July 31, under circumstances which forbade any adequate discussion. In the first place the report of the West Ridgway Committee had been withheld from the public, because even such avowed partisans as Sir West Ridgway and his colleagues could not visit South Africa without being impressed by the perils of the situation. In the second place it had been carefully arranged by the Prime Minister, who habitually plays with loaded dice in the House of Commons, that there should be no time for discussion. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannermann was quite willing to forego the trouble of composing a type-written speech provided he could prevent the Opposition from exposing the dangers of the new policy. Our pro-Boer Government were in such indecent haste to hand over the sub-Continent to their Boer friends that they would not even allow the Imperial Parliament to examine it. There has never been a more tyrannical abuse of temporary power. The whole episode is disgraceful. Indignation is divided between the betrayal of our own people in the new Colonies and nausea at the hypocrisy of the speeches in which this betrayal was announced. Between Lord Elgin and his chief, Mr. Winston Churchill, there is hardly a pin to choose. One cants in the House of Lords and the other in the House of Commons. The

Under-Secretary bears the palm for effrontery, and Lord Elgin for slimness. The Colonial Secretary misleads by privately professing an anxiety to do what is right, of which his public policy bears no trace. The Under-Secretary is blatant and bumptious. He imposes on no one, and when he concluded his pretentious oration by summoning the Opposition to join the Government in making a free gift of South Africa to the Boers, Mr. Lyttelton and Mr. Balfour met him with contemptuous derision. A certain feeling of relief would have been caused by any settlement however disastrous, as putting an end to the intolerable strain of the last few months. British South Africans were longing to get rid of Downing Street as represented by Lord Elgin and Mr. Winston Churchill at almost any cost. But their momentary relief in no way mitigates what must be regarded by all thoughtful Imperialists as a great political calamity, nor does it lighten the responsibility of the Home Government which has effected this *coup* by an abuse of the royal prerogative, nor of the Parliament which has acquiesced in it. Mr. Balfour was severely scolded by all superior persons for dotting the i's and crossing the t's, and for declining, as Leader of the Opposition, to share any responsibility for an arrangement which Lord Milner described in the House of Lords as "a great and capital error. . . . Mischief has been done which can never be retrieved." . . . It is the duty of Englishmen to denounce this second great betrayal in all the moods and tenses, because it is a manifest dereliction of duty on the part of the Mother Country to sacrifice the results of a great Imperial struggle in which the whole Empire participated, without any shadow of justification. But it is equally our duty to exhort the British in South Africa to make the best of a bad job, and we rejoice at the spirit, as already evinced by Sir George Farrer and others, in which they are buckling to their tremendous task.

The Future.

After all, "as hopes were dupes, fears may be liars," and we devoutly trust that things are not as bad as they seem. If the situation can be saved, it will be saved by the pluck, the tenacity, and the devotion of the British Transvaalers in sinking their differences to fight the common foe, who will form a solid and unbreakable *bloc*. Downing Street has exercised diabolical ingenuity in creating difficulties for the British, and it is not at all improbable that the next few months may see the restoration of a Krugerite Government at Pretoria under the ægis of the Union Jack, though some authorities anticipate a nondescript

Government dependent for its existence on a mugwump vote, which would start the country with a vacillating administration under a politician of the Solomon type, than which it would be impossible to imagine anything more demoralising. There is, we fear, a serious disappointment in store for the optimists who imagine that Self-Government implies the control of their own affairs, because Lord Elgin has expressly reserved the most important of all questions, viz., the Labour problem, and has announced his intention of vetoing any legislation transgressing the Exeter Hall code. Thus we are threatened in the near future with the revival of the Chinese Labour controversy, and a bitter quarrel between Downing Street and Pretoria would seem to be unavoidable. It can only end in the humiliation of the Colonial Secretary. The moment it was decided to dispense with that intermediate and educative phase of Representative Government which has been the invariable prelude to the grant of full Self-Government in all British Colonies, the lines of the new Constitution were more or less fixed, and its details are not particularly interesting or important. Some people think it might have been worse ; a few had been misled by Lord Elgin into hoping for something better. The electoral divisions are based on voters, and not on population (as the Boers had desired, in order to make assurance doubly sure), though we cannot agree with those who describe the Constitution as founded on the principle of one vote one value, as it will be quite possible for a Boer minority of electors to return a Parliamentary majority of members. Everything has been done to help the Boers, as the suffrage in the Transvaal is to be lower than in other South African Colonies, being granted to all males over twenty-one, so as to bring in the *bywoners*, while specifically excluding the British garrison, who are treated, as usual, like political pariahs—they have votes neither here nor there. The House of Representatives will consist of 69 Members, elected every five years, the seats being distributed as follows : The Rand (with Krugersdorp Rural), 34 Members ; Pretoria, 6 Members ; and the rest of the Transvaal, 29. The Members will be paid, as well as the Speaker, and Parliament is to be cursed with the bi-lingual system. The single safeguard in the new Constitution is a nominated Upper House, subsequently to become elective. There is to be a Land Board, to protect the interests of the settlers, which has encouraged extravagant expectations in optimistic quarters, though previous experience of Lord Elgin should prevent us from being misled as to Ministerial intentions on this subject. The whole scheme is a

dangerous leap in the dark. In Lord Milner's words, "it is absolutely wrong in the present circumstances to follow a course which may result within one year in handing over the government of the Transvaal to Mr. Smuts and his colleagues." It may either lead to the peaceful secession of South Africa, or to another war infinitely more serious than the last, because the Mother Country could never again hope to receive any support from the Colonies after her present performance, which can only be appreciated by bearing in mind that the Orange River Colony is also to be handed over to the Boers as soon as may be, and that the enfranchisement of 10,000 Cape rebels points to a Boer Government at Capetown.

A Disorganised Hypocrisy.

DISRAELI once described a Conservative Government as an "organised hypocrisy." The present Liberal Government is a disorganised hypocrisy. Different Ministers tell different stories to different audiences, while some Ministers tell different stories to the same audience. Thus Mr. Haldane—whose fiasco is a sincere sorrow to numerous Unionist admirers, who had interpreted his unpopularity with his own Party as indicating force of character—at one moment summons the House of Commons to reduce the British Army as an example to other nations, while in the next breath he vaunts his ability to equip a larger and more efficient military expedition than any of his predecessors. One part of the speech is evidently designed to impress the foreigner, and the other to hoodwink the native. Unfortunately for the orator, there is nothing to prevent the intended dupes from reading the wrong passages; and while the Englishman resents the policy of playing ducks and drakes with the national defences in pursuit of the dangerous phantom of disarmament the foreigner is impressed by the prospective expeditionary force, and there involuntarily rises to his lips the uncomplimentary observation, "What hypocrites these English are!" The French say it with a smile, the Germans with a frown. A similar effect has been produced by the stage management of the raid on the Navy, which is effectively dealt with by Mr. H. W. Wilson in an admirable article which none of our readers should neglect. In informing the House of Commons of the fatal decision of the Admiralty to reduce our shipbuilding programme, which, as Mr. Wilson shows, has of late years been none too large, Mr. Robertson (Secretary of the Admiralty) talked big about our example to the benighted foreigner on the eve of the Hague Conference, while Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman declared himself in favour of abandoning the two-Power standard,

which has been the basis of our naval policy for nearly twenty years. There is nothing necessary to our security and strength which the present Ministry are not prepared to abandon. Mr. Robertson informed the House of Commons that "instead of four *Dreadnoughts*, we proposed to lay down only three. Instead of five ocean-going destroyers, we proposed to lay down only two. We leave the coastal destoyers at twelve. But we propose to reduce the number of submarines from twelve to eight." Further reductions are threatened in the future. Mr. Robertson sought to gild the pill by delivering this extraordinary message from the Sea Lords :

> I would remind hon. members opposite that the naval advisers of my right hon. friend, the First Lord of the Admiralty, are the same gallant and distinguished officers who filled similar positions in relation to Lord Cawdor, and before him to Lord Selborne. Moreover, they were the authors of the original new programme as it was stated in our official papers at the beginning of the Session. They recommended the original programme ; they now recommend the revised programme.

Chameleons All.

When Mr. Robertson's chief, Lord Tweedmouth, attempted to justify the unjustifiable in the House of Lords, he found himself compelled to strike a different note. The present House of Commons does not care a tinker's curse about the safety of the nation, and would be only too delighted to pay off the Navy to-morrow. But the Peers are a patriotic body, and in addressing them Lord Tweedmouth laid comparatively little stress upon disarmament, nor did he pretend that the Sea Lords had taken the initiative in reducing the programme, as was conveyed in Mr. Robertson's *suggestio falsi*. They had simply acceded to the reduction urged by Ministers, because other Powers were reducing or deferring their shipbuilding, and because our supremacy would in no way be endangered. To the foreigner this is another instance of British hypocrisy. We are to perpetuate our supremacy at half price by summoning him to abandon the competition. But to the Englishman it has a more serious aspect. Mr. Carlyon Bellairs, the Liberal Member for King's Lynn, to whom the country is under deep obligations for his patriotic exposure of an unpatriotic Admiralty, has shown that the Admiralty misled the country by inaccurate information regarding foreign shipbuilding, while Mr. Wilson's indictment proves that Sir John Fisher and his colleagues deserve to be hung at their own yard-arms for consenting to compromise British Sea Power at a most critical moment in our history. They have changed their opinions with the change of Government, like so many political chameleons. As Mr. Arthur Lee observed in his forcible protest

in the House of Commons, "the first country which obtains a squadron of *Dreadnoughts* will obtain the command of the sea." It will not be the fault of Sir John Fisher and Co. if Germany does not gain the lead. How differently have previous Sea Lords understood their duty to the country! Germany's response, as might have been expected by every intelligent person, to all this loathsome cant about the coming millennium, is to announce the construction of a batch of improved *Dreadnoughts*, while it is credibly asserted that Wilhelm II. meditates yet a further naval programme. He not unnaturally counts on the complaisance of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Lord Tweedmouth, and Sir John Fisher, in securing him the mastery of the sea without the risk of fighting.

Re-Enter Home Rule.

ALTHOUGH the Unionist Party are heavily handicapped by their miserable Irish record before Mr. Long went to the Irish Office, especially during the Wyndham-Dudley-MacDonnell *régime*, our Front Bench cannot allow Home Rule to go by default. Mr. Balfour undoubtedly showed culpable weakness in permitting the importation of a notorious Nationalist (Sir Antony MacDonnell) from India to the head of the Irish Civil Service, and still more in permitting him to receive "a free hand." But there is no shadow of a ground for suggesting that the late Premier was ever implicated in the "devolution" intrigues over which his Lord-Lieutenant (Lord Dudley) and his Chief Secretary (Mr. George Wyndham) burnt their fingers. Unionists have no time to lose in taking the field. As we were able to announce several months ago, Sir Antony MacDonnell has been at work on a measure of Home Rule, and, like a hen which has laid an egg, he was determined to notify the fact to the public. In speaking at a dinner of the Master Builders' Association, this permanent member of the Civil Service took the unusual course of announcing a Ministerial policy: "His firm belief was that the coming year, 1907, would see the fruition (by which he means the fulfilment) of many of those hopes which the best Irishmen had for many years entertained." It might not, he added, bring all those Irishmen had hoped for, but "it would be the fruition of so much that they might make it the fountain and the source from which the whole of their hopes might be fulfilled." This is our old friend "Home Rule by instalments," but, as the Nationalists insist, it must not be "Home Rule watered down." In speaking at Leitrim, Mr. Dillon observed: "It had been very broadly hinted that they were to have a measure of self-government; he had every reason to believe that it

would be so," but it must be "a genuine system of self-government, which would give the people complete control of the administration of the country, at least as good a measure as that given to the Boers." Mr. Sheehy, M.P., a leading member of the United Irish League, obligingly explained that Ireland must "have an executive of her own and a Parliament of her own; if they were offered anything less than this they would fling it back in the teeth of the Government." As our contributor, *Quirinus*, suggests, the Government hope to hand over Ireland to the Nationalists by the same process as they have handed over the Transvaal to the Boers, *i.e.*, by straining the royal prerogative. Thus the consciences of those Liberals who are pledged to oppose a Home Rule Bill will be salved, as there will be no Bill, and the whole question will be withdrawn from the cognisance of the predominant partner. The goal of "Devolution" has been incidentally revealed by Dr. Farley, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York—who, as a visitor to Ireland, could speak his mind more freely than Nationalist politicians with one eye on England, "he hoped to see the day when they would have their own Parliament in College Green, as Norway had just secured her own Government and her own Parliament." Norway has also secured her separate dynasty, her separate army, her separate navy, her separate foreign policy, as well as all the other attributes of an independent nation. As Mr. Parnell used to declare before discretion became advisable, the Nationalists aim at the destruction of the last link uniting Ireland and England, and will be satisfied with nothing less. Doubtless they will accept Home Rule, or Devolution, or whatever it may be called on account, as a stepping-stone to the "larger policy."

Teutonic Tact.

It is only natural, under all the circumstances, that the Berlin Government should deem the moment propitious for an attempt to resume control of British foreign policy. The frontal attack on the *entente cordiale* between this country and France having failed, the persistent Prussian is resorting to sap and mine, counting on the co-operation of the Potsdam Party within the Cabinet to carry the position. So far they have failed, but Prussian diplomacy is nothing if not tenacious, and it can only be defeated by counter-tenacity. Happily for us, tact is not a Teutonic quality, and we can usually rely on the perpetration of some *gaffe* when it is most needed. Thus King Edward's flying visit to his Imperial nephew at Friedrichshof, which was to have opened a new chapter in Anglo-German relations, has simply served to reveal a typical treachery on the

part of the Wilhelmstrasse. For two years the legend had been semi-officially inculcated into the German public, with the object of inflaming them against Great Britain, and thereby facilitating the expansion of the German Navy, that the British Sovereign had deliberately "insulted" the German Emperor by refusing to go to Berlin two years ago—hence the *pis aller* of a Kiel visit. The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (the semi-official organ of the Foreign Office) has, now that the lie has done its duty, thought fit to confess, that the King was perfectly ready to go to Berlin in 1904, and that Kiel was substituted at the special request of the German Emperor. This disgraceful manœuvre is condemned even by such "tame" newspapers as the *Berliner Tageblatt.* As another instance of German "good-will" we may cite the impudent and evidently inspired article in the *Deutsche Revue*, openly declaring war upon the British position in Egypt unless our Government consents to be blackmailed into promoting the Baghdad Railway. Mr. Haldane, who appears to be rapidly following in the footsteps of Mr. Brodrick, is provided with plenty of topics of conversation with his Imperial host at Potsdam, whither, according to the *Westminster Gazette*, he is going to pick up wrinkles about the German Army!

Great Britain and Japan.

EVERY circumstance has combined to render the Japanese Alliance even more precious to the British Empire and more popular with the British people than at the golden moment of its renewal last August, when our ally was triumphantly emerging from the arbitrament of war. It was therefore only to be expected that "disgruntled" newspaper correspondents, who will never forgive the Japanese their sagacious secrecy, which was one of the chief causes of their military and naval victories, should seek at this particular moment to sow suspicion between us by imputing bad faith to our ally in carrying out her undertaking to open Manchuria to foreign trade. Besides this journalistic campaign, there are notorious diplomatic influences at work with a similar object, of which we hear less, but which for that very reason are perhaps more dangerous. There are good grounds for believing that German diplomacy is disseminating the idea in Tokyo that Great Britain has cooled towards Japan since the change of Government in this country, and that the Liberals attach greater importance to effecting an *entente* with Russia than to their Far Eastern alliance. We utterly refuse to believe that our allies, who were not born yesterday, will allow themselves to be so easily bamboozled by the transparent Teuton. The present British Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey, who is one of the few politicians in either Party

who enjoy the confidence of the nation, both before and after he became Foreign Minister, has declared himself unreservedly in favour of a literal and loyal observance of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement, and he has spoken with supreme scorn of any other policy, as indicating a degree of fickleness which would deservedly make us an object of general suspicion. Sir Edward Grey is the very last man to sacrifice old and tried friendships to new and untried friendships. The Japanese Alliance is absolutely safe so long as he remains at the Foreign Office, and it is in no way affected by any desire which may be expressed in this country for an improvement in our relations with Russia. The Japanese thoroughly understand that the defeat and eclipse of Russia has dislocated the balance of power and endangered the peace of Europe, which, as in the days of Louis XIV. and Napoleon, is threatened by the overwhelming ambition of a single Power. England is interested with other countries in what has been termed "the return of Russia," and Englishmen who are both intelligent and patriotic recognise that it would be to the advantage of both nations, as well as to the general interests of Europe, to effect a settlement of outstanding Anglo-Russian differences on the same lines as the Anglo-French settlement of 1904, provided always that nothing be done which could by any possibility prejudice the relations between Great Britain and Japan which, together with the understanding with France, form the corner-stone of British foreign policy.

Egypt and Korea.

THE anti-Japanese newspaper campaign already alluded to has been effectively disposed of by the *Times* Peking correspondent who reported, as the result of a recent tour in Manchuria, that our allies were endeavouring to discharge their various obligations as rapidly as the gigantic task of repatriating the troops and the influx of immigrants permitted, while Viscount Hayashi, now Japanese Foreign Minister, has expressed the hope that Southern Manchuria will be open to foreign trade in the beginning of September, thus anticipating the period prescribed by treaty by seven months. As an earnest of Japanese good faith Dalny has already been proclaimed a free port. The *Times* correspondent sends an appreciative account of the Marquis Ito's task in Korea. As in Egypt in early days, the Royal House is intriguing against the protecting power with that power's principal rival, the Korean Emperor having apparently persuaded himself that the Convention of November 1905 was not binding upon him. During the Marquis Ito's absence in Japan last May, disturb-

ances were organised throughout the country, in which the Emperor was clearly implicated. But the Japanese very wisely and handsomely ignored the evidence against his Majesty and confined themselves to punishing the active ringleaders. In her thankless efforts to gain the goodwill of the Korean people by good government, Japan may count on the keen approval of this country. We have attempted a similar task in different parts of the world, and we know only too well how difficult and discouraging it is to indulge in premature criticism. We would specially direct the reader's attention to "Dalni Vostock's" graphic picture of "Japan after the War," published elsewhere, which discusses Anglo-Japanese relations in a statesmanlike and dispassionate manner. We have no sympathy with those extravagant sentimentalists who persuaded themselves that Japan had staked her existence on the hazard of war for the exclusive benefit of other Powers. The Japanese are certainly not responsible for any subsequent disillusionment. That our ally will scrupulously observe her obligations is made clear by our contributor, and ultimately, thanks to her efforts, an immense market will be accessible to the trade of the world. British success in this new sphere of competition will depend exclusively upon British efforts. Japan will open the door, but we can hardly expect her to carry us through it on her shoulders. All we can ask for is a fair field and no favour, and that we shall have. That she will be a formidable rival in commerce goes without saying.

Viscount Hayashi.

Our allies are setting us an example by their thorough and whole-hearted observance of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement Although a distinctly poor country, being only rich in the capacity and character of her people, and still reeling under the shock of one of the bloodiest wars in human history, which has saddled her with an immense load of debt, Japan fully realises, what some Westerners seem to have forgotten, viz., that in this wicked world peace and security depend on readiness and preparation for war. She has contemptuously disdained to follow the decadent lead of the Tweedmouths and the Haldanes. What is won by the sword can only be kept by the sword, and, being a wise and provident people, the Japanese are steadily strengthening their army and their navy, and it is not they who will be wanting in the event of a sudden call upon the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Can our Committee of National Defence say the same of England? Hardly, seeing that its president believes that peace can be perpetuated by perorations! Japan is also doing her utmost to fortify the Alliance by sending her ablest statesmen and

diplomatists to London. It is only by a frank and free exchange of views between the two Governments that the mischievous efforts of third parties can be frustrated. London is the poorer by the loss of Viscount Hayashi, the last Japanese Minister and the first Japanese Ambassador accredited to the Court of St. James's. He inspired implicit confidence in all Englishmen, official and unofficial, who were privileged to come in contact with him, as may be gathered from the unwonted public tribute he received from Lord Lansdowne at a banquet at the Junior Constitutional Club last year.* The world will only learn the full extent of Viscount Hayashi's services to the two countries when the secrets of the Foreign Office are disclosed to a future generation, but it is a matter of common knowledge that he was a valuable factor during the negotiation of the original Agreement of 1902, and a vital factor in maintaining and renewing the Alliance. If we may be allowed to say so, Viscount Hayashi possessed the faculty of political perspective to an uncommon degree. He was essentially a man of essentials, who never pressed a small point and never missed a big one. Then again he never "let in" the other side, and was always the soul of discretion. He will be deeply regretted in this country, as he had become a popular feature of our national life, but as Japan requires his services as Foreign Minister, it is not for Englishmen to repine.

Baron Komura.

Our allies are fortunate in being able to replace Viscount Hayashi by a statesman of the distinction of Baron Komura, who is one of the makers of the history of our time, though so far his countrymen have failed to acknowledge his splendid services to the State. The story has now been told in the columns of the *Times* on the authority of its Tokyo correspondent, who speaks from knowledge, and we cannot believe that a nation inspired by the spirit of *Bushido* will be backward in paying honour where honour is so clearly due, now that they are in possession of the facts. As our readers are aware, Baron Komura, then Foreign Minister of Japan, represented his country at the Portsmouth Peace Conference, where, in the words of the *Times* correspondent, he "deliberately undertook a task which must bring upon him the disfavour of the masses, and consented, in the interests of his country, to forego the credit which was his just due." On the eve of his departure on this momentous

* "Of all the recollections which I shall carry away from the Foreign Office, none will be more agreeable than that of my official intercourse with your distinguished guest, the Japanese Minister."

mission, he paid a farewell visit to the Marquess Ito, who mentioned his intention of seeing him off on the morning of his start. Baron Komura said, "Thank you for the send-off, but will you come to welcome me when I return to receive the people's imprecations?" This incident is cited as showing how thoroughly the statesmen of Japan appreciated the diplomatic dangers confronting them. Indeed we are told that Baron Komura had before starting for Portsmouth received an assurance that the Government were prepared to proclaim Martial Law throughout the whole Empire on the conclusion of peace. It was not that the Elder Statesmen were such cravens as to be anxious to surrender the just fruits of victory; but they clearly understood, as their fellow countrymen did not, that "brilliant as had been the triumphs won by their country's forces on land and at sea, no fatal wound had been inflicted on Russia, not even the outworks of her Empire had been captured, and, therefore, to treat her as the commander of a capitulating fortress is treated would have been extravagant." Japanese diplomacy must accordingly devote itself to securing the objects for which the sword had been drawn, viz., the evacuation of Manchuria by Russia and the recognition of Japan's predominance in Korea; and it was in obedience to this policy that the terms to be formulated by Baron Komura at the Peace Conference were fixed.

A Lesson in Diplomacy.

We can now appreciate the surpassing skill of his diplomacy. There were two groups of conditions, viz., the essential ones, for which the war had been fought, and the non-essential arising out of it, such as an indemnity, the surrender of the interned ships, the cession of Sakhalin, &c. Japan would have continued the war rather than forego the former, but she would not have sacrificed another soldier for the sake of the latter. That was the official programme and the *Times* correspondent tells us:

> To Baron Komura, who entirely agreed, his Government extended discretion to prefer the terms in what order he pleased, but he and they agreed that the above cardinal differentiation should be made in the end. The world does not seem to have yet recognised this. It certainly did not recognise it at the time, nor had Russia the least suspicion from first to last, That was Baron Komura's cleverness.

He laid great stress on non-essentials. Japan must have money, territory, and ships. "So when M. Witte, in his supreme moment of exultation, translated the sum of the supposed diplomatic victory into the phrase, 'Pas un sou,' he little knew that Baron Komura had never expected a sou, or ever thought of

seriously insisting upon one." Critics, or rather hyper-critics, have declared that it would have been more dignified on the part of Japan to have tabled her irreducible minimum, and to have refused to abate a jot of it. As the writer we have quoted remarks, "That kind of diplomacy may be practicable on the eve of the millennium, but the world has not yet grown up to it. Baron Komura obtained for his country more than would have satisfied her Sovereign and her statesmen. After all, success is the best criterion." It would be impossible to over-praise the ability, the patriotism, and the devotion of the Japanese negotiator, who deliberately sacrificed himself in the interests of his country, and who allowed the world to believe that he had been completely foiled where he had completely triumphed. It is a unique performance, which will greatly increase the new Ambassador's prestige in London, though in any case he could have counted upon a warm welcome on account of the Sovereign and the nation whom he represents.

Admonishing the Foreigner.

We doubt whether any useful purpose has ever been served, though much harm has frequently been done, by the offensive admonitions which the British Press, especially the Radical Press, has been immemorially wont to administer to all foreign nations at every crisis in their internal affairs. Let us by all means be vigilant and vigorous in defending our national interests whenever and wherever they may be assailed. But in discussing the concerns of other countries which do not directly affect us, there is little or no excuse for vituperation, incitement or rebuke. The inherent ignorance of the commentator should supply a conclusive reason for restraint. To how few of us is it given to possess even a walking acquaintance with the internal politics of any other nation? Radical journalists are peculiarly insular and their instruction is far less illuminating than irritating. We are moved to make these observations by the oceans of nonsense which have appeared throughout the "Russian crisis," and by the vulgar violence with which papers like the *Daily News* discuss the Church crisis in France. When one contrasts the amount of printers' ink consecrated to Russian internal affairs with our existing stock of knowledge, either of past, pending or probable events, the result is humiliating to the Fourth Estate. Had there been no telegrams from St. Petersburg and no comments in London, we could hardly have been more ignorant than we are. It has been one long story of unfulfilled prophecy. Nothing happens as it should happen, not even the

unexpected. The Tsar dissolves the Duma and challenges the country to rise. The pundits of Fleet Street can tell us the precise day of the expected rising, but unfortunately the country stoutly refuses to rise, and instead we see the gradual re-establishment of a reactionary Government though tempered by rather more than the usual amount of assassination, while the army, which *ex hypothesi* is devoured by disaffection, still stands by the autocrat. There is, it is true, widespread anarchy, and every day we are told that to-morrow there will be a *Jacquerie*, but on the whole the dissolution of the Duma seems so far to have made comparatively little difference, not that we have any ambition to set up as "experts" on Russian affairs or to enter the ranks of Russian prophets. The Russian temperament is so fundamentally different from the British temperament that it is psychologically impossible for any Englishman to unravel or understand Russian events. All we can do is to record, and during the past month there has been nothing to record except that no steps have yet been taken to elect a successor to the late Duma, though the Government's need for money is believed to necessitate such a step before the close of the present year. M. Stolypin has succeded M. Goremykin in the perilous post of Russian Premier and has so far survived assassination though his family have been the victims of a hideous outrage.

Church and State in France.

THERE is so much coming and going between England and France that we are all apt to regard ourselves as experts on the affairs of our nearest neighbour. But even so there is no necessity for Nonconformist journalists to display their bigotry at the expense of Catholic France, nor need any of us irritate the Republican Party by offering superfluous advice. Owing to the happy relationship subsisting between the two nations — which is mainly due to the emancipation of British Foreign Policy from the German yoke, which the Potsdam party in the Campbell Bannerman Cabinet (the Lord Chancellor, Lord Loreburn; the Irish Secretary, Mr. Bryce; and the War Minister, Mr. Haldane) are working overtime to reimpose—a powerful France is now recognised as a vital British interest. Englishmen would deplore the prolongation of an internecine strife between Church and State. It is, however, difficult at this stage to estimate the ultimate effect of the Papal Encyclical which is in terms an uncompromising declaration of war, breathing vehement hostility towards the Government, and contemptuously repudiating the terms offered the Church by the Separation Act,

Pius X. emphatically condemns the proposed *Associations Cultuelles*, to which the Republic proposed to hand over all ecclesiastical edifices. In the words of the Encyclical, "With reference to the religious Associations, as the law establishes them, we decree it is absolutely impossible for them to be admitted without a violation of the sacred rights pertaining to the very life of the Church." But in another passage of the same document there would seem to be a loophole for compromise upon the basis of some system "establishing in a sure and legal manner the immutable rights of the Roman Pontiff, and of the Bishops, and their authority over the necessary property of the churches, particularly over the sacred edifices." Both sides are, of course, at one in repudiating any compromise; and as the Republican Party were understood to have gone to the extreme limits of concession in framing the Separation Law, which has since been endorsed by a sweeping majority at the polls, as well as by the recent demonstration of the *Conseils Généraux* since the publication of the Encyclical, it is not easy to see how the Sarrien-Clémençeau Government can be expected to yield to the Papal "stand and deliver." The Catholics, on their side, are rallying to the Pontiff's battle-cry, though with many misgivings, and there is striking evidence to show that the French Bishops would have preferred a more conciliatory attitude on the part of the Vatican. Fortunately Parliament is not sitting, and it is not extravagant to hope that in the breathing-space which yet remains it may be possible for moderate Catholic counsels to assert themselves. Otherwise nothing can prevent a desperate contest between two combatants who probably underrate each other's strength. The Government would be able practically to strip the Church of its property, but any effort to close the churches would certainly lead to disturbance in many parts of France. The whole civilised world will unite in hoping that a crisis may be averted.

The Great Practical Joke.

ALL the records of previous gooseberry seasons have been eclipsed by the Court of Appeal, which, in giving judgment in *Rex* v. *County Council of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, has managed to make two Governments, two Parliaments, and no inconsiderable proportion of the nation at large, look supremely ridiculous. We owe this gigantic practical joke to the odd Judge, as the Court was divided by two to one, the judicial humorists—whose law we do not for a moment question—consisting of the Master of the Rolls and Lord Justice Farwell, while Lord Justice Moulton cultivated

a dour isolation. The Education Bill of 1902 is virtually repealed, the "passive resister" passes for a sound lawyer, possessed of incalculable claims against his oppressors in the shape of actions for false imprisonment, &c., every local authority is in a state of bewilderment, the magistracy are distracted, and the last shred of excuse for the Birrelligious Bill has vanished. These are but a few samples of the consequences of Lord Justice Farwell siding with the Master of the Rolls instead of with his brother Moulton and the Judges of the Divisional Court. As the *Outlook* observes :

> There has never been a more remarkable instance of the solemn fantasies which occur from time to time under our present system of case-made law . . . if statesmen have an intention, and the clerks make a slip of the pen, or fall into a slovenly and inadequate form of words, it is the loose draughtmanship, not the deliberate statesmanship, that determines our destinies.

For the time being, and unless overruled by the House of Lords, or repealed by Act of Parliament, religious education in denominational schools need not, or perhaps may not, be paid for out of the rates, of which Cowper-Templeism enjoys the exclusive monopoly. It is necessary that our readers should endeavour to master the *ratio decidendi* of this startling decision, though it turns upon technicalities, because it obviously revolutionises the whole educational controversy. The County Council of the West Riding of Yorkshire, which is presumably composed of rabid political Nonconformists, alone among the Education Authorities created by Mr. Balfour's Act of 1902, refused to pay teachers within its jurisdiction for that part of their time devoted to denominational instruction. The Board of Education ordered this amount to be paid, and ultimately obtained a *mandamus* from the Divisional Court, against which the County Council has now successfully appealed to the Court of Appeal. The Master of the Rolls and his assenting colleague, Lord Justice Farwell, held that the County Council, as local Educational Authority, is not bound to pay for denominational religious education in non-provided schools under the Act of 1902. The issue turns on the meaning of Section 7 of that Act, which provides that "the local authority shall maintain and keep efficient all public elementary schools within their area which are necessary, and have the control of all expenditure for that purpose other than expenditure for which, under this Act, provision is to be made by the managers."

THE Master of the Rolls pointed out in his judgment that under the Education Act of 1870 the School Board was bound to maintain and keep efficient every school provided by the Board, and the word "efficient" meant that the school should be kept up to such a standard as would entitle it to claim the Parliamentary grant. Section 97 of that statute made it clear that religious instruction, so far from being a condition of efficiency for a Parliamentary grant, was expressly excluded from being the subject of such a grant. He was consequently of opinion that as the words "maintain and keep efficient" in their original place in educational legislation did not embrace religious instruction, and as they were chosen in the Act of 1902 to define the obligation of the new Authority, and as there was nothing in the later Act to negative this, they ought to be construed in the same sense. The responsibility to "keep efficient" and the control of expenditure seem to be absolutely co-extensive; and as both the Master of the Rolls and Lord Justice Farwell point out, the Education Authority cannot be liable to pay for denominational religious education unless they are also to have control over that teaching and power to test it. But it was expressly provided by the Act of 1902 that the Managers should have control of religious education. Therefore the Local Authority, being deprived of control, are not bound to pay for it, the West Riding County Council triumphs over the Board of Education, and Dr. Clifford is for the moment the happiest man in the country. Lord Justice Moulton, the minority Judge, took a broader though *ex hypothesi* an unsound view of the case, arguing that the whole object of the Act of 1902 was to secure for voluntary schools the very assistance which the West Riding Council refused, and he therefore dissented from his brethren. There has been some wild and irresponsible discussion as to the effect of the judgment of the Court of Appeal, which is regarded by some Churchmen and by all Nonconformists as a victory for their respective views, on grounds not always intelligible. Other Churchmen, like the Bishop of Birmingham and Lord Hugh Cecil, are so outraged as to contemplate resorting to some form of Passive Resistance. So far the Government has given no sign as to its intentions. The question is immensely complicated by political prejudice, but we refuse to believe that even such a bigot as Mr. Birrell will accept the judgment of a single Judge of the Court of Appeal as final, when a higher tribunal is open to him. Providence would seem to have afforded a golden opportunity for a reasonable compromise on the lines suggested by Mr. Chamberlain, viz., that the State should

"Keep Efficient."

make itself responsible for secular education, giving a free right of entry to the denominations in both provided and non-provided schools. That we shall ultimately come to some such solution is the growing conviction of an ever-increasing number of intelligent people.

In the Commons.

THE Court of Appeal has so completely taken the wind out of the sails of Parliament as to render any detailed discussion of the closing debates on the Education Bill somewhat superfluous, as the Session had concluded before the Master of the Rolls exploded his bomb-shell. Needless to say, all the efforts of the Opposition in the House of Commons to amend the iniquitous and intolerable measure for which Mr. Birrell must be held responsible—though he is understood privately to disclaim responsibility, while his friends allege that his original Bill was a very different measure, which was transformed under pressure of the Lloyd-Georges and the Cliffords—were mechanically repelled by the big battalions, assisted by an unparalleled abuse of the closure. Nevertheless, the Government defeats in debate were almost as signal as were their triumphs in the division lobby, Indeed, it would be scarcely an exaggeration to say that long before the end of the session the Liberal Party became heartily sick of Mr. Birrell and his Bill, and wished them both at the bottom of the sea. The rank and file have so little stomach for the fight with the House of Lords that it would not be surprising if Ministers utilised the decision of the Court of Appeal as a convenient pretext for shelving the whole question. Some of their organs were vociferous in this sense on the publication of the judgment. The rejection of the Bill on the Third Reading in the House of Commons was moved by Mr. Walter Long in a telling speech, but the most damaging utterance proceeded from Mr. Redmond who for once took his coat off and infuriated his Liberal allies by declaring that the Irish Party were actually looking to their hereditary enemies, the House of Lords, for the amendments which could alone render this measure supportable. In its present shape it would involve the starvation of at least five hundred Roman Catholic schools, the alternative being the acceptance of religious teaching abhorrent to the Catholic conscience. Mr. Perks was equally hostile from the Nonconformist standpoint, declaring that he would not break his heart if the Bill did not become law with Clause 4 in its present shape. Mr. Masterman, almost the only interesting figure who has emerged from the Radical ranks (as Mr. Simon, who has a

great reputation as an orator, has so far remained a silent member), also raked this luckless measure. In his opinion "it was a deplorable result of the first Session of the new Radical Parliament that some 2,500,000 Roman Catholics, and an indefinite number of Liberal Churchmen, should be saying in their hearts: Thank God for the existence of the House of Lords." The debate concluded with a skilful and effective speech from Mr. Balfour, who was answered by Mr. Birrell, who did the best he could in an impossible situation, and somewhat impressed an always emotional assembly by a premeditated display of spurious fervour. In the final division in the House of Commons Ministers secured a majority of 192 (369 to 177).

In the Lords.

THE debate in the House of Lords on the second reading of the Education Bill, which was moved by Lord Crewe (August 1), was in every way worthy of the occasion. Indeed, in reviewing the past Session one cannot help being struck by the high standard of efficiency maintained by the Peers, and the remarkable contrast between their proceedings and the pitiable performances of the House of Commons. It is truly surprising that, in spite of such debates as have taken place upon Imperial, foreign and home affairs, to say nothing of the impressive discussions on National Defence, the Upper House should continue to be regarded as a dreary assembly, and the Unionist Press, with the honourable exception of the *Times*, should incline to treat it as a *quantité négligeable*. Never have the Peers done better than during the past few months. Never were their services more needed by the nation. One of these days some enterprising journalist will "discover" the House of Lords. On the Education Bill itself there were several really impressive speeches which would make the fortune of the average House of Commons Mandarin. After Lord Crewe and Lord Londonderry, who has managed to acquire a position in the Unionist Party more in accordance with his ambition than with his ability, had made the usual pot-and-kettle speeches the Archbishop of Canterbury dealt with the whole question in a broad, weighty and moderate, but at the same time unflinching and fearless, manner, stating the case for the Church of England with unanswerable force. He pointed out that the dual system of Cowper-Temple teaching on the one hand, and denominational schools on the other, had been a fundamental condition of every educational settlement since 1870, and declared that certain

concessions must be insisted on, viz., equal opportunity for instructing Church children in the Church Catechism, and a guarantee that definite religion shall not be treated as an extra, and that it shall be given by teachers who believe in it, reminding his hearers that "the teachers are for the schools, and not the schools for the teachers," and concluding with a warning that the Bill would only be read a second time on the understanding that it would be thoroughly overhauled in Committee. "Not with any sanction of mine, nor I am sure with the concurrence of those who sit on the Episcopal benches, shall this Bill become law as it at present stands." The Duke of Norfolk made a similar declaration on behalf of the Catholics. On the following day the Duke of Devonshire intervened, surprising even his warmest admirers by the force and vigour with which he belaboured the Bill. He agreed with the Primate that the maintenance of voluntary schools was an indispensable condition of the settlement of 1870, of which the present Bill was a revolutionary disturbance. The Act of 1902 for the first time gave the Local Authorities complete control over secular education in non-provided schools. The real effect of the present measure would be to give Cowper-Temple teaching, to which, in its proper place, he had no objection, "a strong and decided preference over any other form of religious teaching." This was neither logic nor Liberalism. Unionists were willing to redress the grievance of Nonconformists in single school districts, but the Government sought to impose a precisely similar grievance upon the Church of England and Roman Catholics. If justice required the redress of one grievance, it surely would not tolerate the creation of the other. He advised the Peers to approach the Bill with "a firm and strong desire to mitigate every grievance that can be proved" before being called upon to consider "the final and momentous decision which at some later period we may have to take." The Duke of Devonshire's pronouncement had all the effect of surprise, as the Duke's evil genius, Lord James of Hereford, had publicly declared himself in favour of running away. There were many other notable speeches which we are unable to notice — especially that of the Bishop of Birmingham — which all contributed to enhance the prestige of the House of Lords, and after three days' debate the Bill was read a second time without a division. The Peers remain masters of the situation, as they have a clear majority of the community behind them in any attempt to bring this measure into harmony with the wishes of the electorate who desired to redress an old grievance—not to impose new ones.

Close of the Session.

THE House of Commons suspended its sinister activity on Saturday, August 4, and until it resumes its malignant operations at the end of October, the British Empire can breathe somewhat more freely, though so long as the Mother Country remains in the clutches of a Campbell-Bannerman Cabinet no British subject in any part of the world can go about his business in perfect security. As we have already pointed out, his Majesty's present Ministers exist for the purpose of weakening British influences and of strengthening anti-British influences wherever they may be found. From South Africa to Ireland all loyalists are under the ban. It is the golden age of the anti-English Englishman. While we should be the last to underrate the injury already inflicted on National and Imperial interests by "the record majority," it must be admitted that the legislative performances of the unparalleled Parliament and the unique Government are so far derisory. Of all the heroic measures figuring in the Speech from the Throne, not a single one of the first class has yet found its way to the statute-book; and though in recent years we had grown accustomed to an appalling "slaughter of the innocents" on the eve of every Recess, there has never been a more sterile Session than the present. No doubt we shall be told by ecstatic Liberals that all these marvellous Bills will become Acts during the Autumn Session. Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof. What is the actual achievement? The Education Bill has, it is true, been passed through the House of Commons substantially as it was introduced, thanks to an unprecedented application of the gag and guillotine, which has prevented whole areas of the Birrelligious Bill from being considered, and, as we have seen, this much-undiscussed measure has left the House of Commons, amid a dwindling chorus of faint praise, to meet its fate in the House of Lords. The Trade Disputes Bill, which is so much blackmail levied by Labour upon Liberalism, has not even passed through the House of Commons, while according to the *Daily News*, the third great social reform which was to create a new heaven and a new earth, the Workmen's Compensation Bill—in the management of which Mr. Herbert Gladstone made such a pitiable exhibition of himself in the Standing Committee—"is to be considered in October." The Equalisation of Rates (London) Bill, according to the same authority, is to be "introduced next Session"; the Crofters' Bill is "deferred"; the Merchant Shipping Bill, upon which Mr. Lloyd George exhausted much florid eloquence at an earlier stage, has yet "to be considered"—presumably Potsdam is making representations against any

interference with the movements of alien pilots in British home waters.

Talking Nonsense and Doing Mischief.

THE grotesque Plural Voting Bill, which was obviously introduced in order that Mr. L. V. Harcourt might display his peculiar humour, has only been read a second time. Of all the measures mentioned in the King's Speech, the Labourers' (Ireland) Bill, the Bill amending the Law as to Colonial Marriages, and the Bill abolishing the Property Qualification of County Justices in England, are the solitary fruits of 108 Parliamentary days. The mountain has produced three ridiculous mice. No wonder the Labour Party are disgusted at their first experience of the working of the Parliamentary machine, or that the *Labour Leader* and the *Clarion* should refuse to join in the semi-official pæans of the *Daily News*, the *Daily Chronicle*, and the *Westminster Gazette*. At the same time, the Labour Members are almost as much to blame as the Liberals for this scanty harvest. Both wings of the so-called Army of Progress have wasted a prodigious amount of time in irrelevant twaddle, and in indiscriminate interference in Imperial affairs, to the detriment of the proper business of the House of Commons. The practice of asking mischievous questions has developed to alarming proportions, and the inclination of a peculiarly parochial House to meddle with other people's business has had deplorable consequences. There are those who maintain that it is better for the House of Commons to talk nonsense than to do mischief, but it depends on the nature of the nonsense as well as the extent of the mischief. When sensitive British communities over seas, engaged in fighting for their lives against savage hordes are wickedly calumniated, while odium and outrage are heaped upon all British officials and officers discharging their duties, often at the risk of their lives, in every part of the world, we may question the soundness of this dictum. After all we at home bear the brunt of any ill-considered legislation, which is only fair as we elect the Imperial Parliament. Moreover, mischievous legislation can be repealed. But such injuries as have been inflicted this Session upon Natal, and of which Canada, Australia or New Zealand are liable to find themselves the victims in other Sessions, are irreparable, and their bitter memories cannot be effaced by any future House of Commons. Talking malicious nonsense about the daughter nations may do more harm than passing mischievous measures at the expense of the Mother Country.

"Out-Pauling Paul."

It is something that one of the very few satisfactory incidents of the late lamentable Session should have occurred on the closing day (August 4), when Sir Edward Grey, who is almost the only Minister who has managed to keep his head amidst the hurricane of hysteria, administered a crushing rebuke to a certain Mr. Robertson, who persuaded the electors of Tyneside in a moment of aberration to return him as their representative, and who has laboured strenuously ever since to acquire a cheap notoriety by "out-Pauling Paul." With this object he made a scandalous attack on the Egyptian authorities responsible for the execution of the criminals who so barbarously murdered one British officer and grievously injured others at Denshawi, and indulged in a venomous diatribe against Mr. Findlay, our able Acting Agent and Consul-General in Egypt during Lord Cromer's absence, for sending a particularly sensible telegram deprecating a discussion of the Denshawi incident in Parliament as likely to inflame local opinion. This was denounced as the "presumptuous censure" of "an incompetent bureaucrat," while the highest legal authorities of Egypt were assailed for their "wholesale slaughter" and "methods of barbarism," and generally held up to public execration. Truly Mr. Findlay's telegram is abundantly justified by Mr. Robertson's speech, which was little less than an incitement to murder. Sir Edward Grey made a spirited defence of the Egyptian Government in general and Mr. Findlay in particular, caustically observing, "If you are to assume, where you think a mistake has been made, that your officials in general are likely to be guilty either of moral or intellectual deficiencies, and if you are to assume and to adopt the tone that they have done wrong, you would make it quite impossible to conduct the business of the British Empire." It required some courage to say this useful word to such an assembly, but it was said, and it should serve to convince our "men on the spot" that even this Government contains one member who is not prepared to throw them to the wolves for doing their duty. The same speech contained the reassuring statement that the British Foreign Minister regarded the maintenance of the Chinese Customs administration on the lines laid down by Sir Robert Hart, as a vital British interest, and he promised that the subject should receive the closest attention of the Government; the subject has been dealt with in a series of anxious telegrams by the *Times* Peking correspondent, who evidently fears that we are going to sleep over this important question. Sir Edward Grey also made the welcome announcement that so far his Majesty's Ministers have refused to

agree to the proposed increase in the Turkish Custom Duties, which we hope may be interpreted as signifying that Great Britain is not prepared to make a "graceful concession" on the Baghdad Railway to Germany.

Unionist Discontent.

As Mr. Balfour's friends habitually boast that the Leader of the Opposition does not waste his time reading the newspapers, it would be sanguine to suppose that any echo of the National Union Conference of Conservative and Constitutional Associations held at the Hotel Cecil at the end of July, has disturbed his serenity. To the Party at large the discontent which has at last found vent in the Conservative Parliament, or rather Duma, is a healthy and encouraging sign. The Chief Whip, Sir Alexander Acland Hood, made the best case he could for the present *régime*, and stoutly declined (in which he was understood to be speaking for Mr. Balfour) to be controlled by a "Caucus." Unfortunately the Conservative wing of the Unionist Party is completely under the thumb of "a Caucus" as irresponsible as it is inefficient, and the main question of party politics is whether this Caucus is to be made responsible and efficient. Ninety-nine Unionists out of a hundred believe that the present Caucus, or clique, or whatever it may choose to be called, is largely responsible for the pitiable plight of the Party, and that under its auspices there can be no future for us. That is why they demand, and the demand will continue to be pressed until it is granted, that the leadership and management of the Party should be brought into effective touch with the rank and file by means of a popular representative element, which would help to bridge over the appalling gulf between the Conservative Mandarin and the Conservative Man in the Street. The obliviousness of the little clique who now hold us in their clutches, to the interests and wishes of the Party at large, is eloquently exemplified by Sir Alexander Acland Hood's amazing announcement that he regarded Mr. H. W. Forster (Member for Sevenoaks), as a suitable successor to himself as Chief Whip. We know nothing of Mr. Forster except that every Unionist Member of Parliament would regard his appointment as an additional calamity.

The Lesson of Cockermouth.

THE Micawber section of the Unionist Party honestly believe that our single duty is to sit tight and do nothing in particular, while the inevitable swing of the pendulum restores the old gang to the old places. There is little in recent by-elections to support this sanguine theory. For if Bodmin can be dismissed as merely

proving for the hundredth time that a petition is intensely unpopular, while Denbighshire is to be discounted because it forms part of Wales, there is Cockermouth, which, if decidedly disconcerting to Ministerialists, is hardly satisfactory to the Opposition. It is true that Sir John Randles captured the seat in a three-cornered fight by a substantial majority, upon which he is to be heartily congratulated, but he polled nearly two hundred votes less than at the General Election, when he was opposing such a popular local candidate as Sir Wilfrid Lawson, as the following figures show :

General Election, 1906.		By-Election, 1906.	
Sir W. Lawson (R.) . .	5349	Sir J. Randles (U.) . . .	4593
Sir J. Randles (U.) . .	4786	Captain Guest (L.) . . .	3903
		R. Smillie (Lab.) . . .	1436
	563		690

Had there been a straight fight between the two parties, Sir John Randles would undoubtedly have gained a much greater victory, but the point is that there was not a straight fight, because Labour is determined to put in its oar on all possible occasions for the specific purpose of preventing a straight fight. Labour tactics if persisted in must ultimately destroy Radicalism, but they will also check the growth of Unionism, and will rob the Opposition of its birthright by diverting the swing of the pendulum into another direction. It won't help us that the Ministerialists should lose the confidence of the country, unless we gain it. That is why the purely negative attitude of the Opposition Front Bench on all political questions spells red ruin for the Unionist Party. Our leaders who live in a world of their own do not realise that we have to beat Labour as well as Liberalism before we can hope to regain power. Possibly Cockermouth sounds the knell of both Front Benches. Certainly nothing could be more absurd than the Radical outburst against Labour except Mr. Winston Churchill's "rebuke" to Mr. Keir Hardie. As the Under-Secretary for the Colonies had condescended to speak in Cockermouth, he treated it as an act of *lèse majesté* for Labour to run Mr. Smillie against his cousin ; and at a family gathering at Wimborne he "thought this was a very serious matter for members of the progressive party, and he was bound to say that he did not think any great party would put up with the treatment they had been receiving at Cockermouth." This utterance produced much merriment in the ranks of Labour, and provoked a spirited retort from Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Macdonald, who

declined to be schooled by a renegade politician who recently changed Parties for his own advancement. The *Clarion*, reminds the *Daily News* that "Liberalism and Labour are eternally opposed," and "It is time the *Daily News* began to practise a little of that honesty it is so fond of recommending to the *Daily Mail*."

The Milner Address.

As a spontaneous demonstration of public esteem, the Address presented to Lord Milner stands in a class by itself. It shows that the British nation is not as ungrateful as might appear from the conduct of the House of Commons, which past experience teaches us ceases to be representative the moment after it is elected. Our readers will recollect the painful origin of this presentation. Taking advantage of Lord Milner's chivalrous admission that he was responsible for the infliction of light corporal punishment for minor offences upon Chinese coolies, upon which Mr. Evans, the Protector of Chinese immigrants into the Transvaal, thought he had consulted the late High Commissioner, the Radical pack in Parliament—under the appropriate auspices of Mr. Byles of Bradford, who is believed to have been inspired thereto by Mr. Winston Churchill, who was anxious for the moment to play up to the extremists, moved a formal vote of censure (March 21) on Lord Milner, who is the *bête noir* of all the enemies of the Empire. The Government behaved with characteristic cowardice. Instead of meeting this odious attack on a great public servant, who is outside party politics, by a vote of confidence, or even by the "previous question," they deputed Mr. Winston Churchill, of all people, to move a pitiful amendment to the Byles motion, omitting Lord Milner's name, though obviously directed against him, which was enforced in a peculiarly caddish speech, and carried by a majority of 220. This piece of petty vindictiveness aroused immense indignation. The first reply came from the House of Lords, who paid Lord Milner the very high compliment of formally recording its appreciation of his services by an overwhelming majority (March 29). Then came the memorable Milner banquet on Empire Day, presided over by Mr. Chamberlain. It was also proposed, on the happy initiative of Sir Bartle Frere, to tender the late High Commissioner some more substantial and permanent memorial; but Lord Milner absolutely refused any such testimonial as his admirers would have preferred, and it was ultimately decided to present him with a public Address, and a strong committee was formed embracing repre-

sentative men in almost every department of our national life, for the purpose of enrolling signatures. There was no organisation in the ordinary sense of the term ; no public meetings, no touting. The whole thing was informal ; the Address lay about in different places for those who wished to sign, and by the end of July no less than 370,000 signatures of adult males had been attached, embracing every class of the community, including nearly 90,000 working men.

Small Scapegoats.

As the British public loves small scapegoats, it is only natural that the Report of the War Stores Commission (consisting of Lord Justice Farwell, Chairman ; Sir George Goldie, Sir George White, Sir Francis Mowatt, and Mr. Samuel Hope Morley, with Mr. Harold T. Baker as Secretary), showing that British officers on three or four pounds a week are neither Pierpont Morgans nor even Liptons, and that non-commissioned officers occasionally succumb to temptation when dealing with wealthy contractors who are determined to corrupt—should have caused unmitigated glee in Fleet Street and elsewhere. The Report of this Commission marks a great advance on the theatrical Report of Sir William Butler's Committee, with its grotesque allusions to "pantaloons in puttees" and "agile harlequins in helmets," who were alleged to be manipulated by "some deeper calculator" sitting in "an impenetrable background," and pulling the strings of a far-reaching conspiracy by various "cleverly arranged contrivances." The Commission makes short work of the Committee. "We state expressly," say the Commissioners, "that there was no evidence before Sir William Butler's Committee, and none has been given before us, of the 'cleverly arranged contrivances" alleged. We have also not found any trace of the 'deeper calculators' or 'substantial financiers moving in a shadowy background.'" And again, "We found no evidence to show that any fraudulent conspiracy between Colonel Morgan and Meyer and Frank Morgan ever existed," though Colonel Morgan can hardly complain if his conduct has aroused suspicion. Even Meyer, who so oppressed the imagination of Sir William Butler, and was "spoken of by many witnesses in different terms, and with various nationalities ascribed to him," is now reduced to more sober proportions. He is an American citizen with an infinite capacity for getting the better of British officers, but then Meyer and Co. are brought up to the trade of making profitable bargains and British officers are not. What appeared to be fraud to an imaginative Irishman like Sir William Butler, with a passion for

fouling his own nest, is now seen to be mere folly, and it may be hoped that Sir William Butler has for the last time exercised quasi-judicial functions. The consideration shown to "favoured contractors" was "not from any corrupt motives on the part of the Director of Supplies, but simply because it saved trouble to make concessions, and because it was not realised that there was a duty to protect the public." The net result of the general mismanagement of this branch of the "absent-minded war" is a preventable loss to the taxpayer of between £750,000 and £1,250,000. That must be added to the bill which England invariably has to pay for refusing to take war seriously in peace time. We decline to join in gibbeting the officers whose names figure in this Report. Like the taxpayers they are the victims of a vicious system, for which our politicians (miscalled statesmen) are primarily responsible. The machinery for managing war stores cannot be improvised any more than the machinery for managing war. That is the A B C and the X Y Z of the whole business. The conduct of the contractors is, however, another story, but as the Cabinet contains seven lawyers, we may feel tolerably sure that there will be no prosecutions as there should be for conspiracy to defraud.

The "Dead Season."

THE month of August has belied its reputation as the dead season by providing a surfeit of sensations in every part of the world—*inter alia* another frightful earthquake in the Western hemisphere, which has gutted Valparaiso, the second city of Chili, as completely as the previous earthquake gutted San Francisco. The loss of life has been serious, and the destruction of property incalculable, owing to the immense area involved. Cuba is the scene of a political convulsion which should give pause to sentimentalists who profess to regard Home Rule as a panacea for every evil. For several years Cuba has governed herself under the protectorate of the United States. Nevertheless, a considerable body of insurgents have taken the field against President Palma's Government quite in the old style. It is not yet possible to estimate the seriousness of a movement which Washington is obviously endeavouring to belittle. That it will be suppressed either by the local authorities or by American arms goes without saying. Still more excitement has been caused by what has been termed President Roosevelt's new "Declaration of Independence." This remarkable man has now declared war on the English language as spelt in this country as may be gathered from the following effort of the *Daily Chronicle* to conform to the American ukase: "President Roosvelt thru his office has addresst to the

English-writing world a program which, tho it may not be esthetic, will appeal to the practical fiber of the many. We are all, it seems, to learn a new decalog, and adopt a new catalog, in which 'judgement' and 'sulphur' will be fantoms of the past." Among other noteworthy foreign events are the serious illness of the Sultan of Turkey, which opens a vista of possibilities, and the further disappointment of the hopes of the Queen of Holland, which has provoked a positively indecent outburst of delight among the Germans, who see what List described as the "porch" of Germany practically within their grasp. The Shah of Persia has endeavoured to stave off the growing discontent of his people by the promise of a Duma, while even so far afield as China there is talk of a Constitution to be granted by the Empress Dowager. Truly the dry bones of Asia are stirring, as is pointed out in the highly instructive and disquieting letter of our Indian Correspondent, to which we would direct particular attention. It discloses a state of unrest in India of which we in England had little conception. Since he wrote the enforced resignation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the Lieutenant-General of Eastern Bengal, who has been surrendered to clamour, has not improved the situation. At home we have to mourn the death of the Duke of Rutland, one of the most picturesque and attractive figures in our national life. Otherwise public attention has been divided between the *Montagu* Court Martial, which has resulted in the dismissal of one of our most brilliant captains, Captain Adair, and his navigating lieutenant, Lieutenant Dathan, for culpable negligence in drifting on to Lundy Island; the stranding of several other battleships, which has for the moment appreciably weakened our sea-power; and the Report of the Motor Commission recommending the abolition of the present speed limit of twenty miles, though suggesting various precautions. It would be difficult to exaggerate the class hatred excited by the reckless disregard of the comfort and convenience of the rest of the community, which is, *pace* Lord Montagu of Beaulieu and other fanatics, the most conspicuous characteristic of the motorist, and the only characteristic of his chauffeur.

AN ABUSE OF THE ROYAL PREROGATIVE

MR. SIDNEY LOW in his suggestive work *The Governance of England* insists, with more clearness than is common among those who write about our constitutional system, on the distinction which should be drawn between the Sovereign and the Crown. This distinction is, however, of cardinal importance for the purposes of clear thinking on questions of practical politics, and it is the more necessary to bear it in mind because it is neglected in our legal and in our ceremonial terminology. "The Crown," says Mr. Low, "is like the ether which modern physicists postulate as the essence of matter and energy. There may be no such thing, but to assume that there is, gives coherence to theory and a basis for calculations and inferences of value."

The actual constitution of the country is the result of a development of thirteen hundred years. During all this time a transfer of powers from the Sovereign in his personal capacity to the Crown in the abstract has been going steadily on; but, as Professor Dicey points out, the general policy of the leaders of the English people, except in periods of revolutionary violence, has never been to destroy or dissipate the authority of the Crown. They always desired to leave the power of the King untouched but to bind it down to recognised action or procedure.

In early times an English king was a powerful chief, exercising authority over his subjects; the monarchy originally elective became restricted to the members of one family. As time went on the claims of that family gradually developed into an hereditary right. Then the territorial basis was gradually substituted for a personal one and the King of the people became the King and owner of the land. Hereditary right gradually grew into an indefeasible claim.

> The lawful successor [says Professor Medley] could in no case be deprived of his right, for such a right was of divine origin. The old divinity of descent claimed by the heathen Saxons for their kings had now given way to divinity

of office; for the Church desired to enforce on the holder of the Crown the sense of responsibility; while the lawyers of the twelfth century, incited by the increased influence of the Roman law, sought to strengthen the authority of the law by exalting that of *the theoretical law-giver.*

In accordance with this hereditary view of kingship Henry III., though a mere child, ascended the throne and was universally accepted as Sovereign; Edward I. was proclaimed King when he was out of the country and reigned for two years before receiving the sanction of coronation. This, according to Professor Medley, was the first constitutional recognition of the character of kingship. In subsequent times the claim of the House of York was based entirely on hereditary right, and this was held to be superior to election or to oaths of fealty. After the wars of the Roses there was a faint revival of the principle of election. Henry VII. based his claim to the crown on hereditary right, but his legal title was derived from an Act of Parliament, and Sir William Anson points out that "from this time forth our history illustrates the conflict between two views of kingship—title by descent and title by choice of Parliament."

During the reign of the Tudors the latter view was often asserted, and in the language of lawyers, the twenty-fifth of Henry VIII., chapter twenty-two, the twenty-eighth of Henry VIII., chapter seven, the thirty-fifth of Henry VIII., chapter one, all these Acts of Parliaments, regulating and changing the succession to the Crown are instances in point. When James II. was driven from the kingdom it was asserted in the Declaration of Rights that he had abdicated and that the throne was vacant. The Bill of Rights limited the succession to the Crown to the heirs of Mary, of Anne, and then of William, should he have heirs by another wife; finally the Act of Settlement added the descendants of the electress Sophia of Hanover, being Protestants, and it is under this Parliamentary title that the Crown is now held.

The royal prerogative is defined by Professor Medley "as the discretionary power of the Crown," and Mr. Bagehot in his admirable work on the British Constitution enumerates many things which the Sovereign can do without the consent of Parliament. He can disband the Army, he can dismiss all the officers, he can sell all our ships of war and naval stores, he can make war with reckless haste or preserve peace at a ruinous sacrifice, he can dismiss all civil servants, he can set all the convicts free. Some of these things have been done since Mr. Bagehot wrote. The purchase system in the Army was abolished by an act of the prerogative in the reign of Queen Victoria; and since the accession of the present King,

the Administration of which Mr. Balfour was the head, by use of the royal prerogative, changed the whole constitution of the War Office, created a new Army Council of Officers in substitution for the existing heads of military departments, and abolished the great office of Commander-in-chief. Parliament had nothing whatever to say to these changes; they were made in virtue of the prerogative of the Crown wielded by the Ministry of the day.

There does not appear at present to be any desire to interfere with the prerogative, but it is plain that these enormous powers must be used with caution, and the obvious way short of revolutionary change to hinder their abuse is by the personal authority of the Sovereign. The royal prerogative cannot be used without his consent; it is for him to prevent some score of persons, having at their back a momentary majority of the House of Commons, from imposing their will upon the country, and committing it to a policy practically irreversible without the sanction of Parliament or the approval of the nation.

The question of the interference of the Sovereign with the action of his Ministers is a matter to be decided—as all such questions have been decided in our history—by common sense. It has never been contended by any English writer of eminence that the Sovereign in his personal capacity has been deprived of all the prerogatives of the King in the abstract. This is a common error of foreign writers, even of distinction, who have published explanatory treatises on the British Constitution. Englishmen all know that the share of the Sovereign in the government of the country is very substantial, but varies according to circumstances. The part played by Queen Victoria in her personal capacity was very different at different times, and during the closing years of her splendid reign it may be doubted whether any contemporary ruler exercised more real power.

The possibility of serious abuse of the royal prerogative has been brought home to the minds of thinking men by the action of the Ministry in regard to the Transvaal Constitution. No one can doubt that this was a matter of first-class importance, involving, perhaps, the future destiny of South Africa, and it is difficult to contend that the present Ministry enjoys to any exceptional extent the confidence of the country as regards South African affairs. The General Election of 1900 was accepted by all impartial people as showing that the leaders of the Opposition of that day, who now constitute the Ministry, did not represent the opinions and feelings of the nation as regards South African policy. The country decided to maintain the Unionist party in power until the war was ended. The

conduct of Mr. Balfour's Administration, in using the majority returned for the purpose of settling South Africa, in order to pass such highly contentious measures as the Licensing Bill and the Education Bill of 1902, was a contributory cause of their great discomfiture at the last General Election. But the people of England did not expect that when the Opposition came into office they would so far depart from the traditions of English parties as to endeavour to reverse the judgment of the nation as regards South Africa, and deliberately attempt to throw away the results of the war. Boers and loyalists in the Transvaal and at the Cape, contend that this is the tendency of their policy. However that may be, the Constitution recently given to the Transvaal has been granted in virtue of the royal prerogative, and without the consent or approval of the nation. Parliament was presented with a *chose jugée*, if not a *fait accompli*.

There is another question likely, or indeed certain, to come to the front in the next Session. Just before the House of Commons adjourned on August 4, the Under-Secretary for Ireland, Sir Antony MacDonnell made a remarkable statement. This personage installed in Dublin Castle by Mr. Wyndham, asserted at a dinner of the Master Builders' Association that it was his firm belief that the year 1907 "would see the fruition of many of those hopes which the best Irishmen had for many years entertained. It might not be," he continued, "all that many had hoped for, but it would be the fruition of so much that they might make it the fountain and the source from which the whole of their hopes might be fulfilled."

In view of the recent abuse of the royal prerogative as regards the Transvaal this statement is most alarming. The avowed object of those to whom Sir Antony MacDonnell alluded is the disintegration of the kingdom. This cannot be accomplished under present conditions by Act of Parliament. The language of the Under Secretary therefore suggests that by an exercise of arbitrary power the Government of the day intends to inaugurate a policy in Ireland directly at variance with the often-repeated judgment of the nation. The Irish Agricultural and Technical Instruction Act of 1899 created a Statutory Council of Agriculture for Ireland. This Council is partly nominated and partly elected by the County Councils, and the Act empowers the Government to confer on it without the consent or interference of Parliament any administrative powers held by any other public department in Ireland. It would be quite possible for the Government to make use of this Act to create a state of things in Ireland which must lead either to separation or to civil war.

By the power of the Crown, therefore, and without any interference of Parliament, the education, the local government, the railways, the Poor Law, the control of licensing and the police might be handed over to that authority. It surely cannot be impossible for the Sovereign, before assenting to such revolutionary changes, to insist that Parliament and the nation should be consulted. The Rebel party in Ireland, to use Mr. Bright's phrase, are now in the seventh heaven. Mr. Dillon said recently at a public meeting that he had every reason to believe that the Ministry contemplated giving to Ireland a "genuine system of self-government which would give the people complete control of the administration of the country; at least as good a measure as that given to the Boers." Dr. Farley, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York, "hoped to see the day when they would have a Parliament in College Green, as Norway has just secured her own government and her own Parliament." Mr. Gladstone used to cite the relations between Norway and Sweden as an illustration of how Home Rule might work; the connection between these countries has since been completely severed. The policy of undisguised and unqualified separation is openly proclaimed in Ireland, and it is boasted that all the various popular movements are each making for "a separate independent Irish nation, free from every link of British connection."

It is time for the English people to realise how this consummation is to be attained. They have repeatedly declared their determination to maintain the Union. Are they now going to sit still and allow that Union to be dissolved by arbitrary exercise of the royal prerogative? Will the Sovereign of the country insist on their being consulted, or will he allow the prerogative of the Crown to be used for the purpose of destroying the unity of the kingdom by sap and mine? When King Edward VII. came to the throne thinking Englishmen watched with keen interest for indications of the manner in which the new Sovereign would discharge his exalted duties. They soon saw with lively satisfaction the promise of a great reign. The action of his Majesty as regards the international relations of the country has received the enthusiastic approval of all classes of the people. He may be quite sure of equally strong approval for any act designed to restrain ministerial action of an arbitrary character all the more odious to the robust sense of the nation when defended in the pharisaical language of philanthropic cant.

QUIRINUS.

DESTROYING BRITAIN'S NAVAL SUPREMACY

THE decision of the Government to reduce the shipbuilding programme for the years 1906 and 1907 by three large armoured ships, to cut down the expenditure upon the Navy, and, as Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman has admitted in the House of Commons, to abandon the historic two-Power standard of strength, has been permitted to pass almost without challenge. When the momentous announcement was made in the House of Commons the Unionist benches were empty, and, except for a vigorous speech by Mr. Lee and a mild protest from Mr. Balfour, there was no resistance to what is really a revolution in naval policy. The Government's scheme was not criticised as it ought to have been ; the reasons which had prompted Ministers were not elicited or analysed, and this though the extraordinary *volte-face* of the Sea Lords demanded the closest investigation, and though such arguments as were advanced by Government speakers ignored history or were in manifest contradiction to ascertained facts. In the House of Lords there was only a brief, if an important, discussion. And so after some few hours of debate, the supremacy of the British Navy has been endangered on the professed, but altogether inadequate, excuse that the British people are too poor to pay that insurance which can alone secure peace and safety. The strength of the British Navy is cut down at the very moment when the strength of the German Navy is being greatly augmented.

It is important for the country to understand that enormous reductions in naval expenditure had been effected prior to the Liberal raid on the Navy Estimates, and that there is only too much reason to fear that some of these reductions had seriously affected the efficiency of the fleet. The outlay on the Navy reached its highest point in 1904–5, when £38,859,000 was voted. In addition to this sum there was a certain annual

expenditure on naval works—docks, fortifications, and dockyard extensions—provided by borrowing. In 1905–6 there was a reduction in the estimates of three and a half millions; in 1906–7 a further reduction of one and a half millions. The estimates for both these years were prepared under the late Unionist Ministry by the Board which has Sir John Fisher as its expert naval chief. In the two years five millions of purely naval expenditure was lopped away. In the same period the outlay upon naval works was also cut down by something approaching five millions. These reductions were defended in the organs influenced by the Admiralty as being in part the natural result of the collapse of the Russian Navy, in part due to superior administrative skill at the Admiralty.

It has been contended by the Premier and the Liberal Party that prior to Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's accession to office England was building far in excess of the two-Power standard —indeed, up to a three-Power standard. Such an assertion betrays ignorance of either the nature of the standard or the progress of British and foreign naval construction. The standard was thus defined in 1889 by Lord G. Hamilton, in his speech introducing the Naval Defence Act:

> I have endeavoured during the past year to study the speeches of those who in previous years have held my position and that of Prime Minister, so as to ascertain what was the paramount idea underlying their utterances when they spoke of the standard of strength on which our naval establishment should be maintained. I think I am correct in saying that that idea has been that our establishment should be on such a scale that it should at leas be *equal to the naval strength of any two other countries* (Hear, hear). . . . No amount of foresight or calculation can anticipate naval combinations and naval movements. For the purpose of meeting unexpected blows we should have a considerable margin of reserve. (Hear, hear.)

The standard then accepted by both parties, and by all Premiers previous to 1889, was equality, plus a margin of reserve, to the fleets of *any* two other Powers. In 1896 Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman expressly stated that he accepted this standard: "I accept the doctrine of standard of supremacy that our fleet should be equal to any two other fleets in the world."

Such a standard is at once definite and intelligible. If the British navy is maintained at a figure of strength equal to the two next strongest Powers, it will *a fortiori* be equal or superior to any combination of two less powerful navies. For this definite and intelligible standard, however, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, in his speech in the House of Commons of July 27, has substituted another and quite a different standard, to wit,

two Powers specially selected by the Government of the day. He affirmed that to take the two next strongest Powers as constituting the standard was "preposterous." But his new standard would not give the country any security that the British navy was being maintained at a sufficient strength to defeat even a single Power. It would be open for the Government, supposing the Premier's view to be endorsed by the nation, if critics asserted that the British fleet was being outdistanced by Germany, to plead that the British navy had a distinct advantage as against Russia and Italy, and that these were the two Powers selected by the Admiralty. An uncertain indefinite standard, which could not be tested, would replace the existing one. That in itself is a strong practical reason against such tampering with the historic "any two-Power standard."

To prove the baselessness of the Liberal assertion that England up to 1906 was building up to a three-Power standard, it is necessary to examine the programmes of new construction since the date of the Naval Defence Act. The really important factors in material strength are, first and foremost, battleships; secondly, armoured cruisers, which have developed so rapidly that the latest vessels of this type are far more formidable than any but the most modern battleships; and, thirdly, destroyers. Of subsidiary importance are protected cruisers, torpedo-boats, and submarines. Taking battleship programmes first, they stood as follows from 1889 to 1899:

England	38	Russia	20
Germany	19	U.S.A.	16
France	16	Japan	6

In view of the fact that all the British vessels were of large size, and that many of the French, Russian, German and American units were small, the two-Power standard was well maintained, but not exceeded, down to 1899. The armoured cruisers built in the period were:

England	14	Germany	2
France	18	U.S.A.	5
Russia	3	Japan	6

The great British predominance in protected cruisers atoned for the weakness in armoured cruisers. In destroyers during this period England was first and the other Powers nowhere.

From 1900 onwards to the accession to power of the Liberal Party, British efforts were relaxed, and, so far as concerns the number of battleships laid down, the "two-Power

standard" was not maintained, as the following figures will show :

BATTLESHIP PROGRAMMES FROM 1900 TO 1905

England . . .	13	Russia . . .	6
Germany . . .	12	U.S.A. . . .	12
France . . .	6	Japan . . .	4

Of the British battleships one was the *Dreadnought*, the first of the new type ; two of the American battleships and two of the Japanese were of the same class. Thus, at the end of 1905, when the Liberals obtained office, there were five of the *Dreadnought* class in hand for various Powers ; and of these five, only one was building for England. The thirteen British battleships in fighting power were far behind the twenty-four American and German. In armoured cruisers, however, England did better, and her superiority in this class may have atoned for her weakness in battleships.

ARMOURED CRUISER PROGRAMMES, 1900 TO 1905

England . . .	24	Russia . . .	4
Germany . . .	6	Japan . . .	6
France . . .	7	U.S.A. . . .	10

In destroyers, England fell far below the two-Power standard, laying down only forty-five against eighty-six Russian, thirty German, and fifty-one French.

Such was the situation when on November 30, 1905, what is known as the Cawdor Memorandum was signed by the Admiralty and issued a few days later. This Memorandum framed a definite programme to meet strategic necessities. It stated, "at the present time strategic requirements necessitate an output of four large armoured ships annually, and, unless unforeseen contingencies arise, this number will not be exceeded. The period of building is to be two years, and therefore four ships will be laid down each year, and there will be eight ships in course of construction in any one year."

A "word of caution" was appended to warn the public that it must not expect reductions in naval expenditure to be continued in future years "if foreign countries make developments in their shipbuilding programmes which we cannot now foresee." It added, however, "the programme of shipbuilding we have in view for future years, and have provided for, will, in the opinion of the Board of Admiralty, meet all the developments of which the resources of foreign countries seem at present capable."

Under this programme, then, four large armoured ships should have been laid down in 1906–7, and another four in

1907–8, though, even so, as Germany was known to be laying down three large armoured ships in each of these years, this gave England but a very narrow margin of advantage. With the *Dreadnought* and three large armoured cruisers, begun in 1905–6, England would have had twelve all told of the new type of monster ship in hand by the opening of 1908. This would have been a fair, if not an extravagant provision, but even this would not have maintained the two-Power standard.

On July 27, 1906, however, the House of Commons was suddenly informed that the Sea Lords had abandoned their own proposals. They had reduced by 40 per cent. the programmes which, in November 1905, they postulated as necessary for 1906 and 1907. Instead of four large armoured ships of the *Dreadnought* class to be laid down in 1906–7, they had decided that only three were really required—though Germany would be laying down three large armoured ships in 1906. Instead of four large armoured ships to be laid down in 1907, they had decided that only two were necessary, though another might be added if the Hague Conference failed. Moreover, a further blow to the Navy, the two large ships in the 1907–8 programme were not to be laid down till the very end of the financial year (March 30, 1908), and only a derisive amount was to be allotted to their construction in the estimates of 1907–8, and this though in 1907 Germany would be laying down three large armoured ships, and would not only begin them early in her financial year, but also vote a large sum for them. As if this were not bad enough, worse followed. The altogether inadequate number of destroyers to be begun by England in 1906–7 was cut down. Whereas Germany is beginning twelve this year, and will early next year lay down from thirty to forty, England is to begin only two. The reduction in submarines from twelve, the number originally proposed, to eight is less serious, but is still disquieting in the extreme.

If the Admiralty is to retain the confidence of the thinking part of the nation it must explain its conduct. It must be able to give convincing reasons why, after declaring in November 1905, that eight large armoured ships were necessary to meet strategic requirements in 1906 and 1907, it found in July 1906 that only five were required. Unless circumstances have completely changed it must have been wrong on one or the other of the two dates. Is there any real security that its present opinion is not wrong and directed rather by political pressure than military calculations, which are its sole business? We must therefore ask it what strategic requirements under-

went a sudden change between November 30 and July 27. Was there any reduction in foreign programmes or any sudden accession of strength to the British fleet in that period?

There was no reduction in the two chief Continental fleets —the German and French. On the contrary, in the winter of 1905–6 the *Novelle*, or supplementary German naval programme, was laid before the Reichstag. The vital provisions of that measure were (1) a great increase in the size and armament of the German battleships and units to be built under the German Navy Act of 1900; (2) an addition of six large armoured cruisers to the programme of 1900; (3) an addition of forty-eight destroyers; (4) an addition to the *personnel* of the officers and men required to fight these extra ships. Under the *Novelle* the outlay upon new construction is to rise to £5,850,000 in 1906, and then by annual increments to £7,350,000 in 1911. The Reichstag sanctioned the proposals early in 1906, and thus formally bound Germany to a steadily rising naval expenditure in the next five years. During that period the British expenditure on new construction will be as steadily falling. It should have been £9,252,000 in 1906–7, though whether this amount will be spent is more than doubtful; under the new proposals of the British Admiralty it will not be much over £6,000,000 in 1907, so that the British vote for new ships will have fallen to the level of the German vote. To talk of the Two-Power standard being preserved under such conditions is deceiving the nation on the most vital of national issues.

France was compelled to follow Germany, and as soon as the German programme was known, determined to build six instead of her original programme of three Dreadnoughts. At first it was intended that all should be laid down this year, but now, owing to the decision to adopt turbine engines in three of the six, only three will be taken in hand in 1906 and the other three will not be laid down till 1907. Germany will be laying down two Dreadnoughts, one large armoured cruiser, and twelve or more large destroyers each year, besides three smaller but fast and useful cruisers. These ships, according to the invariable German system, will be put in hand in the summer or autumn of the year, whereas the British ships are not usually laid down till the spring of the following year. That is to say, while the two German Dreadnoughts of the present year's programme will be well advanced by the close of 1906, the three British armoured ships in all probability will not be begun till January or March 1907. The two British armoured ships of the 1907–8 programme, as has already been stated, are not to be begun before March or April 1908, if then.

At the close of 1908 the situation in the newest type of monster ship will be as follows, so far as concerns vessels actually on the stocks :

England.	Dreadnoughts.	Armoured Cruisers.
Laid down in 1905	1	3
Jan. 1907	3	0
March 1908	2	0
	6	3
Germany		
Laid down Sept. 1906	2	1
June 1907	2	1
May 1908	2	1
	6	3

while France will have six Dreadnoughts in hand, and the United States five or six. Thus unless the British programme for 1907 is radically altered, and unless extraordinary efforts are made by England in 1908, Germany will have in hand at the close of that year as many of the new types as England, and the British Navy will be in a position of hopeless inferiority against any combination of the above-mentioned Powers. At the same time, England will have been outbuilt by Germany alone in small cruisers and in large destroyers.

The danger of such a situation must be obvious to all reasoning men. With the coming of the *Dreadnought* a new era has begun in naval construction. Her class in a certain sense renders all older battleships obsolete, whether those ships be British or foreign. That is to say, all the navies have made a fresh start from 1905, and victory at sea will depend, so far as material is concerned—and material is one of the important factors in naval war—upon the number of Dreadnoughts at the disposal of the rival navies. So far as can be seen, England will only have nine (six battleships and three armoured cruisers) to the nine German monster ships (six battleships and three armoured cruisers) ready or building in 1908, and the German ships on the published figures will be fuly a match for the individual British units. There will be equality of numbers and no superiority of British armament. We shall still, it is true, be to the good by a number of older battleships and armoured cruisers, such as the *Nelson* and *Minotaur* types, which, however, are very inferior to the new German ships. But each year the value of these older vessels will diminish in a scale of geometrical progression, as they are not suited to manœuvre with the *Dreadnought* class, and are altogether inferior to them in speed and protection. Finally,

unless the British Government greatly increases its naval estimates the British margin of superiority will vanish altogether.

In drawing up the original programme for 1906, the Admiralty may have taken the proposals of the German *Novelle* into account, but it could not have known that the French Government was proposing to lay down six Dreadnoughts. In November 1905, the programme before France only provided for three new battleships. Thus the three additional battleships which are now to be laid down in 1906–1907 are a further increase in the French programme. Another point of importance is that the Admiralty did not know the exact armament and displacement of the new German battleships, which must necessarily have been an important element in its calculations, but supposed them to be much weaker and smaller than they really are. Its naval return of April 1906, gave the German battleships an armament of eight 11-in. and twelve 7.5-in. guns, with a displacement of 17,710 tons. Actually, however, the armament of these ships has been increased to sixteen 11-in. guns, which represents a battery quite 30 per cent. more powerful, and their displacement has been increased to 19,000 tons. The changes in their design render them more formidable than even the *Dreadnought*, for though they are slower than she, their battery is so heavy that with equal crews their victory should be certain. The German ships will be completed in three years.

This augmentation in the size and addition to the battery of the new German battleships could not justify a decrease in the British programme, but would rather seem to have rendered an increase in it tactically and strategically important. While the German Navy is thus being strengthened by an improvement of the units to be built for it, the British Navy has lost one first-class battleship under circumstances which ought to have warned the Government and the Admiralty of the risks and dangers of naval war and the absolute necessity of maintaining a marked numerical superiority over all possible antagonists. On the eve of the naval manœuvres the battleship *Montagu*, during a dense fog, struck on the Shutter Rock, and all efforts to save her proved unavailing. It was known when the Sea Lords recommended or sanctioned the reduced programme that her loss was inevitable. She was only completed in 1903, and thus had done but three years of service with the fleet.

There has thus been nothing in foreign programmes to justify the sudden reduction in the British programme, and there has been no accession—but the very opposite—to the

strength of the British fleet. What, then, are the excuses with which the Government defends its action? First and foremost, we are told that the reduction is intended to emphasise the good faith of the British Government in its desire to bring about a reduction of armaments at the approaching Hague Conference. The Premier's theory that "as the principle of peaceful arbitration gains ground it becomes one of the highest duties of Government to adjust armaments to the newer and happier condition of things," is to be carried into effect without waiting to ascertain whether such a principle is really accepted, and whether other powers will bind themselves to corresponding reductions. Just as the nation deprived itself of the power of driving fiscal bargains by rashly abandoning its protective system, and thus laying its commerce open to attack, so also it is to act in the naval sphere. The Premier's conviction that other Powers will follow suit and reduce their armies and navies rests on about as solid a foundation as Cobden's assertion that there would not be a Custom House in Europe left in seven years from the date when England repealed her protective duties. But whereas a miscalculation of economic conditions can be repaired because economic laws work slowly, an error in military calculations may prove rapidly fatal, and may bring on a great catastrophe before its consequences can be averted. It is worth the closest attention of patriotic Englishmen that on the eve of the Franco-German War, the Emperor Napoleon was hoping against hope for some scheme of disarmament, and in his pursuit of such a shadow failed to take proper steps to strengthen the French army. In February 1870 the French Government was contemplating making proposals to Bismarck for a simultaneous reduction of the French and German armies. It was seemingly only deterred by Colonel Stoffel's plain-spoken warning that such proposals would be mad unless France sought to use disarmament as the pretext for a rupture. "The position of the two Governments," he wrote, "would be like that of two men, one of whom should ask of the other something impossible as a pretext for a quarrel. The last word would then be, 'You will not disarm? Well, then, we shall have to fight.'" Official Germany affects to regard the clumsy manœuvres of the British Government as an act of shameless hypocrisy.

On the military side, Mr. Robertson stated that it would be "inexpedient" to give the reasons which had led the Sea Lords to recommend a complete change in the programme which they had themselves drawn up a few months before. Those reasons were "confidential." He would have been nearer the truth if

he had said that they could not be stated because they would not stand criticism. This is an ancient trick of naval and military administrations in this country. The nation is assured that "confidential" facts justify a certain course of policy; the assurance is swallowed under the complacent belief that if ministers did not speak the truth, the naval or military officials would protest; and then years afterwards it turns out, from the correspondence of some sea lord or general, that he has tamely remained in office while measures which he has known to be dangerous to the nation have been carried out, and that he has salved his conscience by a letter of remonstrance to the politician at the head of the Admiralty. This was the course adopted by Admiral Key in a like situation, with disastrous results to his own reputation. It was not, however, the course taken by Admiral Richards when, in 1893, a Liberal Government told the House of Commons that the Sea Lords were perfectly satisfied with the state of the Navy. On that occasion Admiral Richards handed in his resignation, and his other naval comrades on the Board followed his example, with the result that the Government had to eat its words. This straightforward and vigorous action proved most salutary to the Navy. It is Admiral Richards, first and foremost, who must be thanked for the position of strength in which the British Navy stood before the present Board and the present Government got to work upon it.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, however, let the cat out of the bag when he told the House of Commons that "neither France nor Germany can equal us in rate (rapidity?) or cheapness of building," because phrases which seem an echo of these words, and which undoubtedly were authorised by the Admiralty, occur in the Cawdor Memorandum, and were sharply criticised at the date when that document appeared. As a matter of fact, while French construction is slower and costlier than British, Germany can build both as fast and as cheaply as England. A return which Mr. Bellairs, who has done yeoman's service to the Navy in this crisis, elicited from the Admiralty proves that German ships are built as fast as British. The following are the official figures for the time taken to complete certain typical battleships:

GERMAN.	Years.	Months.	BRITISH.	Years.	Months.
Barbarossa	2	9	*Albion*	4	7
Wettin	3	0	*Montagu*	3	8
Schwaben	3	1	*Dominion*	3	4
Braunschweig	2	11	*New Zealand*	2	5
Preussen	3	1			
Deutschland	3	1			

The average for the six German ships is a trifle under three years; the average for the four British vessels is three years and six months.

As for the greater cheapness of British battleships, published figures show that the cost per ton is practically identical in England and Germany, and since the German ships carry a larger percentage of armour on their displacement, and armour is one of the most expensive items, Constructor Süssenguth was undoubtedly right when he declared so far back as 1899 in the German *Marine Rundschau*, that "Germany is able to build her ships as cheaply as, or even more cheaply than, England." It is of the utmost importance that the British Government and the Admiralty should be promptly and publicly challenged upon these facts, and that the country should not be permitted to rest under a complete misapprehension. For the risk of waiting to see what Germany intends to do and thus permitting her to gain an advantage, will be great if she can build as fast as ourselves. The German Navy League, it may be remarked, is even now urging that all large German ships should be completed in two years, and it is believed that within the next twelve months proposals will be submitted to the Reichstag for the acceleration of the construction of German ships on the stocks.

Yet another explanation was given in the House of Lords by Lord Tweedmouth. It is by the way strange that the members of the Ministry pay no attention to Lord Melbourne's famous advice, all to tell the same story, no matter what that story might be. Lord Tweedmouth asserted that the Admiralty had decided to reduce its programme "when they came to discover the great changes and delays that were taking place in foreign building during this year. . . . From time to time reports were received of delay in the commencement of (foreign) new construction and of the dropping of proposed ships. Neither in France nor in the United States had any new keel been laid down in July. Germany up to the present had failed to fulfil her programme, and the delay in German ships had been more than four months. Only this morning he had had an intimation that the first of the two great (German) battleships would not be laid down until September next."

Lord Tweedmouth's statements as to the delay in carrying out the German programme are calculated to mislead. The delay has not been great or serious, since it is quite as common for ships in Germany to be laid down in the summer or early autumn as in the spring, and what time has been lost is due entirely to the fact that the design of these ships has been

completely changed so as make them infinitely more formidable. If he had said this, he would have told the truth, but he would also have demolished every argument that he was urging for the reduction in the British programme. Nor is there, as he suggested, the slightest hint that Germany intends to reduce her naval expenditure and her armaments. On the contrary, as we have already stated, a new programme is known to be coming, and if anything in this world is certain, it is that the existing German programme will be carried out with mathematical precision, and that the German ships will be completed well within the anticipated time. It is difficult to find words in which fitly to characterise the conduct of a First Lord who, placed in a position of the gravest responsibility, holding in his hands the fate and future of his country, misleads that country on vital facts by suppressions of truth and suggestions of what is false. Nor was Lord Tweedmouth much more accurate in dealing with the French programme. France has made known the fact that she cannot reduce her naval outlay whatever England does ; and since last November, when the Admiralty pronounced an annual programme of four large ships essential, she has added, as we have already seen, three battleships to her proposals for the immediate future.

Thus the arguments put forward by the Government do not stand the simplest and most elementary tests. The real truth, of course, is that Liberals in the past have held out to the hungry proletariat hopes of every kind of advantage if the outlay on the army and navy were cut down. They have produced a general impression that the expenditure upon the services is extravagant and unnecessary, and now that they are in power they are called upon by their supporters to make good their words. If the future interests of the country suffer, that is nothing to them. They will probably be out of power when the consequence of these reductions—as of the surrender of the Transvaal to the Boers—are felt, and when the chickens come home to roost. With a recklessness only matched in the past by Mr. Gladstone's administrations, they have fallen upon the armed forces of the Crown, the forces which safeguard the future interests of the nation and Empire, and for the sake of a small gain in the present have deliberately imperilled the national interests, at a time when the international outlook is by no means a settled one, when the Russian Revolution is still in full swing, when a great Moslem agitation is growing in the middle East, and when Germany is known by every man who is not wilfully blind to be arming

for the express purpose of removing from Britannia's vacillating grasp the trident of the seas.

The conduct of Ministers is the more impolitic as it will inevitably stimulate the very tendency which they profess their desire of removing. The more England reduces her fleet, the more strenuously will Germany build ships, for what looked ten or even five years ago to be a hopeless undertaking, has now become a perfectly practicable one. The margin of British supremacy is steadily diminishing as against one single Power and that a Power organised for war on land and at sea with an efficiency not approached in this country. The only means of convincing Germany that she would be wise to cease her naval efforts is not to reduce the British programmes for the next two years below the German level, but to adopt an organic law by which two British units would be laid down for each one commenced across the North Sea.

H. W. Wilson.

JAPAN AFTER THE WAR

THE quiet of early morning was broken by the heavy booming of big guns rolling sonorously through the air, and awakening responsive echoes in remote corners of the city on April 30, 1906, a welcome indication to the vast concourse of people gathered in the capital that day had dawned fair, and that nothing stood in the way, therefore, of the successful carrying out of the prearranged programme. Little need was there, indeed, of the thunder of guns to herald forth the news, for the sun shone gloriously from a cloudless sky, and from early dawn expectant crowds of men and women streamed joyously westward to the Aoyama parade-ground, where were drawn up from an early hour the pick of the victorious Manchurian armies. Upwards of 31,000 men, fresh from the triumphs of the Yalu, Port Arthur, Mukden, and Liao-Yang, stood massed in serried ranks—an epitome of the military genius of a people borne to the forefront of the nations upon a flood-tide of military achievement.

The vast gathering of spectators, banked in dense crowds on every side of the dusty expanse, awaited patiently the arrival of the Emperor. A pleasurable anticipation of things to be bridged over a prolonged period of delay, and when at length, to the strains of martial music, a company of dusky lancers clattered noisily on to the ground heralding the arrival of the royal procession, the whole vast assemblage swayed forward as one man in profound obeisance to the heaven-descended ruler of Japan.

A large force of men, answering with machine-like precision to a single word of command, is always an impressive sight; here, as column after column of khaki-clad warriors passed in never-ending procession, each headed by a man bearing a name of world-wide fame—Oyama, Nogi, Kuroki, Oku, and many more—the chords of memory were strangely stirred. To the spectator from the West, accustomed to the variegated brilliance of a full-dress military parade, the absence of all colour provided a notice able feature, infantry, cavalry, and artillery being garbed

alike in identical uniforms of sombre khaki. A single figure in scarlet, conspicuous amid the general monochrome, alone gave colour to the scene—the British military *attaché*, solitary representative of Europe in all the brave array. His presence there, surrounded by the generals of Japan, was significant of many things: of the newly knit ties binding in close alliance the island empires of East and West, of the strange moves, too, which destiny indulges in, in the great game which finds a stage on the chess-board of the world.

It may, indeed, be claimed that the conversion of the people of Japan from the unyielding conservatism of centuries to the advanced liberalism of the present day, provides one of the most remarkable phenomena as yet recorded in the pages of world history. The sudden and dramatic *volte-face* of the leaders of the restoration from an unbending policy of rigid exclusion to an advocacy of Western intercourse and Western ways, threw open the flood-gates to an eddying vortex of innovation and reform, and relegated the old order irrevocably to the dusty limbo of the past. With an energy as impetuous as it had been long delayed, the venerable garments of a supreme antiquity were thrust violently aside, and from the seclusion of unnumbered centuries emerged a new and wholly unknown power—an Eastern nation clothed in the culture and the armour of the West. In the twinkling of an eye a novel figure had flashed on to the stage of human thought and action, creating new problems and imparting unforeseen direction to the march of world progress.

It is doubtless to her prowess in the field of war that contemporary opinion assigns the proud position which Japan has carved out for herself in the parliament of man. War, indeed, bulks largely in the pages of her modern history. The unhappy juxtaposition of conflicting interests, the ever-increasing friction between East and West, and the growing aggression and ambitions of rival Powers, set blazing the touchstone of human passions, and lit up the passage from the nineteenth to the twentieth century with the devouring fires of war. For years a succession of plots and counterplots, of intrigues and the resounding clash of arms have marred the intercourse between Russia, China, and Japan, while incidentally causing rude interruption to the sedate and passionless course of Korean progress. There was a touch of grim humour in the fate which decreed that in return that small and insignificant country should launch her Western neighbour upon the humiliating tragedy of the Sino-Japan conflagration, and should ring up the curtain also upon the yet fiercer and more passionate drama wherein were

played out before an astonished world the successive scenes in the downfall of Russian imperialism in East Asia. With her superlative attainments in duplicity, and her unalterable predilection for intrigue, she may be equally counted on to add immeasurably to the tangles of the Japanese political skein, and to render infinitely laborious the duties and responsibilities devolving upon the shoulders of the suzerain Power.

With her triumphant emergence from so strenuous a period of probation, it may justly be argued that Japan has cut her way to power with the bayonet and the sword. She has indeed achieved much more than will be found within the four corners of any written treaty. When she pricked the bubble reputation of Chinese military precocity, she excited the interested curiosity of the West ; when she flung the torn and crumpled fabric of Russian imperial ambition upon the war-stained boards of the Manchurian stage, she demanded and received the respect and the recognition of the world for her claims to rank thenceforth as the first Power in Asia.

Nevertheless it would be a grave mistake to suppose that the ambitions of Japan have found their consummation in the capture of Port Arthur, or on the blood-stained battlefields of Mukden or Liao-Yang. She is advancing with a fixed determination towards the goal which still stands far off on the horizon of the future. Military ascendency may pave the way ; but military ascendency is by no means the sole end in view. Political power, supported by military prestige, commercial and industrial supremacy in East Asia, a dominant voice in the destinies of the Eastern world—such are the objects towards the attainment of which the will and energy of the nation are being turned. It is in the factory and the workshop, as much as in the arsenal and the dockyard, that the key to the future will be found : amid the roar of machinery and the hiss of steam, and the unceasing whirr and crash of the spindle and the loom.

For the successful achievement of such a programme, peace is an essential condition. Better than most men the courageous statesmen who were responsible for signing the treaty of Portsmouth knew this to be so, and, gazing steadily into the future, they did not hesitate to face the storm of public indignation which they knew their action must provoke. The world applauded and the people stormed. A military escort—no mere guard of honour—the groans and hisses of the populace, and rows of white flags in place of bunting along his route, constituted the home-coming of the envoy of Japan, while the fury of the misguided mob found uncouth expression in

parading before the popular gaze gory representations of the detruncated head of the President of the United States, as the promoter of the conference which had been the means of disappointing them of their hopes. Misled by the tone of the native Press, which had foreshadowed a large indemnity, public feeling for a time ran high, until, with the publication of the terms of the newly contracted alliance with Great Britain, soberer counsels prevailed, and the nation resumed once more its appointed path of progress.

There is much that is of supreme interest and importance to Englishmen to be found in Japan at the present day. Not the Japan of fancy depicted in a voluminous literature as a land of temples and tea-houses, a sort of quaint earthly paradise existing solely for the benefit of the flotsam and jetsam of the restless West, where the twang of the samisen fills the air, and the alluring charms of the laughter-loving, almond-eyed *geisha* reign supreme, and where the cares and responsibilities and conventions of the prosy West may for a space be conveniently laid aside ; but the Japan which has of recent years excited the attention of more sober pens, the Japan whose pulse beats quickest in the busy thoroughfares of industrial centres and amid the bustling activity of great naval and military stations. The temples of Nikko and the tea-houses of Kyoto, the lovely scenery of Chazenji or Miyajima still draw and fascinate a vast annual concourse of the pleasure-seekers of Europe and America : but in the factories of Tokyo and Osaka, in the dockyards of Nagasaki, Kure and Yokosuka, amid the furnaces and steel works of Wakamatsu, and the coal-pits of Kyushu may best be seen and appreciated the real spirit of modern Japan. These things find no place in the recognised programme of tourist travels, which accounts for the existence of an unfortunate scepticism as to the industrial and commercial potentialities of Japan.

Yet history can show no parallel to the achievements of her people in this direction in recent years. It is no small thing that in a decade and a half she should have built up a foreign trade from a modest total of less than £14,000,000 in 1890 to £81,000,000 in 1905, a total, that is to say, for her population of 48,000,000 equal to the foreign trade of China with a population at least eight times as great. In a space of thirty-five years she has constructed 5000 miles of railway, exclusive of her undertakings in this direction in Manchuria and Korea ; and in face of the opposition of a vast existing competion she has created a mercantile marine of upwards of

6000 steam and sailing vessels with a displacement exceeding a million and a quarter tons. Not only has she succeeded in many lines in supplanting in her own dominions the products of Western factories with the products of her own—a development about to be further facilitated by a recent revision of her tariff law—but her manufacturers are daring to compete—and compete successfully—with the manufacturers of Europe in the adjacent markets of China and Korea. At Kure and Yokosuka battleships of 19,000 tons and a speed of 19 knots, equalled only in all probability by ships of the British *Dreadnought* type, are at the present moment in course of construction, while private dockyards are finding a new source of profit in the supply of torpedo-boats for an embryo navy for Peking.

An atmosphere of feverish activity pervades the mills of Tokyo and Nagoya, Hiogo, Yokkaichi and Osaka, where day and night alike may be heard the ceaseless roar and hum of wheels gyrating noisily in perpetual motion. The half-million spindles which ten years ago were described as "challenging the command of the Far Eastern market" are represented to-day by treble that number with a capital of close upon £4,000,000, and a half-yearly output of 184½ million pounds of yarn. There is in Osaka a cotton spinning company paying a dividend of forty per cent. During the past year the port of Kobe alone shows an increase in the value of her imports over 1904 amounting to £5,375,000, of which amount £3,419,000 stand for an increased importation of raw cotton and machinery. The large profits, indeed, made by the spinning companies in 1905 owing to the low price of Indian and American cotton at the beginning of the year, and to the further fact that they had previously sold their production as far ahead as May and June, has placed them on a firm footing, and is inducing such directors as are able to resist the grasping demands of avaricious shareholders for colossal dividends to still further increase their plant. In many of the large spinning mills English machinery, bearing dates as recent as the last three or four years, is to be seen, and inquiries at various mills elicit the information that the spindles of the country are being increased by many thousands at the present time.* With cheap labour, an unrivalled geographical position, and an abundant water power, the value of which is being rapidly recognised, as is proved by the vast schemes for making use of it which are under consideration at the present time,

* It is estimated that before another year has passed the addition of 600,000 spindles will bring the total up to approximately 2,000,000.

the manufacturers of Japan can claim solid advantages on their side in the fierce struggle for supremacy in Far Eastern markets, and the increased value of the export of cotton yarn from £2,900,000 in 1904, to £3,300,000 in 1905, in spite of the drain upon the resources of the country owing to the prolongation of an exhausting war, is merely an indication of the prospects already within sight.

It is sometimes argued that the impulsiveness peculiar to the character of the Japanese is liable, as a result of national elation at success, to launch them upon undertakings out of all proportion to their means. It is true that with the sudden influx of capital at the conclusion of the Sino-Japan War, companies sprang up like mushrooms in the night, paid vast dividends for a brief space, and then collapsed when, in due course, it was found that the capital had disappeared! Demoralisation and loss of confidence inevitably ensued ; but Japan has learned wisdom since those days, the very fact that no indemnity is to be paid has had a salutary effect in checking any tendency towards undue expansion, and every care is being taken to prevent any recrudescence of the bubble enterprises of eight and ten years ago. The moral effect of victory, too, has undoubtedly been to give the people a confidence in themselves and a consequent stability, which they have not hitherto enjoyed. When a son of the land of Sinnim casts his bread upon the waters, he does so with the confident expectation of finding it before many days, and it was a Chinaman of inscrutable countenance who bought 25,000 Kanegafuchi cotton shares at 35 at the opening of Russo-Japanese hostilities, and who smiled with complacent satisfaction later on when they mounted steadily to 139! A charming villa on the shores of the Inland Sea offers tangible testimony to the perspicacity of Chinese commercial instinct.

In the city of Osaka may be seen a microcosm of modern industrial life. Ever the pioneer in industrial enterprise, the city has flourished amazingly during recent years, and boasts of a population which, already aggregating upwards of a million souls, is increasing at the rate of from seventy to eighty thousand a year. No longer content to rely upon the adjacent city of Kobe for a port, her people have already expended two and a quarter million pounds upon the construction of a harbour, and are prepared to spend a similar sum in providing themselves with a thorough system of electric trams. Ere long they anticipate sharing in a colossal scheme for generating a force of 45,000 horse-power with the waters of an upland lake. The city is credited with over 5000 factories

and workshops responsible for a production exceeding in value £10,000,000 a year, and spinning-mills, weaving-establishments, dockyards, iron-works, sugar-refineries, cement-works, chemical-works, brush-factories and match-factories conspire to array her in the smoke-begrimed garb of the manufacturing centres of the West, and to impart to her thoroughfares an appearance of immense activity.

What Osaka does to-day a whole posse of admiring and aspiring followers may be counted upon to do to-morrow—and surprising results have accrued. Bristles are imported from China and Europe, bone from England and Chicago, teak and ebony from the Dutch East Indies, freight and import duties are paid, the raw materials made up into tooth brushes, nail brushes and hair brushes at the rate of many thousands a day, freight on the finished article paid back to Europe, and Messrs. Kent undersold in the London market! Two years ago Japan was a large importer of refined sugar, to-day she is exporting the commodity to China, Korea and Hong Kong. The little town of Moji, itself only fifteen years old, is exporting 20,000 casks of cement to San Francisco—a single example of many of Japanese good arising out of American evil. It having been observed that the importation of printed calicoes had reached a value of £2,000,000 a year, £100,000 is subscribed with a view to establishing the industry in Japan. The manufacture of glass, already exported in small quantities, is about to be stimulated by the formation of a foreign and Japanese Company with a capital of £150,000. In the camphor of Formosa is to be found a valuable adjunct in the prospective manufacture of Japanese celluloid, and no little interest is being evoked by the erection of an Armstrong explosives factory in Japan. Within a stone's throw of the gorgeous temples of Nikko, the prosaic sheds and chimneys of a flax-spinning mill stand boldly for New Japan, and when you enter a protest at this crude invasion of sacred ground, you are met with a shrug of the shoulders and the incontestable reply that the fall of water supplies a force of many hundreds of horse-power, and that whereas linen was formerly purchased exclusively from abroad, its manufacture now gives occupation to many hundreds of people at home.

Should you still be sceptical of the strength and purpose of the nation's aspirations, all lingering doubts are dispelled by a glance at the attitude of paternal interest and solicitude towards commercial development assumed by the powers that be. Bounties and subsidies are the order of the day. State funds are allocated for the experimental production of cotton

in Korea. "If Korea can ultimately supply this cotton," recently declared the Minister of Finance, "a very radical change will be effected in the cotton industry of Japan." Bounties are granted to ship-builders and subsidies to shipping companies, and the nation's shipping grows apace. Freights on the railways prove unsatisfactory and lack uniformity, and rightly or wrongly the Government steps in and acquires the country's communications for itself. The holders of railway stock may raise objections and ministers may resign, but the will of the Government prevails. Where private enterprise fails the Government itself steps in. Two and a quarter million sterling have already been swallowed up in a heroic endeavour to plant an exotic industry upon an uncongenial soil, in pursuance of which an array of coke ovens, blast-furnaces and steel plant have been erected at the national steel works of Edamitsu, and coal and iron mines have been acquired. Caustic criticism as to expenditure leaves the will of the ruling powers unscathed, and further increases are made. In conjunction with the Admiralty the capacity of the coke ovens is being increased from 500 to 1000 tons a day, and additional blast-furnaces and Bessemer furnaces are shortly to be set up. Steel rails, steel plates, steel girders, steel tyres and shells are being turned out at the present day, and 180,000 tons of steel is the estimated output in another two years' time.

Coming events cast their shadows before, and in the new tariff law of March of the present year may be found an indication of the probable fiscal policy of the country at the expiration of the existing conventional tariffs in 1910. Reservation of the home market, and protection and encouragement of home industries, is clearly foreshadowed—such protection as will enable Japan to stand independent of the West, and to control the commercial destinies of Asia.

In the foregoing pages some idea has been given of the present industrial and commercial activity of Japan, and the possibilities of her future are incidentally portrayed. If her prospects appear bright, it must also be observed that the difficulties that lie athwart her path are by no means insignificant. In natural wealth she cannot compare with a country like our own, and coal, copper—a valuable asset in view of the world-wide and increasing demand for electrical appliances—cereals, timber, marine products, silk and tea, may be said to comprise the most prominent items among her indigenous resources. Iron exists only in moderate quantities, and the export of tea must be described as a diminishing industry. Of

all her exports that of silk is by far the greatest, while that of cotton, as already indicated, shows a steady increase. It is interesting to observe that of a total export trade of rather more than £32,000,000 in 1905, approximately £16,500,000 was represented by the various products of silk and cotton, while copper, coal, tea, matches, marine products, porcelain, drugs and chemicals, mats and matting, straw, braid, tobacco, paper and camphor come next in order of value.

The price of victory, too, has been by no means light, and as a result of the war she is saddled with a considerable foreign debt. Japanese financiers, brought up in an atmosphere of desperate financial expedients, have secured consent to a heroic scheme of amortisation, on account of which £11,000,000 is to be allocated annually for the next thirty years to the service of the debt—an amount equal to the sum total of her national revenue of ten years ago. With no indemnity to swell the contents of the national purse, as was the case after the Sino-Japan war, the anxiety of the Government to foster trade, and above all to build up and increase the exports of the country, is sufficiently intelligible, quite apart from avowed ambitions in the direction of national commercial aggrandisement, and in part explains the prodigious interference on their part in the interests of national industrial competition, as contrasted with a conspicuous absence of official interest in the regulation of the internal industrial economy of the country. Cheap labour, declare the manufacturers, is essential to successful competition with foreign industry, and the manufacturers have their way. Despite the fact that with the increased cost of living in recent years wages have risen by from 50 to 100 per cent.; fivepence or sixpence for a day of twelve hours may be said to be a fair wage for women in the spinning-mills, while many may be seen working considerably longer for appreciably less. Yet with all their cheap labour it may be questioned whether the action of the manufacturers is not destined to rebound upon their own heads. The highly coloured pictures of the delights of city life painted by the procurers of labour for the consumption of the country hodge, fade sadly under the grim reality of extended hours and diminished pay, and are apt to excite doubts in the minds of the country folk as to the joys and advantages of factory life. Moreover, long hours are inimical to real efficiency, and the general severity of existing conditions can hardly be conducive to the future welfare of the race. Not least among the cares of the employer, too, as a result of all lack of reasonable legislation, must be reckoned the hopeless levity with which the Japanese workman regards

—or disregards—the obligations of contract, a state of things productive of an irritating uncertainty as to supply. Nevertheless, despite all such considerations, he prefers to accept labour on its present terms rather than, by drawing the attention of legislators to its delinquencies, to risk exciting an inconvenient labour emancipation propaganda, and bringing about the re-enactment upon the Japanese stage of the all too familiar scenes culled from the socialistic repertoire of the West. For the attitude of cold indifference, if not of open hostility, towards socialistic agitation of recent years, for the promulgation of drastic police regulations for the preservation of peace and order in 1900, and for the forceful suppression by the authorities of certain social democratic associations, the newly arisen aristocracy of wealth no doubt breathed a devout prayer of thanks.

If one hesitates to accept in its entirety the bitter assertion of an ardent lover of old Japan, that "there have been brought into existence—with no legislation to restrain inhumanity—all the horrors of factory life at its worst," * one is at least forced to admit that, judged by European standards, there is much that may well call for redress. When one sees women undergoing the physical strain of a fourteen hours' day at the hand loom at a fraction of a penny an hour, when one unexpectedly encounters coal-begrimed and scantily clad female figures emerging from the coal-pit's mouth, and when one observes children of ten and twelve toiling through the long weary day for a pittance of twopence, one cannot but suppose that sooner or later the question of the rights and the position of labour will call for solution. Some day the cry of the children will be raised : †

> "For oh," say the children, "we are weary,
> And we cannot run or leap,
> If we cared for any meadows it were merely
> To drop down in them and sleep.
> For all day we drag our burden tiring
> Through the coal dark underground,
> Or all day we drive the wheels of iron
> In the factories round and round." ‡

But for the present the workers lack organisation and a programme, and the industrial machine grinds relentlessly on in the fierce struggle for advantage in the commercial race,

* Lafcadio Hearn—"Japan : an Interpretation."

† According to official returns for 1905, there are at the present time 43,678 children under the age of 14 employed in the factories of Japan.

‡ E. B. Browning.

and the women and the children toil patiently by day and by night for the industrial and commercial advancement of Japan.

In the *post bellum* enterprise of Japan there is much that is deserving of the careful and thoughtful consideration of Englishmen. The fortunes of Great Britain in Asia are inextricably interwoven with those of Japan. With the alliance have been created ties capable of proving of no small benefit to both contracting parties, and no cloud need arise to mar the good understanding between the two countries, provided that an absurd sentiment is not allowed to assign to Japan attributes which she does not possess. The doubtless well-intentioned though mistaken attempt on the part of certain writers to apotheosise an essentially human people, can be productive solely of disappointment and harm. The unreasoning panegyrics of hysterical enthusiasts at home are calculated to evoke jeremiads on the part of those whose lot it is to submit Far Eastern developments to the cold test of unimpassioned criticism and practical experience. It is well not to lose sight of the fact that in the adjacent continent of China lies the obvious and legitimate stage for Japanese commercial expansion. Any one who is foolish enough to imagine that she spent millions of money and thousands of lives in Manchuria, that she staked, in fact, her very existence, upon the fall of the dice of war, for the sole benefit of others who were unwilling to put up the stakes, is likely to meet with a rude disenchantment. Such altruism may be preached, but is certainly not practised by humanity as at present constituted, and while Japan will doubtless act up to the letter of her declarations with regard to a policy of a fair field for all, and will open the door into Manchuria so far as one man is in a position to open the door of another man's house, a microsopic examination of her procedure will not improbably reveal much that can scarcely be accounted in strict accordance with the true spirit of a policy of equal opportunity for all. It would be strange, indeed, were she to seek no recompense for her vast sacrifices in the late war, and it is absurd to suppose that she will not—so far as she is permitted to do so—take every advantage of her position to forward the interests of her own people in Manchuria. Her students are granted free passes over the railways of the country, her goods are imported duty free through Tairen,* and her Press claims a similar privilege for

* Tairen (Dalni) has been constituted a free port, and no Chinese customs duties are as yet levied in Kwangtung. Military exigencies have so far stood in the way of the opening of the port to other than Japanese trade.

her merchandise on the frontiers of Korea.* Already a company has been formed for working the East Chinese Railway and the coal mines of Fushun, shares in which are reserved exclusively for the Governments and subjects of China and Japan—at the express desire, we are told, of the authorities at Peking.

All of which may be quoted as violating the true spirit of the open door, but all of which might equally have been foreseen had the enthusiasts not claimed for Japan a standard above that of other nations. Should a reaction of public opinion in England set in to the detriment of the good relations between the two peoples, when it is realised that the supposed god is after all composed very largely of human clay, the enthusiasts will have no one but themselves to thank for the plain result of their own unreasoning and extravagant praise.

A sober consideration of the situation with which the statesmen of Japan have to deal, of the not unnatural expectations of her people in return for immense sacrifices undergone, of the inevitable attitude of the military party at the unexpectedly successful outcome of a tremendous war, should suffice to make it clear that there are no small obstacles in the way of immediately applying in its widest sense the policy of the open door. Japan has need of the friendship and co-operation of England, and a clearly defined public opinion in Great Britain, sympathetic and generous towards her ally, as far as generosity is compatible with the maintenance of the legitimate interests of her own nationals in Far Eastern waters, will strengthen the hands of the far-seeing statesmen who have thrown the whole weight of their influence into the balance in favour of equal treatment for all, and will do more than whole reams of diplomatic correspondence to bring about a liberal and satisfactory settlement of such questions as are still outstanding in the troubled arena of the Farthest East.

DALNI VOSTOCK.

* Appealing to the provisions of an ancient and somewhat obscure agreement, by which it is said that Russia has a right to send goods duty free over a distance of fifty versts of the Manchurian frontier, the Japanese press claim a similar privilege for Japan in Korea on the strength of her "most favoured nation" clause regulating matters appertaining to her land frontier. It may be observed that Russia is in no hurry to conclude a treaty of commerce with China, and that in the interim she is, in point of fact, exacting free entry for her goods over the whole of her Manchurian frontier. It is difficult to understand on what grounds defeated Russia should be permitted to enjoy marked advantages over victorious Japan.

AN APOLOGY FOR JUDGE JEFFREYS

Frivola hæc fortasse sed non frivola est veritas.

THE process by which historical reputations become established was, not many years ago, most amusingly illustrated. A small group had gathered round a picture in a public exhibition. There was no label attached to it, but a gentleman present told them that it was the portrait of a famous man whose name would be very familiar to them all, and he would like to know if as physiognomists they could form any conception of his character. It was a frank, handsome, intellectual face with a very pleasing expression. The company was unanimous in pronouncing its possessor to be a man of whose ability, honesty and kindliness there could be no question. Upon being informed that it was the portrait of Judge Jeffreys, they expressed the liveliest surprise, and continued silently to scrutinise the features. In a few minutes one had discovered "something sinister in the eyes"; another saw "decided cruelty in the mouth"; "the whole face," observed a third, "if you come to consider it attentively, is plainly indicative of a most brutal disposition." At last, without one dissentient voice, the face was finally pronounced to be exactly the kind of face which would be likely to distinguish such a monster.

If, indeed, at the beginning of the present century the question had been asked in any literary coterie what two names on record were the most generally infamous, the answer would probably have been Machiavelli and Judge Jeffreys. The popular verdict on the first has long been reversed, and, by a curious coincidence, no man contributed more to the reversal of the verdict on Machiavelli than the very man who has done most to confirm the verdict on Jeffreys. If Macaulay whitewashed, and induced others to assist in the whitewashing of Machiavelli, he has made amends by providing his own countryman with an extra coating of blacking. It is certainly of more moment that the world should be set right about the motives, conduct and

character of the author of *The Prince*, than about those of a man whose importance ceased with his day and with the discharge of the duties entrusted to him. But justice is justice and truth is truth, and if history and biography are to maintain their credit they should not be permitted to tamper with either.

Has the truth been told about Jeffreys? Have the Bench and the Woolsack ever been disgraced by the monster depicted by Maucaulay and Campbell? We greatly doubt it. This at least is certain, that if the truth about him has been told, it has not only been told by what must be considered to be the rarest of fortunate accidents, but it has been derived from sources which, to say the least, have seldom, if ever, been the sources of truth. We know him only by the testimony of witnesses who had every motive for misrepresenting and maligning him, and by what is recorded in publications which had no pretension to be anything else than the expression of personal or party hostility.

Let us turn to the authorities for his life and character, and to the evidence on which he has been judged. They may be ranged under three headings: The frantic diatribes of the friends, relatives, and partisans of those on whom he had passed sentence in the Western Rebellion; the accounts given of him by those who, as Whigs and Dissenters, were naturally and necessarily, considering the part he had had to play, his rabid enemies; and lastly the more temperate, but not less prejudiced, notices of him by men who had various reasons for presenting him in an unfavourable light.

First comes *The Bloody Assizes, or A Complete History of the Life of George Lord Jeffreys*, compiled by one James Bent, who had served in Monmouth's army, and who published this philippic, which ran through no less than five editions, just after Jeffreys' fall. Next we have *The Dying Speeches, Letters and Prayers of the Eminent Protestants who suffered in the West of England and elsewhere under the cruel Sentence of the Late Lord Chancellor*—another furious attack on the fallen Judge; and in the same year a third onslaught on his memory in the form of *The Unfortunate Favourite*, or *Memories of the Life and Actions of the late Lord Chancellor from his Cradle to his Grave.* Next come the *Merciless Assizes* and *The Western Martyrology*, for which Tuchin was mainly responsible, and as he had been sentenced by Jeffreys to be imprisoned for seven years and to be whipped through every market town in Dorsetshire, it is not difficult to account for the portrait given here. The other leading authorities for his life and character are Roger North, Burnet, Oldmixon, and

the author of a biography which appeared in 1725, and was reprinted in 1764. Roger North hated him as the rival and supplanter of his brother, the Lord Keeper Guildford. Burnet hated him as the enemy of his party, and had, moreover, been personally insulted by him. Oldmixon, an unscrupulous and foul-mouthed Whig, whom Macaulay himself describes as the "worst historian who ever lived," had every motive for assailing his memory, for he not only detested him as a prominent Tory and an enemy of the Dissenters, but his hostility was sharpened by the fact that he himself was a Somersetshire man, and had many friends whose relatives had been sentenced in the Western Rebellion. Of the author of the anonymous biography, it may suffice to say that he is a worthy successor of Oldmixon, if indeed he was not Oldmixon himself. Such are the chief original sources of our knowledge of Jeffreys.

It might have been expected that Lord Campbell and Lord Macaulay would at least have regarded these authorities as suspicious witnesses, and would have taken some trouble to sift their evidence, or to find confirmation of it. They have done nothing of the kind. They have not only accepted that evidence without reserve, but they have even heightened and exaggerated what they have adopted. By a most improper use of the *State Trials*, they have perverted what should have been a corrective to false statements and misrepresentations into collateral testimony in their favour. No one indeed can read the *State Trials* without being struck by the contrast presented by Jeffreys as he actually comported himself at the Bar and on the Bench, and Jeffreys as tradition, Campbell, and Macaulay have represented him.

Of Macaulay's method of dealing with these records, it may be well at once to give a typical illustration. In his description of the trial of Lady Alice Lisle and of the deportment of Jeffreys on that occasion, he thus expresses himself :

> It was no easy matter in such a case to obtain a verdict for the Crown. The witnesses prevaricated . . . Jeffreys was beside himself with fury. This was the first trial on the circuit, and there seemed to be a strong probability that his prey would escape him. He stormed, cursed, and swore in language which no well-bred man would have used at a race or a cock-fight. One witness named Dunne, partly from concern for Lady Alice, and partly from fright at the threats and maledictions of the Chief Justice, entirely lost his head, and, at last, stood silent. "Oh, how hard the truth is," said Jeffreys, "to come out of a lying Presbyterian knave." The witness, after a pause of some minutes, stammered a few unmeaning words. "Was there ever," exclaimed the judge with an oath, "was there ever such a villain on the face of the earth?—Dost thou believe that there is a God? Dost thou believe in hell-fire? Of all the witnesses that I ever met with I never saw thy fellow." Still the poor man,

scared out of his senses, remained mute, and again Jeffreys burst forth: "I hope, gentlemen of the jury, that you take notice of the horrible carriage of this fellow. . . . Was there ever," he cried, "such an impudent rascal? Hold the candle to him that we may see his brazen face," &c. &c.

We turn to the *State Trials* and find that misrepresentation and perversion could scarcely go further. The witness in question, a man named Dunne, was a very important one. The facts with which he was acquainted were well known both to Jeffreys and to the prosecution, and when he was put into the box, Pollexfen, the chief counsel for the Crown, aware of the difficulty there would be in getting the truth out of him, requested Jeffreys to take him in hand. "I must acquaint your lordship," he said, "that this fellow Dunne is a very unwilling witness, and therefore with submission to your lordship we do humbly desire your lordship would please to examine him a little more strictly." Nothing could be more temperate, fair, and patient than the way in which Jeffreys conducted the examination of this witness, till the man, in spite of repeated warnings, not only persisted in concealing what he knew, but equivocated and lied so shamelessly that he seemed to be courting prosecution for perjury. The patience of Jeffreys and the justification for the comments which this witness's subsequent mendacity occasioned will be sufficiently evident from the following:

JEFFREYS (who had just detected him in a downright falsehood): How came you to be so impudent as to tell me such a lie?

DUNNE: I beg your pardon, my lord.

JEFFREYS: You beg my pardon! That is not because you told me a lie, but because I found you out in a lie. Come, sirrah, tell me the truth.

The cross-examination then goes on. Again the witness, after emphatically urged warnings, is detected in a second deliberate lie, and then Jeffreys breaks out:

Dost thou take the God of Heaven not to be a God of truth, and that He is not a witness of all thou sayest? Dost thou think because thou prevaricatest with the Court here thou canst do so with God above who knows thy thoughts? And it is infinite mercy that for those falsehoods of thine He does not immediately strike thee into hell.

Another witness is called, and by the evidence he gives Dunne's falsehoods are abundantly illustrated and proved. Dunne is recalled, and again Jeffreys warns him: "Remember, friend, thou art upon thy oath, and remember withal that it is not thy life but thy soul that is now in danger, therefore I require from thee a plain answer to a very plain question." The question, which was an important one, was one that Dunne could perfectly well answer, as Jeffreys knew. The rest of a long and elaborate examination is occupied with

Jeffreys' attempts to elicit that answer—attempts maddeningly baffled partly by the obstinate silence—one pause only is recorded as being for "half a quarter of an hour"—and partly by the equivocation and falsehoods of this most exasperating witness. The most patient judge who ever sat on the bench could scarcely have kept his temper ; and that Jeffreys, irritated beyond measure first by Dunne's obstinate silence and then by his deliberate lies, should occasionally have broken out as Macaulay describes, is surely no subject either for blame or surprise. The true reason for "the poor man," as Macaulay absurdly describes him, "being scared out of his senses," was given by Jeffreys who, on Dunne telling him that he was "so baulked that I do not know what I say myself," replied, "There's nobody baulks thee but thy own self; thou art asked questions that are as plain as anything in the world can be; it is only thy own depraved, naughty heart that baulks both thy honesty and understanding, if thou hast any ; it is thy studying how to prevaricate that puzzles and confounds thy intellect." What made Dunne's conduct the more detestable to Jeffreys was the fact that he belonged to a sect which made particular pretension to sanctity, and which was, moreover, mainly responsible for the Western Rebellion, so that when he observed previously, "I would have everybody that has the least tang of saintship observe the carriage of this fellow, and see how the saints can cant, and snivel, and lie, and forswear themselves, and do anything in the world but speak truth and do their duty to God and their governors"—we cannot but feel that he had good reason for what he said. Macaulay, by detaching Jeffreys' words from their context, and by suppressing the facts to which they referred and which had provoked them, succeeds in creating a totally false impression of the whole incident.

The moment we submit Jeffreys' conduct and actions to impartial scrutiny we see how glaringly they have been misrepresented. He has been accused, as every one knows, of the judicial murder of Lord William Russell and of Algernon Sidney, and much has been said about the ferocious inhumanity with which he treated them. But what are the facts ? In the case of Lord William Russell, so far from being his judicial murderer he was merely the assistant of the Attorney-General Sawyer and of the Solicitor-General Finch. The full report in the *State Trials* shows that he conducted his cross-examination with the greatest decency and fairness, treating the prisoner personally with a courtesy which contrasts strongly with the brusqueness and irritability occasionally displayed by Sawyer. In no word spoken by him is any animus displayed. He did

nothing more than his duty. If there was any miscarriage of justice, the blame, of course, rests wholly with Pemberton and the nine judges, his coadjutors. This is indeed an excellent illustration of the justice of the charges brought against Jeffreys. Because he was the least important of three counsel employed for the prosecution in a case in which one of the ablest and most upright judges of those times presided, with nine others to assist him, he is to be credited with the infamy of a judicial murder!

In the trial of Sidney, at which he presided as Chief Justice, his forbearance, courtesy, and patience are most striking. He began by warning Sidney, who conducted his own defence, against taking a step which might at once have been fatal. In the course of the trial he went out of his way to point out the advantage which would be gained by discrediting the statement of the principal witness for the prosecution, when Sidney was injuring himself by neglecting to do so. It was only when the prisoner's irrelevancies were intolerable that he checked them, and it was always with courtesy and even gentleness that he intervened. "In God's name," he said, "stay till to-morrow in things that are pertinent. . . . It does not become us to be impatient to hear you, but we ought to advertise you that you spend your time to no purpose and do yourself an injury." On Sidney persisting in his introduction of irrelevant matter—Jeffreys said kindly, "Take your own method, Mr. Sidney, but I say, if you are a man of low spirits and weak body, 'tis a duty incumbent upon the Court to exhort you not to spend your time upon things that are not material." Jeffreys' conduct, indeed, throughout the whole of this trial was unexceptionable, and the remarks he made to Sidney before he passed sentence on him express nothing more than the strict truth, while they also illustrate his characteristic tone during the whole of the proceedings.

> I am sure you had all the favour showed you that ever any prisoner had. The Court heard you with patience when you spoke and were proper; but if you begin to arraign the justice of the nation it concerns the justice of the nation to prevent you. We are bound by our consciences and our oaths to see right done to you, and though we are judges upon earth, we are accountable to the Judge of heaven and earth, and we act according to our consciences, though we don't act according to your opinion.*

Even Lingard admits "that the Chief Justice summed up the evidence in a tone of candour and moderation not often heard in these ages from the Bench."†

* See for these and for the whole trial, Hargrave, *State Trials*, vol. iii. pp. 794–823.

† *History of England*, vol. x. p. 40.

It was afterwards ruled that the evidence on which the accused was condemned was inadmissible, and that Jeffreys in instructing the jury that documentary evidence could be substituted for the testimony of a second witness, misdirected them. The answer to this is that the law was by no means clear on that point, and that Jeffreys' ruling was corroborated by his brother judges.* Even Hallam admits that what was asserted when the sentence was reversed at the Revolution, namely, that the handwriting was not proved, is incorrect; it was proved by evidence which would be held to be perfectly satisfactory in any of our courts now.† Of Sidney's guilt there can be no question, and Jeffreys knew it. He was a mischievous and dangerous incendiary, who richly deserved his fate. The reversal of his attainder at the accession of William and Mary was a mere party measure, and the grounds on which the attainder was reversed seem to Sir Fitzjames Stephens anything but satisfactory in law.‡ To his conduct of the trials of Hampden, Oates and Risewell, not the smallest exception can be taken. To Armstrong he undoubtedly behaved with great harshness, but under such provocation as would have tried even the temper of Somers. For depriving him of the benefit of the Act of Edward VI. and so sending him to execution without trial he cannot be held responsible, the error, if error it was, belongs solely to the Lord Keeper Guildford.

We come now to the most important event in Jeffreys' career. A more odious and repulsive duty was never entrusted to a public servant than James imposed on him when he sent him to try the western rebels. That the conduct of these people deserved and even necessitated exemplary punishment, every one must admit. It was with a population in the position of one under military execution that the Chief Justice had to deal, with men who had deliberately levied war against their Sovereign, and who had been taken red-handed in the most heinous crime of which subjects can be guilty. It is only just then to Jeffreys that distinction should be made where distinction never has been made. Sentimental considerations must be set aside. In administering the law, and in inflicting

* See Sir James Stephen's *History of Criminal Law*, vol. i. p. 411. "I do not think that the illegality of permitting the jury to treat the possession of the pamphlet as an overt act of treason was as clear as it would be at present."

† See Hallam's *Constitutional History*, vol. ii. p. 459; and Phillips's *Law of Evidence* there cited.

‡ *History of Criminal Law*, vol. i. pp. 411, 412.

its frightful penalties, he simply did what he had been commissioned to do, and what, considering his official position, he was bound to do. Did he, either carelessly, or in a spirit of wanton cruelty, involve the innocent with the guilty? Was he the brute and savage, the disgrace to manhood and to his office, which he is depicted as being in *The Bloody Assizes* in Lord Campbell's biography of him and in Macaulay's history. We honestly believe he was not. Our strong impression is, that when he said to Tutchin,* "My instructions were much more severe than the execution of them, and on my return I was snubbed at Court for being too merciful,"† and when on his deathbed he said to Dr. Scott, "I was not half bloody enough for him who sent me thither," he said no more than the simple truth. This is borne out by the author of *The Caveat against the Whigs*, who writes, "there was not about a fourth part executed of what was convicted," adding, "I cannot but think a little more hemp might have been usefully employed upon this occasion;" while Echard, who is no friend of Jeffreys, admits that the behaviour of the prisoners was such as tended more to exasperate the judges than to conciliate them. So far from expressing any remorse for having been guilty of the highest crime known to the law, or any intention of atoning for their defection by becoming loyal subjects, they regarded themselves as martyrs in a sacred cause, and gloried in what they had done. This Macaulay not only admits but emphasises. "It was in vain," he says, "that the ministers of the Established Church lectured them on the guilt of rebellion and on the importance of priestly absolution. Some of them composed hymns in the dungeon and chaunted them on the fatal sledge." It was not so much with individuals as with principles, not so much with fanatics as with fanaticism, that Jeffreys felt that he had to deal. He believed, and believed rightly, that the insurrection had been the work of the Dissenters, who were to him the incarnation of all that was then most mischievous and despicable in politics, morals and religion, their politics resolving themselves into rebellion and lawlessness, their morals and religion into hypocrisy and cant. And was he alone in this view of them? Were not half the Royalists in England of the same opinion? In what respect does the language he uses in describing them differ from that of South and Butler, of Dryden and Cleveland, of Cowley and Clarendon? It was as much his duty as the minister of the law to do all in his power to expose and discredit the propaganda which had been responsible for so much misery and

* Woolrych's *Memoirs of Jeffreys*, p. 252. † *Ibid.* p. 252.

destruction, as it was to inflict exemplary punishment on its promulgators and victims. When therefore he asked:

> Is it not strange and horrid that men who call themselves ministers of the Gospel shall come to be well-wishers of rebellion, and cry out that they are fighting the Lord's battle, when they are attempting to kill the Lord's anointed?

and observed,

> Do but consider how many families by this means are utterly ruined, how many innocent babes starved, how many widows left in a distressed desolate condition, destitute of all manner of provision and maintenance, and all this by the instigation of these villains that have preached and prayed them into it, gilding the bait that had drawn them into it by the specious pretence of religion and conscience;

or—with such a man as Dunne before him—furiously exclaim that "the saints have a certain charter for lying, they may lie, and cant, and deceive and rebel," and denounce the fellow as he does denounce him—is this at all surprising or at all unjustifiable?

How utterly untrustworthy are the accounts which have been given of these transactions may be judged by the discrepancy in the statements about the numbers of those who suffered death. Lord Lonsdale put them at 700; Burnet at 600; the list which the judges sent to the Treasury at 320; a document in the British Museum, dated April 1, 1686, at 102. Mr. Inderwick, who has gone carefully through the gaol books, of which he has published a transcript, is of opinion that the number of those who were either executed or transported did not exceed 150.* In fact, it is simply hopeless to obtain any approximation to certainty as to the proportion of those who actually suffered; the only certainty is that the numbers have been grossly and recklessly exaggerated. If we take Mr. Inderwick's figures, which are the nearest approach probably to correctness, 150, can it be said that out of some 1500 prisoners the proportion of those who paid the penalty for the most heinous of capital crimes is excessive? No one has ever doubted the humanity of Sir Thomas More or of Cardinal Pole; and yet both these eminently humane men authorised cruelties far more barbarous than those attributed to Jeffreys. Compared with the severities of Sussex in the Northern Rebellion of 1569, and those of Sir Arthur Kingston and his Special Commission among the Cornish insurgents in 1550, the punishment of the Western rebels was mercy itself. Cromwell, one of the most tender-hearted of men,

* *Sidelights on the Stuarts*, pp. 392, 393, and the Appendix.

inflicted on the rebels at Drogheda and Wexford punishments still more terrible. In each of these cases the justification lay in the principle of all legal punishment, *non quia peccatum est sed ne peccatur*.

That the Chief Justice should not on this occasion have been a model of patience or courtesy, either in his demeanour or in his language, is no matter for surprise. Whoever will turn to the trial of Lady Alice Lisle will see the sort of thing with which he had to contend. Jeffreys knew, as we have seen, that the evidence of the principal witness was a tissue of lies. He knew also that Lady Lisle, in asseverating that she was not aware that one of the men whom she had sheltered had been in Monmouth's army, was asserting what was untrue.* That such prisoners and such witnesses would have tried the patience of the mildest of modern judges may well be conceded; but when we remember that during these trials Jeffreys was suffering such tortures from an excruciating malady, the stone, that he could scarcely contain himself, we must surely make much allowance for his ebullitions of temper. From the point of view of modern sentiment, the execution of Lady Alice Lisle was horrible. But it is not from such a point of view that it must be considered. In those days no distinction was made between the penalties imposed on men and women in our criminal jurisdiction, especially in relation to political offences. She fared just as Elizabeth Barton had fared before her, and just as Elizabeth Gaunt fared after her. No blame attaches itself to Jeffreys; the blame belongs to his detestable master. Her trial was conducted with perfect fairness; she was treated with no brutality. The case against her was fully proved, and Jeffreys had no alternative but to pass on her the sentence of the law. He could have ordered her execution at once, but he twice deferred it, leaving ample time for an appeal to the Royal mercy. Sir James Stephen is no friend to Jeffreys, but he does him the justice to state that the conviction of Lady Alice Lisle involved no illegality.† Nor should it be forgotten that Jeffreys was accompanied by four other judges—Sir William Montague, Lord Chief Baron; Sir Creswell Levinz, Justice of the Queen's Bench; Sir Francis Wythens, Justice of the Common Pleas, and Sir Robert Wright, Baron of the Exchequer—with whom he consulted every day,

* See Hargrave's *State Trials*, vol. iii. pp. 108–122. When we remember that Jeffreys was exactly acquainted with the facts, who can be surprised at his furious irritability both with respect to this witness and with respect to Lady Alice Lisle, to whom, however, he is never brutal?

† See *History of Criminal Law*, vol. i. p. 413; vol. ii. p. 234.

and who must be held equally responsible for what occurred. The case for the Crown, too, was conducted by Pollexfen, a man of very high character, who became Attorney-General in 1688, and afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. The only trustworthy evidence we have of Jeffreys' conduct with regard to the rebels in the West is that afforded by the *State Trials*, and they certainly furnish no corroboration of the charges brought against him. It is incredible that Macaulay could have thought himself justified in basing his narrative on such testimony as he adduces in his notes. It is still more incredible that he should have allowed his imagination such licence as he frequently does. "The Chief Justice,"—so runs his rhetoric—"was all himself. His spirits rose higher and higher as the work went on. He laughed, shouted, jested and swore in such a way that many thought him drunk, from morning to night." This is pure fiction. The fact is that Jeffreys was, as his notes to Sunderland show, suffering agonies from the stone, and in extreme depression.*

It would be absurd to contend that Jeffreys was either a high-minded or a virtuous man. He was an ambitious adventurer, pursuing fortune in what was little better than a social and political cesspool. He must be judged relatively. He must be compared with those who jostled him at the Bar or sat beside him on the Bench, with such sots as Treby, Shaw and Saunders; with such libertines as Pemberton and Scroggs; with such "butcher-birds" as Wright, Howel and Jenner; with politicians like Sunderland and Shaftesbury; with ecclesiastics like Sprat, Cartwright and Parker. And he will not lose by the comparison. His career had the merit of consistency; he remained true to the principles which he professed both in religion and politics. His presidency of the Ecclesiastical Commission was quite compatible with his dying asseveration that it was in the interests, not for the overthrow, of the Established Church that he accepted the position. If he strained the law it would be difficult to prove that he ever perverted it. He was not corrupt. To suppose that there was anything derogatory in his selling pardons to the prisoners in the Western Rebellion is to confound the ethics and customs of our time with the ethics and customs of those days and totally to misapprehend the nature of such transactions. All it meant was that, in some cases, the Crown mercifully allowed a prisoner to commute his offence by the payment of a fine, and that the fine instead of going to the King was allowed to be the perquisite of some favoured subject. The most virtuous and honourable man among

* See Irving's *Life of Jeffreys*, p. 289.

Jeffreys' contemporaries would no more have scrupled to avail himself of this privilege than he would have scrupled to receive a grant from the Treasury. It was admitted even by his enemies that he discharged his duties as Chancellor with integrity. It would be no exaggeration to say that he was a better Chancellor and a better man than Lord Brougham. Certainly nothing so scandalous as Brougham's conduct in the case of Brookman *versus* Rothschild was ever imputed to him.

"Among all the invectives, satires and lampoons by which his memory is blackened, I find," says Lord Campbell, "little said against his decrees." Against one of his decrees only was an appeal brought. When his son was about to marry the heiress of the Earl of Pembroke, who had recently died, a suit was instituted to determine whether a large sum of money belonged to her or to her father's creditors. The Chancellor decided in her favour. His enemies at once seized on this as a proof of his dishonesty, and it fills a conspicuous place in the libels of that age. But what was the result? After the Revolution the appeal was again heard and the decree was first affirmed by the Commissioners of the Great Seal, and then by the House of Lords. Even Roger North, whose animus against him is so undisguisedly and glaringly conspicuous, admits: "When in temper and matters indifferent came before him he became his seat of justice better than any man I ever saw in his place." We have also this weighty testimony of Sir Joseph Jekyll in his favour, who told Onslow "That except where the Crown and his party were concerned, he was thought an able and upright judge." To the fact that he possessed some of the chief virtues of a Lord Chancellor, the expedition of business and intolerance of corruption, we have remarkable testimony in a letter to Dr. Grey, prebendary of Durham, written by his sister. Speaking of lawyers, she says, "They will use all delaye to gayne time and make delayes, but there is a Lord Chancellor will traunce them, and will have no favour for such lawyers as shall offend in this kind; and indeed he despatches causes here with as much brevity as he turned over the rebels in Somersetshire." And she goes on to describe how he served an old knight, a master in Chancery. "It was proved he had taken bribes of both sides which, being proved before the Lord Chancellor, he fell upon the Chancery man severely, called him an old knave, and bad him get out of the court like a stinking knave, that the court stunk of him." * Lord Campbell has himself commented on the salutary measures passed by Jeffreys as Chancellor, on the justice and

* Raine's *North Durham*, p. 335.

ability of many of his decisions, and has cited no instance of such conduct as would support the charges brought against him by his enemies ; and yet in the teeth of all this, amazes us by acquiescing in the verdict of Mr. Justice Foster that he was the very worst judge in civil cases as well as criminal, that ever disgraced Westminster Hall. It is a remarkable thing that almost all the charges brought against Jeffreys break down on investigation, when investigation is possible. We are told, for instance, that to discredit his rival Trevor, he perpetually reversed his decrees, We turn to Vernon's *Reports* and find, on the contrary, that many of them were confirmed by him. We are told that at the trial of Lady Alice Lisle the jury three times brought her in "Not guilty," and that Jeffreys extorted an adverse verdict by insisting on the reconsideration of their decision ; we turn to the *State Trials* and the calumny is at once refuted. We are told that he was "the judicial murderer" of Sir Thomas Armstrong ; Armstrong's judicial murderer, if murder it was, was the Lord Keeper Guildford. From pusillanimous vices he appears to have been absolutely free; he was neither a hypocrite nor untruthful ; neither a charlatan nor a sycophant. He had one virtue which he shared in common with many of the best of men, and which it is impossible not to respect, he was a good hater. Never were the meanest and most odious of the vices peculiar to our nation, hypocrisy and cant, especially in relation to religion and morals, so rampant as in his day, and never have they been exposed and denounced with more honest detestation. Nothing could be more admirable than the remark he made to a man who attempted to palliate his crime in joining Monmouth by pleading that he had sent important information to Faversham, the commander of the royal forces, "You deserve a double death, one for rebelling against your sovereign and the other for betraying your friends." He is always seen to advantage when he has one of "The Saints" in hand ; and though he was certainly not justified in his treatment of Baxter, with whose real character he was probably not acquainted, he had ample warrant both for the most intemperate of his tirades against the Dissenters, as well as for the epithets he ordinarily applied to them. That he had sincere respect for those whose virtues deserved it, and could be both just and magnanimous, is illustrated by an anecdote told in the life of Harte the poet. Harte's father, at the time of the bloody assizes, was vicar of St. Mary Magdalen, Taunton. Calling privately on Jeffreys, he protested against the severities for which Jeffreys was responsible. So far from showing any resent-

ment at his intrusion, the Chief Justice listened calmly aud attentively to all he had to say, courteously dismissed him, and a few months afterwards presented him to a prebendal stall in the Cathedral of Bristol. Woolrych also relates a story very greatly to his credit. At a contested election at Arundel, Jeffreys had furiously but most unreasonably protested against the rejection of a vote in favour of the Court candidate, and insisted on it being admitted. For this the Mayor, who knew perfectly well who he was, though he affected not to do so, ordered him to be removed. The order was obeyed, the vote was rejected, and the popular not the Court candidate was returned. That evening Jeffreys called on the Mayor, and expressed his admiration of his conduct, adding, "I cannot help revering one who so well knows and does so nobly execute the law; and though I myself was somewhat degraded thereby, you did but your duty." He then went on to say that he happened to have at his disposal a valuable piece of preferment, and should be happy to confer it on any relative of a man whom he so much respected. It was conferred on the Mayor's nephew.

The stories told about his hardness and brutality rest wholly on the authority of his enemies, and are very difficult to reconcile with what is certainly known, with his conduct, for instance, to Harte, to Phillip Henry, to the sister of the Hewlings, to Sir Robert Clayton, to Grace, Berry, and Hill in the Edmondbury Godfrey case, to all of whom he acted with the greatest forbearance and kindness. The legend of his brutal reply to the young lady who begged that the life of Christopher Battiscombe might be spared, was probably invented by Tutchin, has certainly no authority, and is wholly irreconcilable, as Mr. Irving remarks, with the only authentic testimony of his behaviour to suppliant women. Few judges would have submitted so patiently to the torrents of abuse showered on him in open court by Sir Thomas Armstrong's daughter, and fewer still perhaps would have been so magnanimous as to take the earliest opportunity of releasing her from custody. He has been accused of delighting in blood, because, in spite of Sunderland's intercession, he declined to respite the youth Jenkins. As Jenkins had notoriously allied himself with the rebels and fought in their ranks, it is difficult to see how Jeffreys could have done anything else without glaring injustice to others.

His first wife was a portionless girl, who, having done him a service, had been thrown on the world without a friend and without a penny. This story is so much to Jeffreys' credit

that it deserves to be told at length. Not long after he was called to the bar he had paid his addresses to the daughter of a wealthy merchant without the knowledge of her parents, and in this he had been assisted by the young lady's companion, who was a poor relation, and the daughter of a country clergyman. But the affair becoming known to the father the daughter was secured, and the companion was dismissed and cast adrift on the world. In this unhappy plight she called on Jeffreys to inform him of what had happened. He thanked her for what she had done for him, and pitying the misfortunes she had incurred for his sake, asked her to be his wife. She consented, and they were shortly afterwards married.

Nothing could be more humane and considerate than his conduct on the trials of the Popish conspirators, and than the remarks with which he passed sentence on Langhorn, on Sidney, and on Lady Alice Lisle. Of the ferocity and violence attributed to him in his treatment of prisoners there are no traces in the *State Trials* except in the case of Baxter. But this trial, it should be remembered, is not published from any authentic report, it is simply a "short account" of an *ex-parte* version furnished after the fall of Jeffreys by the enemies of the judge. We have thus no means of knowing how far it is correct in its statements, and to what extent the particulars have been exaggerated. Jeffreys had certainly one sign of a good-natured man—his sense of humour was keener than his sense of resentment. "If your conscience," he once rudely said to a man with a huge beard, "is as big as your beard, you must be a rogue." "Nay," retorted the fellow, referring to Jeffreys' smooth face, "if your lordship goes about measuring consciences by beards you have none at all." Jeffreys answered with a hearty laugh. Nor was he less amused at a witness who, on being addressed by him, "You fellow in the leathern doublet, pray what have you for swearing?" replied with a significant look, "If you have no more for lying than I have for swearing you might wear a leathern doublet as well as I."

In conclusion, it may be safely said that the truth about Jeffreys lies where truth generally does lie, midway between extremes—that if he was not a D'Aguessau or a Somers, he was very far indeed from being the monster which contemporary prejudice, and those who have placed too much credence in it, have painted. He has been made the scapegoat of a bad age and of men much worse than himself, having had the misfortune during his life to serve the most odious of English Kings in the most odious of all duties, and after his death to

be associated with a cause and a party which have never yet found a competent historian with any pretension to impartiality, but whose fortunes and characteristics have, on the contrary, been themes for all the resources of rhetorical misrepresentation and perversion to display themselves. To Macaulay the traditions about him—and we have seen the sources of them—must indeed have been welcome. As an artist and dramatist he needed a villain, as a party politician a foil to the virtues of the Whigs. With what consummate skill he made the materials at his disposal serve his double purpose we have already seen. If Macaulay aspired to rival Tacitus, Campbell appears to have contented himself with the humbler ambition of rivalling Suetonius, and Jeffreys fares in his hands pretty much as Tiberius in private life fares in the hands of the Roman anecdotist. That men's vices and frailties, real or apocryphal, especially when retailed by their enemies, or deduced from irresponsible gossip, are, as a rule, more entertaining than any account of their virtues can be, was known to no man better than to the writer of the *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*.

Nor, with one exception, has Jeffreys been more fortunate in his other biographers. *The Life*, by Woolrych, published in 1827, was the first attempt to produce something more than a party pamphlet; but Woolrych relied too much on prejudiced tradition and loose *ana*, from which, with little discrimination, he took most of his material. Campbell followed Woolrych, and Foss and Roscoe followed Campbell. The article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is an able and lucid summary of the facts of Jeffreys' life and career, the estimate formed of him taking its ply from Campbell and Macaulay. Much higher praise belongs to the biography by Mr. H. B. Irving, in which, for the first time, some justice is done to Jeffreys' better qualities. Indeed, this excellent work, in exploding many of the misrepresentations of Campbell and Macaulay, and contributing as the result of independent research new material for the elucidation of Jeffreys' career, may be said to have superseded all the biographies preceding it: it is incomparably the best which has appeared. If I have not referred to it more frequently than I have done it is because my own inquiries, some years before the book appeared, happened to take the same direction, and furnished me independently with materials for forming an estimate of this much maligned man far more favourable than Mr. Irving's.

J. CHURTON COLLINS.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STEAM TURBINE

THE steam turbine, in its modern form at any rate, and as an invention of commercial use, has a history of scarcely more than twenty years. Brief as is that term of years, it has sufficed for the development of this latest type of steam engine out of the original ten-horse-power turbine—built in the year 1884 and now standing in the South Kensington Museum—into the perfected machines more than a thousand times as powerful, at present in course of manufacture for the mammoth Cunarders, the *Lusitania* and *Mauritania*. These latest highly-developed engines, it should be observed, are coupled to screw-propellers running at less than 200 revolutions per minute, whereas the embyro 1884 turbine was coupled to a dynamo running at 18,000 revolutions per minute, but the essential features of the one and the other are the same. Hardly a better instance of evolution in applied mechanics could be named.

A steam turbine comprises a steam-driven shaft fitted with rows of blades or vanes rotating within a motionless case or cylinder, which is fitted with similar rows of blades that alternate with the moving rows on the shaft. The steam on entering the case is directed at a suitable angle by the first row of cylinder-blades on to the first row of shaft-blades, and causes the shaft to revolve ; on emerging, the steam strikes another row of cylinder-blades and is once more directed at the proper angle on to the next row of shaft-blades. This process is repeated again and again for each pair of fixed and moving blade-rows. The steam, in giving up its energy, expands and becomes of lower and lower pressure ; to meet this, and with the view of obtaining from the steam approximately the same amount of work at each pair of blade-rows from beginning to end of the turbine, both shaft and cylinder are made proportionately greater in diameter, and the blades are made larger and longer and are more and more widely spaced.

The above explanation seems not out of place owing to

confusion as to the nature of a turbine in the minds of a certain number of people.

Directly coupled to the turbine-shaft comes the screw-propeller or the electrical dynamo, or whatever machinery the turbine may be driving. By "direct coupling" we mean that no form of gearing is interposed, and therefore the propeller-shaft (or other machinery) revolves at the same speed as the turbine driving it.

Now if the turbine is to be efficient, that is to say if the consumption of steam is to be reduced to a minimum, the speed of the blades must be high. When the shaft is small and the horse-power low, this necessitates a high number of revolutions for the turbine shaft, but in proportion as the diameters and horse-powers increase, the shaft-speed falls, while the blade-speed remains as high as is required. For example, in the case of the 1884 and 1906 turbines mentioned above, whilst the number of revolutions has fallen, as has been said, from 18,000 to under 200 per minute, the shaft-diameter has increased from three inches to more than 14 feet, and there is no great difference in the blade-speeds. It may be of interest to note that the largest blades in the original turbine are barely one quarter of an inch in height, whereas in the turbines for the Cunarders some blades are over a foot in height.

Short as the period has been which has sufficed for the growth of the turbine, to many it may well have seemed shorter still. For, except to those actually engaged in engineering pursuits, the work done and the progress made during the first ten years of the brief period named—from 1884 to 1906—could be known to but few. The results of each step, however important, were not of a nature to come before the travelling public, least of all perhaps before those "who go down to the sea in ships." And yet, for reasons now to be explained, it is the application of the steam turbine to seafaring steamers, and not its earlier application to purposes on land, that has caught the attention of the general public. More about its history, its growth and progress might certainly have been a matter of common knowledge had its application to locomotive engines been found practicable.

For nearly fifteen years from 1884, apart from the experimental *Turbinia*, turbines were used almost entirely for the purpose of driving dynamos for electric lighting. Then, with the spread of electricity for tramways, railways and power of all kinds, the turbine came more and more to the fore as a prime mover, until at the present day it is the type of engine more used than any other for generating electricity for electric railways and for other large power-schemes, not only in this country, but also on the

Continent and in America. At this moment probably nearly two million horse-power of land turbines of the Parsons type are either at work or being built to order.

The development on land, it so happened, was helped through vibration troubles which were caused in dwelling-houses and other buildings in the neighbourhood of central electric lighting stations by the use of reciprocating engines driving dynamos of even moderately high powers. On the other hand, progress might have been more rapid perhaps had not the Board of Trade regulations—now happily altered—been somewhat hampering with regard to the general use of electrical current. There seemed at one time indeed to be every likelihood that, both on the Continent and in the United States of America, the development of the turbine would outstrip its progress in the country of its birth. The more general use of electricity and the consequently favourable conditions in those countries made this seem probable, in spite of the fact that the turbine made its start in foreign countries later by nearly fifteen years than in the United Kingdom. This expectation, however, has been falsified, and at the present moment land turbines up to units of 10,000 horse-power are in process of manufacture not only by licensees in foreign parts but in this country as well, and designs for even larger sizes have been prepared. For sizes of this magnitude reciprocating steam engines, it is acknowledged, are impracticable. Accordingly, gas-engines, or internal combustion engines of one form or other, if these can be considerably improved, would seem at present the only possible alternative.

The extent to which land turbines are being used in this country may best be demonstrated by the fact that these machines are running in the power-stations of some forty corporations, and of twenty-five public electric-supply companies, as well as in half a dozen separate Government departments, not to speak of a very large number of collieries, factories, and public institutions. One of the largest power-stations in England, now approaching completion, contains two units of 3000 horse-power each and six units of 6000 horse-power each. The results of working already ascertained show an exceedingly high economy and efficiency.

It is not within the scope of a short article to do more than mention the use of turbines directly coupled to fans for ventilating collieries, or for producing forced or induced draught for boilers, or to centrifugal and screw pumps for low and high lifts, or again to blowers for supplying air under pressure for blast furnaces and other purposes.

We can now turn to the application of the turbine to marine work, which though it came second in point of development soon became first in point of importance; or rather, since the horse-power on sea is as yet only one-third of the horse-power on land, to speak precisely we ought to say its application to ships gives the greatest promise of future development.

Nine summers ago the small *Turbinia*, 100 feet in length, made its first appearance in public at the Naval Review held at Spithead in celebration of the Jubilee. The speed it attained of 34 knots—great for so small a boat—served at once to attract attention, and comments of a favourable nature were many, though doubts were expressed by some of those present as to whether the turbine system would prove to be applicable with commercial advantage to other and larger types of vessels. Time has already settled the point in question without dispute in favour of the turbine.

Perhaps more than anything else the very noticeable absence of vibration on shipboard of the turbine-fitted vessels as compared with steamers driven by reciprocating engines, served to make the turbine steamer popular at once with the general travelling public. This was an advantage easily appreciated; at the same time it was by no means the sole advantage of this class of steamer. On the contrary it was accompanied by others of a material character such as a very marked increase of economy in coal and oil, as well as an increase in speed, thanks to the smaller displacement of the turbine steamer due to the lighter weights of machinery carried and to the increased efficiency. Nor is that all, a smaller engine-room staff is required; and further, owing to the saving of valuable overhead space previously occupied by the reciprocating engine, which could not be placed so low down in the ship as a turbine engine, a larger number of passengers can be carried in proportion to the size of vessel.

Altogether the progress made has been rapid beyond expectation.

It will be readily understood that the preliminary experiments, which lasted many years, had necessarily to be carried out on a small scale and with small-sized turbines, when the advantages compared with the reciprocating engine are also necessarily smallest; the larger the power of the machinery and the higher the speed of the vessel, the more favourable is the comparison as regards economy and the other advantages spoken of above. Down to the present time, we believe, in no class of steamer where the turbine has been tried—and there are few types of vessel now left where the turbine has not been tried—has the result been unfavourable.

At the present moment trials have yet to be made of a turbine-propelled battleship, but these will take place in the very near future.

Another, and that a very large class of ships, to which the turbine has hitherto not been applied, is the "tramp" steamer of comparatively slow speed and small power. Further reference to this class will be made later. Of almost all other types, turbine-steamers are now in constant service. Turbine-steamers as private yachts may be said to hold the palm for speed and comfort. Turbine-propelled torpedo-boat destroyers stand unrivalled; no vessel afloat in point of speed can touch them.

There is happily no need to rely on paper theories as to the advantages accruing from the use of turbines. The verdict given by actual experiments is decisive. Witness the comparative trials—detail for detail—which have been made by the Admiralty in respect of the turbine-cruiser *Amethyst* and of three sister-ships driven by reciprocating engines. The dimensions of all these vessels were the same. The highest speed attained by the fastest of the sister vessels was 22.1 knots; that of the *Amethyst* 23.63 knots, an increase of speed, be it noted, which corresponds to an excess of power of about 35 per cent., while at the same time the steam used in obtaining the speed of 23.63 knots was actually 5 per cent. less than that required by the sister vessel at the speed of 22.1 knots. It is true that for speeds lower than 14 knots the reciprocrating engines were at the time of the trials found to be the more economical in steam consumption; but certain additions made on the *Amethyst* since that date restrict, it is believed, the advantage in the way of steam economy to speeds only below 11 or 12 knots.

The *Naval Annual* for this year, recently published, states that it is understood that the Admiralty has decided that practically all vessels being built for the Royal Navy, and not yet engined, are to be fitted with Parsons' steam turbines as a means of propulsion. If the report be true, it tends to prove that the Admiralty are entirely satisfied with the turbine vessels at present in commission.

Results just as favourable to the turbine have also been shown in comparative trials of the Midland Railway Company's steamers in which the turbine steamer *Londonderry* was tested with two sister vessels similar in lines and boiler power, with the sole difference that the latter were propelled by reciprocating engines. On a six-hour trial the *Londonderry* had a speed of one knot per hour in excess of the other vessels working under exactly similar conditions. Apart from the gain in speed, there

is also a great saving in the total weight of the propelling machinery—engines, shafting and boilers. In the case before us (that of the *Londonderry*), this saving amounts to about 150 tons. A slightly larger turbine steamer, the *Manxman*, owned by the same company, with somewhat greater boiler power, averaged a speed of twenty-three knots on her trial.

The turbine steamer *Viking*, belonging to the Isle of Man Steam Packet Company, has also been doing remarkably well. At the end of the tourist season last summer, after the engines had been opened up and examined by the Board of Trade Surveyor, one of the company's officials stated that he did not know of any vessel being overhauled at so small an expense. This steamer recommenced service a few weeks ago ; and in the first six round voyages, from Liverpool to the Isle of Man and back, the actual average speed maintained was twenty-three and three-quarter knots. The speed contracted for was only twenty-two knots. It is thought that this makes the *Viking* the fastest passenger steamer in service along these coasts.

The Clyde steamers *King Edward* and *Queen Alexandra* were the earliest passenger steamers to be fitted with turbines. In this connection, a word must be said as to the enterprise of Captain John Williamson, and of the firm of William Denny and Bros., of Dumbarton, to whose initiative the *King Edward* was due ; for had it not been for their faith in the turbine system, its adoption for passenger vessels and in the merchant navy might have been considerably delayed. Captain Williamson, as shipowner, and Messrs. Denny and Bros., as shipbuilders, risked both money and reputation in the step they took ; it was therefore particularly satisfactory to see the immediate measure of success they attained. As a consequence Messrs. Denny have already turned out no fewer than sixteen vessels fitted with turbines.

The *King Edward* has now been on service for five seasons and the *Queen Alexandra* for four. Figures, carefully collected since the day each went on service, as to the amount of coal used, number of passengers carried and of miles run, in comparison with two paddle steamers on the same route, are exceedingly satisfactory to believers in the turbine. The *King Edward* up to the beginning of this year had run 86,335 miles at an average speed of 18½ knots and had used 10,196 tons of coal, and this large mileage had been run with complete immunity from repairs to the main propelling machinery.

The *Queen* perhaps is the best known turbine steamer, having run on the Dover-Calais route since July 1903. One of this steamer's characteristics is that she makes the voyage in bad

weather or good in the same time to a few minutes. This ability to maintain smooth-water speed to a remarkable extent in a heavy sea is common to all turbine steamers. One explanation of the fact is that there is no tendency for the propellers to "race" as on ordinary steamers, a defect necessitating a slower engine-speed in bad weather. With vessels of the ordinary type, as soon as pitching or rolling occurs to any great extent and the screw propellers come out of the water in the trough of the waves, the engines are inclined to work at a higher speed than designed for, and this increase of speed of the heavy reciprocating parts leads to excessive shaking felt throughout the whole ship. Now, with turbine vessels the propellers are very much lower in the water and therefore less liable to emerge; indeed, no case is known of their having emerged enough to allow the turbines to accelerate. Judging from a typical winter fortnight, it has been found that the *Queen* takes, on an average, fourteen minutes less every day than the quickest of her sister vessels on the short passage from pierhead to pierhead. The trials we speak of took place prior to the acquisition of the other two newer turbine boats, the *Onward* and *Invicta*, for the same service, which are regarded as proving an even greater success than the *Queen*.

On the Newhaven and Dieppe route the same tale is told in comparative runs of two sister vessels. The steamer *Brighton*, fitted with turbines, has shown at full speed a saving of more than 10 per cent. in coal over a sister vessel fitted with triple expansion engines of the most improved type.

The manœuvring and reversing qualities of these cross-channel steamers, which have frequently very awkward harbours to negotiate, have turned out to be excellent; they start and stop quickly and promptly; for example, the *Queen*, steaming at 19 knots, has been brought to rest in 67 seconds, and in little more than twice her own length.

Equally satisfactory has been the experience with liners. The Allen Line deserve the credit of being the pioneer firm to adopt the turbine system for their large vessels for the Canadian service, in the *Virginian* and *Victorian* of 15,000 tons displacement. The ordinary mean speed attained on regular service across the Atlantic is rather more than 17 knots, and the highest average speed from land to land has been slightly under 18 knots.

In the Pacific also a turbine liner, the *Maheno*, has now begun to run between New Zealand and Canada. The *Loongana*, moreover, now trading between Australia and New Zealand, must be mentioned among turbine steamers, if only because on her

maiden voyage she went out to Australia in thirty and a half days at an average speed of 15 knots, as fast an average speed as that attained by the vessels carrying the weekly mails.

As marking a further step in the progress of the turbine, after the Allen liners must be named the Cunarder turbine-propelled *Carmania*, which is of 30,000 tons displacement. She, like other turbine steamers, has some advantage in speed over a sister vessel (in this case the *Caronia*), launched a few weeks earlier, and propelled by quadruple expansion engines, and, altogether, the results in service of this vessel have, it is understood, been extremely satisfactory. The *Carmania*, however, is herself overshadowed by the two giant steamships already mentioned, one of which—the *Lusitania*—has been launched.

These two vessels are being built, one on the Clyde and one on the Tyne, and are expected to be put into commission for regular service between Liverpool and New York some time next year; they are very similar, though not identical, in lines and dimensions, and will be by far the largest and fastest ocean steamers ever constructed. Their length is nearly 800 feet, and their breadth approaches 90 feet; the displacement will be, at least, 40,000 tons, and they are expected to have an average service speed of 24½ to 25 knots even in moderately rough weather. To maintain this speed the power of the main turbines will be far greater than has ever been installed on board any ship. The very great horse-power developed will be distributed over four turbines, each of which will drive its own propeller-shaft; in addition, there will be two turbines for the purpose of reversing.

Each vessel will have six decks, and a feature of the complete arrangements on board is that there will be electrically-worked lifts for facilitating communication between the decks. The electricity required for these, and for other labour-saving appliances, as well as for the lighting of the vessels throughout, will be generated by four turbine-driven dynamos. That is to say, each steamer will have a central electric supply station of a capacity only exceeded at the present day by some eighty towns in Great Britain, and corresponding to that of a town, say, as big as Ipswich, with a population of about 70,000.

Even on turbine-propelled ships there is, as a rule, still a certain amount of vibration perceptible, owing to the employment of small reciprocating engines for the air-pumps, and the other auxiliary machinery of all kinds necessary on board ships; it seems possible, as on these new Cunarders, to obviate this discomfort by the introduction, in place of such engines, of motor-driven pumps, &c., and turbine-driven dynamos for generating

the necessary electricity. In this way hardly a tremor should be felt, and in the saloons it should be almost impossible to detect whether the steamer's engines are at work or not.

There seems no reason to doubt that in these very large and fast liners unprecedented and phenomenal results as regards speed, economy of coal and cost of upkeep and engine-room staff will be attained, advantages which should be accompanied by a great increase of comfort to all on board.

It only remains to remind the reader that in most of the comparative trials referred to, the turbine is being compared with modern triple and, in some cases, quadruple expansion engines which embody all up-to-date improvements, that is to say with the reciprocating engine at its very highest stage of development.

According to Lloyd's Register at the beginning of this year, out of sixty-eight vessels with a speed exceeding 20 knots, no fewer than ten use Parsons turbines in place of reciprocating engines. It must further be remembered that whereas so lately as five years ago there was only one passenger steamer afloat fitted with turbines, this summer nearly all regular passenger services between Great Britain and Ireland and Great Britain and the Continent are performed by turbine steamers.

We may venture to predict that the turbine will ere long entirely supersede the reciprocating engine in vessels of 16 knots sea-speed and upwards and over 5000 indicated horse-power. This forecast might probably be extended to include vessels of speeds as low as 13 knots if of 20,000 tons and upwards, possibly to include vessels even lower in the scale, in course of time. As things actually stand at present, within the limits of what we may call the above-named most suitable field is comprised something like one-fifth of the total steam tonnage of the world; nor must it be forgotten that whilst the speed of the ships tends to increase and the turbine to improve, so also will the class of vessels suitable for the turbine become larger in like proportion.

To take a final survey of results achieved and of future prospects. Up to the present time this country has led the way in the development of the turbine, but it can hardly be doubted that just as engineers abroad have not been slow to see the advantages gained by the use of turbines on land for driving electric dynamos, so they will quickly turn to practical account the advantages to be derived from the employment of the same on ships. Such competition may be healthy; it is at any rate inevitable and must be faced. Meanwhile the fact that twenty-five of the greatest and most famous British ship-building and engineering firms have already taken up the manufacture for ships of turbines of the Parsons type is doubly reassuring.

As a matter of national economy the employment of so large a number of excellent workmen and of so much capital as that required for the development of this latest engineering invention, must necessarily prove of valuable service not only to all directly concerned, but to the country and to the community at large. As a matter of scientific interest it testifies to the high regard in which the turbine is already held by engineers; it justifies a belief in its further development and the expectation of yet greater possibilities. On what lines, it may be asked, can these future developments be looked for? It must be admitted, to begin with, that in a slow vessel, say of 10 knots, it does not at present seem possible to replace reciprocating engines entirely by the turbine, for the following reason.

The small number of revolutions at which the propellers are driven would mean, for reasons already stated, a turbine of so large a diameter as to make the cost and weight prohibitive; while, on the other hand, it is impossible to increase materially the propeller revolutions by using a smaller propeller without greatly impairing the efficiency.

Difficult as the problem looks, at the present time, of attempting to replace the reciprocating engine altogether by turbines, yet there is apparently a gap that the turbine can even now most usefully fill. The engines of the ordinary coasting cargo tramp cannot, or at any rate do not, make full use of the steam raised by their boilers. After the steam has passed through the engines, a large amount of unused energy is wasted on its passage into the condenser. Three-quarters of this wasted energy can be utilised by a turbine—an additional auxiliary turbine we will call it—to be driven simply and solely by this steam, technically known as "exhaust steam." In this way, the steam, by help of the auxiliary turbine, instead of being wasted, will give additional power to drive the steamer, amounting to something like 20 per cent., at the extra cost of not a single pound of coal.

Enough, perhaps, has been said to show the useful part the turbine is playing on the sea both in the mercantile and naval marine. That this development is chiefly being carried out on English ships, and thanks to the initiative of English engineers, must needs be a cause of congratulation to the whole community; since it must be through the intrinsic virtue of her sons our country, as we fondly trust, is destined to retain her high prerogative as "Mistress of the Seas."

CHARLES A. PARSONS.
HENRY G. DAKYNS, JUN.

SENSATIONALISM AND SCIENCE

A LITTLE more than a year ago the London *Daily Chronicle* and the *Manchester Guardian* informed the world in flaring headlines that the problem of the origin of life had been solved. Mr. Burke, "a young Cambridge scientist, working in the Cavendish Laboratory," had read the riddle which had hitherto been the despair of the wisest men of science, and had discovered a process of "spontaneous generation" whereby organisms might be produced from inanimate matter. The account of his researches may have struck some readers as undesirably scanty, but when they noted the frequent recurrence of the magic word "radium" their scepticism vanished. To the powers of radium there is no limit, at least in the popular imagination.

For a few days sensational articles about the new "discoveries" occupied prominent places in the journals mentioned, and spread thence to other newspapers both in England and abroad. The illustrated papers were full of portraits of Mr. Burke and his "radiobes," and the comic papers cracked interminable jokes on the subject. Mr. Burke attained suddenly to a notoriety which, in this country, is usually reserved for prominent athletes : for a few days he must have been the most-talked-of man.

It was not long before the newspaper commotion subsided, but Mr. Burke did not fade from the public mind like a nine-days wonder. The *Fortnightly Review* published an article by the illustrious discoverer : local scientific societies vied with each other for the honour of receiving a lecture from him. In the autumn it was announced that a book would be published containing a full account of the momentous revelation. *The Origin of Life* was puffed as if it were a popular novel : the advertisements proclaimed that scientific men were awaiting it with eager expectation : and at last it appeared. A perusal of the great work appears to have damped the enthusiasm of some of Mr. Burke's most enthusiastic admirers; but still nearly all the

London dailies reviewed it favourably, and of the weeklies only* the *Speaker* and the *Saturday Review*, agreeing for once, treated it with real severity.

But meanwhile one class of reader had remained unmoved throughout the agitation. Physicists, chemists, physiologists and zoologists pursued their researches as before, apparently unaware that the foundations of their sciences had been shattered: they read their *Daily Chronicle*, smiled and went their way. Nor did the scientific journals show any sign of the upheaval except for the briefest mention of the bare facts.

Unfortunately the general public do not read scientific journals, and it has become clear that mere silence will never lead to a correct appreciation of Mr. Burke's work on the part of the laity. Some positive steps must be taken, and accordingly the invitation of the Editor of the *National Review* to give an account of the views entertained by competent judges, was exceedingly welcome. I wish that some eminent man of science and one whose name is widely known could have been persuaded to undertake the invidious duty, but the lot has fallen on me, and it is impossible to refuse. But perhaps it is well that I should explain that the main criticisms expressed in the following pages would be endorsed by all the scientific men of my acquaintance, and that I have no reason to believe that any considerable body of those who have an adequate knowledge of biology or physics would dissent from them.

It has been suggested that the frequent mention of Mr. Burke's connection with the University of Cambridge and the Cavendish Laboratory, is calculated to mislead the general public. It is desirable, therefore, that that connection should be explained briefly.

Mr. Burke was not educated at Cambridge; he had been at two universities before he came thither as an advanced student. No teacher of science in the university so far as I am aware considers that his experiments have the smallest bearing on the problems of biology or accepts any responsibility for his views. It is misleading to say, in connection with his recent publications, that Mr. Burke is "of the Cavendish Laboratory." He did some physical research there a few years ago: during his investigations of the biological properties of his radiobes he merely stored in the room in which he had done his former work some of the test-tubes in which those bodies were "incubating." It is still more misleading to suggest that he is "of the Cavendish Laboratory" in the sense that he is in

* Since writing this I find that the *Academy* has also treated the book as it deserves.

accordance with the school of physicists who work there. Prof. J. J. Thomson, the Cavendish professor, endeavoured to prevent Mr. Burke from publishing his conclusions without further investigation: the latter has few if any disciples among the students.

Perhaps the attitude of the scientific world towards Mr. Burke is best evidenced by some remarks recently made by that gentleman himself.* In attempting to discredit a review of his book, he cited the "favourable notices" which he had received from such distinguished authorities as Prof. Arthur Thomson† of Aberdeen, and Prof. Schuster of Manchester. Now neither of these gentlemen expressed any belief in the value of his experiments, or any agreement with his theory of life. The former says: "We cannot bring ourselves to believe that little bodies which are soluble in water will throw any light on the nature or the origin of life," and "We do not feel that the author's interpretation is the least convincing." The latter remarks: "It is indeed probable that the book would have been better if all reference to these experiments had been omitted." That Mr. Burke should regard it as high praise that a well-informed reviewer should not express the slightest agreement with his opinions is, to put it mildly, somewhat surprising.

But it is clear that Mr. Burke cannot be dismissed with an argument so unscientific and so unconvincing as an appeal to authority. He has been subjected to some denunciation, but to no detailed criticisms. In the following pages an examination of his work is attempted which shall be at once thorough and comprehensible to "the plain man." Since the Origin of Life is primarily a question of biology, and since I do not pretend to any deep knowledge of that branch of science, I have sought the assistance of my friend Mr. Keith Lucas, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, for whose help I am most sincerely grateful. The reader has the authority of a trained physiologist that my biological statements are accurate and my criticisms well founded.

Let us start with a brief abstract of Mr. Burke's letter to *Nature* (May 27, 1905), in which he first described his experiments. Grains of a salt of radium were placed on the surface

* *Cambridge Review*, May 17, 1906.

† Professor Arthur Thomson's reviews are to be found in the *Tribune* of April 19, and *Nature* of May 3; the latter is only signed by his initials. The quotations are from the former, but expressions almost identical may be found in the latter. Professor Schuster's review is in the *Manchester Guardian* of April 27.

of some sterilised bouillon : * a curious growth appeared which, when examined under a microscope, was seen to be made up of structures resembling somewhat the cells of a living organism : they consisted of a dark nucleus surrounded by a globular mass similar in appearance to protoplasm. These cells were seen to grow to a certain size and subsequently to disintegrate : in a few cases the cell divided into two new cells. The cells were soluble in water : they disappeared on heating, reappearing when the medium was cooled. After these facts had been detailed, Herbert Spencer's definition of life as "a continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations" was quoted, and on the strength of it it was suggested that the radiobes (for so the structures were termed) possessed vitality.

I do not propose to take Mr. Burke's arguments and confute them severally. Such a process would be inordinately long and attended by considerable difficulty. Mr. Burke has his own ideas of grammar and lucidity: his writings are so incoherent and contain so much that is entirely irrelevant that it would be no easy matter to disentangle his reasoning and discuss it at leisure. Moreover, a great part of the confutation would necessarily consist in drawing attention to inconsistencies, logical fallacies, and attempts at proving his contention by juggling with definitions. Such criticism would be liable to appear to the reader mere dialectics. My present purpose is to show not merely that Mr. Burke has not proved that his radiobes have any bearing on biological problems, but also that he could not possibly have done so.

We may begin by inquiring what is meant by "life."

The reason why a successful investigation into the origin of life would excite interest among biologists is to be found in the connection of the problem with evolutionary theory. Biologists believe that all the organisms which they recognise as living have developed by reproduction and variation from a few very simple forms. It is probable that an extension of their present knowledge, which they have every right to expect in the comparatively near future, will enable them to trace a great part of the whole process of development. But of the origin of the simplest forms they know nothing. There is every reason to assume that at some period of the earth's history only inorganic forms existed on this planet : we cannot

* Sterilised bouillon is the medium used by bacteriologists for cultivating the organisms they study ; it is a jelly made out of gelatin and beef-tea. It is sterilised by heating in order to ensure the absence of any extraneous organisms before the experiments are begun.

at present manufacture organisms from inorganic matter, or make any plausible suggestion as to how such a transformation could have occurred in the past. One of the fundamental problems of biology is to discover a means by which the change from the inorganic to the organic might be effected; that is, to find a form which, on the one hand, is derived entirely from inorganic matter, and on the other, can be connected by evolution with known organisms.

If we are told that this problem has been solved we must make sure of two things: (*a*) That the structure proposed has originated entirely from inorganic matter, and (*b*) that it possesses the qualities which are necessary in order that it should be connected by evolutionary development with any known organism. These qualities are clearly those which are possessed in common by all the structures to which the evolutionary theory is held to apply and are possessed by no structure to which it does not apply.

There is only one such quality. All organisms contain one or more members of the large class of chemical compounds which are called proteids. Little is known of the chemical constitution of these bodies except that they all consist of five elements—Carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen and sulphur—in various proportions: but any member of the class can be recognised by certain colour-tests which are applicable to bodies as small as, or smaller than, Mr. Burke's radiobes. No substance composed of proteid is known which is not, or has not been, some part of a living organism.

In order, then, that a structure should be considered a term of the evolutionary series it is necessary that it should consist of proteid. But in order that it should be considered actually alive, more is required: for the bodies of organisms which have lived and are dead contain proteid. To define "living" some process must be found that is common to all living proteid, and excluded from all dead proteid. Such a process is readily found in metabolism.

The living cells * of all organisms perform two closely connected functions—Assimilation and Dissimilation. In assimilation the cell absorbs from its surroundings material of a chemical nature different from its own and converts it into the

* All organisms consist of one or more cells, each of which may be considered as alive on its own account. A cell in general consists of two parts: (1) nuclear matter, and (2) protoplasm. Some cells, such as the red corpuscles in the blood of mammals, have no nuclear matter. The nuclear matter is usually collected together into a nucleus surrounded by lighter protoplasm, but in some simple forms the nuclear matter is diffused through the protoplasm.

proteid of which it is itself composed. In so doing it may increase in bulk, or grow. At the same time dissimilation proceeds and the proteid is broken up into much simpler bodies which are ejected from the cell. The combination of assimilation and dissimilation is known as metabolism.

But such processes are not confined to organisms. In the manufacture of sulphuric acid a compound called nitro-sulphonic acid undergoes changes very similar to those which have been described. Metabolism alone will not connect a structure with the evolutionary series : it must be proteid metabolism.

There are other important functions, common to a large number of living cells, which may be mentioned here. One of these is self-reproduction, in which the cell splits up into two independent cells, each of which leads a separate life. In those cells that are possessed of a definite nucleus the nuclear matter plays an important part in the reproduction. It is the nuclear matter which always shows the first signs of division, and splits completely before the protoplasm separates. If a portion of a cell which contains no nuclear matter is cut off from the rest, it shows no power of self-reproduction.

Another such function is that mentioned in Spencer's definition of life, and known to physiologists as "irritability." It is not confined to organisms, and is admirably illustrated by many pieces of mechanism. A petrol engine or a compensated chronometer shows the most complete "adjustment of internal relations to external relations."

Several other functions of the same kind might be mentioned, but these will suffice for my purpose.

It should be clear by this time that there is no reason to believe that Mr. Burke's radiobes are connected with the evolutionary series. Putting aside for the moment the question of metabolism, it may be pointed out that he has not attempted to produce any proof that radiobes are composed of proteid ; there is, indeed, a strong presumption that they are not so composed, for no proteid organism is known which is wholly soluble in water. Mr. Burke has not solved the problem of the origin of life in the sense of having produced from inanimate matter bodies which might develop into known organisms.

But the "origin of life" is a vague phrase, and Mr. Burke may not mean to assert that he has solved this problem. As he redefines "life" in his book, it is probable that he means something quite different, though it should be noted that he does not stick to his own definition. After seeing the newspaper accounts, it was surprising to read in his book (p. 87), "We cannot claim that in all our observations there is the slightest evidence of anything

that is the same as natural life." But there are many passages which appear to contradict this statement directly; here are two of the most striking: "There is, as we think, strong evidence that they (radiobes) may be some elementary bacilli" (p. 17), and "The conclusion that some more elementary form of life than bacteria does exist is the least startling result that can be inferred from all these facts" (p. 19). However, we will accept Mr. Burke's definite disclaimer; but then it is pertinent to ask why he has not told us this before. It is regrettable that he should have published his results in a newspaper and not before a scientific society; it is still more regrettable that he should have allowed an "interview" with him to pass uncorrected containing the misleading assertion that he had produced spontaneous generation, and hailing him as the author of a discovery which he had never made.

However this may be, let us accept Mr. Burke's statement, and proceed to ask what he has discovered. The author's answer may be found on p. 110, where he says that radiobes are "possibly the missing link between the animate and the inanimate," and on p. 187, where he suggests that "they may help . . . to fill some of the gaps between living and dead matter."

Now what is meant by "intermediate" and "filling the gaps"? If it is implied that radiobes are an early term in the evolutionary series, intermediate between inanimate matter and the more or less highly developed forms we see to-day, the criticism which has been given already may be applied again. Radiobes do not consist of proteid and organisms do. It is absurd to point to a non-proteid structure which possesses some, or all, of the other properties of organisms, and suggest that it might have developed into a proteid organism. Such "development" would be reconstruction, and would raise again every difficulty of the problem.

But I do not think that Mr. Burke means as much as this: he merely claims that he has made a good model of life, which possesses many of the properties of living organisms. Now this is not a claim which, like those that have concerned us previously, can be dismissed with a simple shrug of the shoulders. But if it is less extravagant than other claims, it is also less important. It is clear that it affords no excuse for journalistic rhodomontades, and, unless further evidence is adduced, it may prove interesting to men of science only as providing a curious analogy. Mr. Burke does not say that he has created life, but only that he has made something more or less like life; to take an analogy, he does not say that he has made a man, but only

that he has made a very perfect mechanical doll. He attempts to give biological importance to his radiobes, firstly, by basing on their existence a theory of life, which I shall notice later, and, secondly, by suggesting that they are one of "nature's failures"—unsuccessful efforts made before true life appeared on this planet. But there is no evidence for such a suggestion; on the contrary, there is conclusive evidence against it. An essential feature of the manufacture of radiobes is the use of bouillon which is derived from the dead bodies of very complex organisms. For all that Mr. Burke has told us it would be impossible to get radiobes before you have got beef. This criticism is absolutely fatal to any argument which would prove that radiobes throw any light on the origin of oxen, or of any of the simpler organisms which preceded them. I am surprised that it has not already disposed of the newspaper nonsense about "spontaneous generation," seeing that it has already been put forward in a trenchant form by no less an authority than *Punch*.*

But since it is desirable that more should be said about Mr. Burke's methods, I will go on to show that even this more modest claim cannot be admitted, and that he has not even produced a model which will perform some of the more important functions of living bodies.

It is a minor point, but it should be noted that Mr. Burke's experiments have made no advance in our knowledge in this direction. He confesses this himself unconsciously, for he is always insisting that his radiobes are not the same as the similar structures previously described by Dubois, Leduc, Quincke, Lehmann and the rest. Of course these other structures are not the same as radiobes; but they show to the same extent as radiobes the properties which he regards as simulating those of organisms: and that is all that is important for our purpose.

The chief "vital functions" which Mr. Burke considers to be performed by his radiobes are metabolism and reproduction. Let us take the former first.

We have seen that the metabolism which is characteristic of organisms consists in an absorption of dissimilar chemical compounds into the cell, their transformation into proteid, and subsequent rejection in yet a third state of chemical composition. But Mr. Burke uses the word "metabolism" or the paraphrase "building up and breaking down" in a far wider sense. He first attributes metabolism to cyanogen, a compound of carbon and nitrogen, which is able to add to its molecule other molecules of identical constitution and to reject

* July 12, 1905.

them subsequently. One of the characteristics of true metabolism is here, the building up and breaking down of the molecule ; the other, a change in chemical composition, is absent. From cyanogen he proceeds to radium, and finds metabolism here also. Now in radium it is the atoms of which the molecule is composed and not the molecule * itself, which are concerned in his metabolic changes ; moreover there is no assimilation but only dissimilation ; the atom breaks down, but is not built up. Lastly he finds metabolism in his radiobes. Here the system which is built up and broken down is neither atom nor molecule, but a body which can be seen in a microscope ; and there is no evidence whatever that there is change of chemical constitution involved in the process. Metabolism in the sense in which the word is used by Mr. Burke covers any process of integration and disintegration ; it would include the building up of a wall out of bricks and its destruction by an earthquake. He has produced no proof whatever that radiobes show metabolism in the sense in which the word is applied to organisms.

Similarly with reproduction. All that Mr. Burke has described is a splitting of the radiobe in two. This process alone is not characteristic of organisms ; it is illustrated as well by a drop of mercury which falls on the floor. When a cell reproduces itself, the nucleus of that cell plays a fundamental part in the change ; but, though radiobes possess "nuclei," Mr. Burke has not shown that this portion of them takes any part whatever in the division. Radiobes do not reproduce themselves like organisms.

I must confess to considerable scepticism as to whether these radiobes really divide at all. It is clear that if a cell was not carefully watched during the actual process of division, the observer might be deceived by the overlapping in the field of his microscope of the images of two cells lying nearly in the same line of sight. It is natural to turn to plates given in Mr. Burke's book (pp. 108–113) to see whether this possibility is excluded. It will be found that there is no evidence one way or the other, but an examination of the figures reveals a curious circumstance. It would naturally be expected that, when many radiobes were dividing, the lines joining the centres of the pairs of radiobes would be equally distributed at all possible angles. But it is at once obvious in every plate that the lines of division of the several pairs are all very nearly parallel. Since the plates appear to

* Space forbids me to explain further this distinction, which is absolutely fundamental to the physicist.

be drawings and not photographs, this extraordinary coincidence raises a doubt as to whether the author has drawn exactly what he observed. I would not accuse Mr. Burke of careless drawing—a proceeding utterly incompatible with the accuracy to be observed by every scientific man in describing his experiments. But he ought to explain this curious feature of his plates, or he should publish photographs verifying his observations.

It is unnecessary to show that the attribution of other vital functions to radiobes is unwarranted. Mr. Burke relies chiefly on metabolism and reproduction, and I have criticised his arguments sufficiently. I hope that it has been proved clearly that even the modest claim that the radiobes are good models of living organisms must be pronounced inadmissible.

Mr. Burke's theory of life—with which *The Origin of Life* is chiefly concerned — consists of two parts: (1) That metabolism is the essential part of life, and (2) that the radioactivity of the nucleus controls metabolism.

On the first point enough has been said already. If the author uses the term metabolism in the same sense as in other parts of the work, metabolism is no more characteristic of life than of a house built of brick; if he uses it in its accepted sense, radiobes do not show metabolism. and the second part of the theory falls to the ground.

The second part is founded on the existence of radiobes. The metabolism of radiobes, says the author, is controlled by the radioactivity of the nucleus; this is evidence that the metabolism of organisms is controlled by the same influence. But no proof has been adduced that radioactivity has got anything to do with radiobes. They are produced by a highly radioactive substance, radium, it is true; but it is quite likely that it is not the radioactivity, but some other property of radium which is the controlling factor. It is this incomplete induction which is the most damning feature of Mr. Burke's work in the eyes of scientific men. He has jumped to his conclusion without attempting to eliminate possible alternatives; he should have tried whether it were possible to produce radiobes by the use of any material other than radium. But since the publication of his first "discoveries" he has announced no further work whatever. He has continued lecturing and writing about radiobes at a time when his first care should have been to elucidate their nature more completely.

However, Mr. Rudge has carried out the experiments which Mr. Burke should have made long ago. He has shown that he can produce structures which have all the properties which Mr. Burke believes to be vital—growth and decay, and so on—

just as well by the use of barium, strontium and lead as by the use of radium. The common feature of all these elements is that they form a sulphate insoluble in water. Mr. Rudge has produced convincing evidence that the "cells," or radiobes, are nothing but little bubbles of water produced in the gelatin by the action of the salts upon it, and that the nucleus is merely the grain of insoluble sulphate that is one of the products of the process.

But if radioactivity is not concerned at all in the production of radiobes—and even if there were no evidence against this view, there would be none for it—the whole of Mr. Burke's theory of life collapses. Further criticism is, therefore, unnecessary. I need not draw attention to his remarkable statements about a nucleus consisting of "a polymeric form of carbon" "possessing the radioactive properties of the more unstable elements": or to the wild speculations and unjustifiable hypotheses which are characteristic of the whole of that part of Mr. Burke's book in which he attempts to describe the way in which radioactivity controls metabolism. The author does not seem to understand the true nature of the cell he is explaining; he confuses the nucleolus (which he calls "nucleosus") with the centrosome, and uses such meaningless expressions as "the karyokinesis of the centrosome."

Enough has been said to show that Mr. Burke's radiobes have but little scientific interest, and that the excitement over them stirred up by the newspapers is wholly unjustifiable. This is by no means the first instance in which the daily press have caused grave harm by the deplorable attitude which it adopts towards scientific research. Not only are false views disseminated as to the aims and methods of science, but by the rewards of fame and honour offered to sensational "discoveries," and withheld from patient and laborious investigation students may be seduced from the strait and narrow path which alone can lead to results of lasting value; men of science are not generally actuated by a desire of newspaper notoriety, but the temptation is none the less harmful. Journalists would be wise to leave scientific matters alone, but if they are determined to deal with them, common prudence might suggest that it is advisable to entrust this portion of their business to those who, having acquired experience by their own investigations, are competent to judge the work of others. If the latest "sensation" does anything towards improving the attitude of the Press towards Research, Mr. Burke may be recognised ultimately as one of the benefactors of science.

NORMAN R. CAMPBELL.

ON THE RIVER TEST

EVERY one that fishes and spends much time upon the banks of streams knows that rivers are individuals, and that each has a character of its own. This notion sometimes possesses one so firmly, that it is impossible to discard entirely the pagan idea that every river has its presiding deity watching and guiding its course from the spring to the mouth. We attribute personality to the river, we imbue it with character as though it were a live thing, and watch the various changes that come over it from hour to hour. This paganism, which does not actually lead us to worship the gods and goddesses of rivers, produces a feeling of fondness for individual streams that only anglers and such-like people can appreciate. Those that are passionately fond of fishing will remember how their fondness for different rivers varies with their humour. At one time they will long to be by a placid chalk-stream with wet meadows full of marsh-marigolds ; later they want the scent of heather and the gurgle of brisker water tainted with peat and making brown pools among rocks. It may be that one day the clear Derbyshire Dove is their ideal ; or that on another they fancy that real happiness can only be found by those smaller foaming streams that descend from Exmoor. There is a season for everything ; and so it happens that one may, at times, gratify the desire for fishing with only an artificial canal and a stock of American rainbow trout.

Taking our humour generally, and the trout streams of Great Britain from end to end, the most engaging sport, the most interesting fishing, and the greatest variety of happiness can probably be got on the Hampshire chalk-streams. Of these the queen of rivers is the Test. It is of the Test that I shall sing the praises, and first of that upper part which is above the town of Whitchurch where the great road from London to Exeter is crossed by another which runs north and south from Newbury to Winchester. The valley of the Test is here closed in by cultivated chalk hills and filled by rich green meadows and fine wooded parks. The lovely river is only

an infant, but, like other chalk-streams, the Test seems to come from the earth with a good flow, and, a few miles from the springs, is already a fair sized river without receiving help from any tributaries. If it be true that rivers like persons have their characters, the first quality of the Test is its clearness. The water of the Test is appallingly clear. When the angler first comes to the bank and sees the transparent clearness of the river he is veritably appalled. It seems almost desecration to wade in such limpid water and stir up the bottom. It seems, also, impossible to approach a trout within casting distance. It seems, lastly, hopeless to succeed in offering a fly to a feeding fish with such semblance of reality as will induce him to make the fatal mistake. Yet it can be done, and, to tell the truth, on this part of the Test, unless the fish are terrified by over-fishing, it is not so very difficult to do. There is to me always something astounding about the rise of a trout to a floating artificial fly when the water is clear enough to see the whole affair. You can hardly believe your senses when, perhaps after prolonged failures, you find the hook fastened and the line tight. I well remember the first trout that I killed on the Test. There are some enthusiasts who pretend that it is better to fish the Test and catch nothing than to make up a good basket on less noble streams. I cannot wholly agree with this view, at least if fish are rising; for, then, failure to catch them can only be attributed to ignominious want of skill. But when there is no hatch of fly, and the trout are concealed in the weeds or lying like stones at the bottom, the philosophic fisherman can always find plenty of enjoyment on the Test.

The day I have in mind was about the middle of June, when the valley of the Test had reached the perfection of beauty. The flowers in the meadows had not yet gone to seed, and the yellow flags in the ditches, and the white buck-bean in the marshy places, were still in full luxuriance. The air was alive with skylarks. A snipe flew round, rising, and falling, and bleating. The little sedge-warblers were vociferous, and I particularly remember the harsh monotonous chirp of the reed-bunting, which always calls up thoughts of chalk-streams. I need only mention the cuckoos' and the turtle-doves' notes, and the whirring noise which the swifts made with their wings as they dashed along and wheeled about over the water. The sun shone, but there was a light easterly wind and the whole morning slipped by without result. The water was appallingly clear, but I knew what to expect and was less dismayed by this than by the absence of flies on the water. The fish were

not feeding, and though I cast over a number of scattered rises no trout was to be tempted a second time. The Test at this point is so thickly fringed with reeds and sedges and marsh soil that one must wade into the river. Wading has some advantages and some discomforts. You disturb the water, but you can approach a trout from the rear with surprising success. Your waders are a burden, but you can cast up stream without fearing the drag of the line on the little floating fly, which in a swift limpid stream like the Test is absolutely fatal to fishing. Standing in mid-stream, with the cool water running up to his knees, the angler can see every stone at the bottom, every detail of the green waving weeds and every particle or fly that comes down floating on the surface. He scans the pure stream above him and watches the runs between the green and white islands of water-buttercup on which wagtails love to disport themselves. He does not neglect the smoother, slower stream at the edge, where coarse sedges on the bank overhang the margin of the river. Then there appears the ring of a rising trout, or better still a clear view of a black nose poked up to suck down the short-lived dun. There is no mayfly on the upper Test, but there are few days when there is not a hatch of some species of the smaller *Ephemeridæ*, which the trout take with steadier but less reckless greed. It was past two o'clock when the hatch of fly and the rise of fish came after a fruitless morning. Clouds gathered over the sun about noon, the wind dropped, and a heavy shower descended whilst I sat in the thatched and wattled fishing-hut expectant and watching the heavens. When the rain ceased everything was quiet and dripping for a time, until the excitement among the *Hirundines* and other small birds showed that the fly was up. The trout soon followed and rose steadily all over the river at the substantial dark olive duns that floated down. It was not long before I had put the landing net under a brace of trout; they were not large, but big enough to kill without feeling shame and remorse afterwards. The trout in this upper stretch of the Test are not generally large, and a fish of one pound is considered a good one. They are, on the other hand, numerous and generally in good condition, well shapen and beautifully spotted with distinct round marks of red and black. Prettier fish are seldom seen, and, since the river in this part has never been re-stocked with new blood, they may be taken as the type of the real wild original Test trout. I caught and killed a third before the afternoon was over, which proved larger than the others and was a very handsome fish

of 1 lb. 2 ozs. Those who do not lay out the bag and dwell upon the beauties of the fish they have caught lose a very great pleasure at the end of the day.

On the Test, though there may be few days from May to September when one ought not to get a brace of trout during some favourable moment, there is, of course, much waiting and watching. But a swift river is a cheerful thing in itself, and a fisherman ought not to find the company dull. There are times of comparative dulness of course, when cold weather does not induce a rise of fly, or gusty winds blow the line round the rod and make it a task to keep the artificial fly on the water. But generally the Test is a placid companion, as a dry-fly river ought to be. Pedants have written so much about the sacred cult of the dry fly that those who believe them think that trout on the Test are not to be caught except by that method. There is undoubtedly advantage on most days in fishing with a fly which floats as well as one can make it. But the real secret is to cast accurately and upstream. Whether the fly is perfectly cocked and dry is a detail if the fish be feeding. On a day that fish rose steadily at floating duns I have cast half a dozen times over a Test trout without putting the fish down. At each cast, as every one knows, the little olive quill becomes more bedraggled and sodden, and you cannot spare the time to dry it thoroughly. At the sixth cast the trout takes it, as it passes over, water-logged and sinking. Whether that trout was caught with a dry fly is a question which pedants may decide. For my part, I think it was fairly caught, and I know the water of the Test is appallingly clear.

II

The river Test, a mere stripling at Overton or Whitchurch, has grown by the time it reaches Leckford and Stockbridge into a mature chalk-stream. The fair, green, watery valley is broad and flat, and the chalk hills are low and gently rounded. Down the middle flows the main stream deep, clear, and smooth with many natural attendant arms and by-streams as well as artificial cuts and carriers. The vegetation of the marshy water-meadows has become coarser than it was higher up, and there are broad stretches where reeds and sedges, flags and rough grass are fit for nothing but litter when they have been mowed. But no one can wander at midsummer through these water-meadows in the Test valley without being struck by the rich luxuriance of this natural growth that extends in places to either side of the valley. There is charm about it that is indescribable, partly, perhaps, associated with thoughts of

fishing. It was midsummer day (June 24) when I was there last, and what is called the pomp of midsummer was at its height. The elder and the dogrose flowering in the hedges ; the tall grasses and nettles dusty by the roadside ; in the water meadows a blaze of yellow iris, and ragged robin, dwarf orchids and tall white-headed umbellifers : these are the signs of summer at its height. To come down from London by the early train on a stuffy day and find oneself before noon on the banks of the Test between Leckford and Stockbridge is to be transported, as it were, into an angler's paradise.

Just as the Test has become by this time a mature and noble chalk-stream, so, too, the trout are also noble and mature. There had been a long period of drought and hot weather, and the water was clear and sparkling in the sun. But there was a good hatch of duns, and at frequent intervals I marked the rings of rising fish dimpling the smooth surface of the river, which ran serenely between banks richly fringed with water plants. A narrow pathway had been mowed along the edge, but the judicious scythe of the keeper had left sufficient covert. There is nothing like fishing for chalk-stream trout to make a man learn the art of taking covert. When you have scared fish after fish by your bold appearance near the brink, you learn how little is needed to screen you from the quick eye of a trout. A tuft of thick rushes is enough if you drop upon one knee. I have even relied with success upon the proverbial broken reed, and found it sufficient to cut me off from the trout's vision. Best of all screens is the giant water-dock. It is an education in itself to try how close you can get behind a rising trout and watch its actions. They say that nothing teaches recruits so effectually the art of taking covert as being under fire and seeing the man next them shot through the head. The soldier's school is more severe than the angler's, but the lesson is the same ; that is to say, that a very insignificant shelter properly taken advantage of will help you to put your fly fearlessly over a trout. It is, indeed, astonishing what one can do when a trout's suspicions are not aroused, and how utterly futile are the best casts when the trout is conscious of your presence. What fish should we not kill if we could only be invisible ?

On the midsummer day that I have mentioned, when the trout were rising and the southerly wind blew up-stream, I walked down with the keeper to learn the limits of the fishing, and gather what I could about the haunts of big fish, the times when they rose, and the fly that was favoured. I am one of those that are distracted by a keeper attending me

when I fish, so at the bottom of the water I bade him good-day, and he left. My garrulous informant told me much that I stored up in my mind, and in particular showed me a side-stream where big trout congregated. The name of this piece of the water was Cow Drain ; but, in spite of its name and smallness compared with the main river, it would have been vastly admired as a trout stream anywhere except in the Test valley. There was a bridge with a hatch, and below it a deep round pool of crystal-clear water, in which, as in a glass aquarium, one could see several enormous trout. Taking a cautious peep, we watched them against the white chalk bottom heading against the slow swirling stream, and occasionally jostling each other for places. I must confess that I was sceptical when the keeper told me that he had seen these big fellows rise at flies, for two or more of them must have been three-pounders. However, I determined to return there and stalk these trout from the down-stream direction, where a fine growth of my favourite water-dock would be handy. I could not, of course, see the fish, but the knowledge of their existence made me creep and throw a red quill, with well-oiled hackles, as carefully as I could. The little fly came down cocked and dancing lightly on the swirling surface. I do not think I had tried more than three casts before the fly was taken with a cheerful smack of the lips. I pulled my trout hurriedly down stream, and killed him with as little delay as possible, though it seemed an eternity before I could get him safely netted. The fish weighed 2 lb. 4 ozs., so I felt that, whatever happened, this day on the Test would not be a day of failure. There is nothing which gives one such confidence in this sort of fishing as a good fish in the bag.

In the main stream trout were rising off and on all day, and I killed a brace there with a red quill. They weighed a pound and three-quarters and a pound and a half respectively. In the evening I paid another visit to Cow Drain, and there with the same fly, and a repetition of the same manœuvres, got another fish, which weighed 2 lbs. 10 ozs. Thus, with two brace averaging over 2 lbs., I rested well content, though I could not tear myself from the riverside until it was half-past nine, and the mutterings of an approaching storm became louder. The heat of the day had prepared one for this, and made the beads of sweat roll down one's face with the mere effort of drying a fly. The storm broke later, and an awful deluge descended.

Next morning the crystal clearness of the Test was gone. The river had risen a foot in the night and came down all next day tea-coloured and full of weeds, roots, leaves, and other

wreckage of the storm. It is rare on a chalk-stream to see a spate like this, and though the fishing was spoilt, the day was interesting watching the doings of the trout; and the weather, too, was fine and the air clean after the storm. The little red quill of yesterday seemed absurd, so I changed to a large red-hackled loch-fly, and oiled it thoroughly so that it floated well. When fish rose, as one occasionally did, though they seemed to be gasping for clean water rather than feeding, there was no difficulty in approaching within a rod's length. The stoutest gut passed over them unnoticed. It was a strange change from the Test clear to the Test thick. When a fish showed its whereabouts, I hastened to offer my fly. Four fish in the course of the day took it, but two got away by dint of fierce struggles and must have been lightly hooked. Cow Drain produced nothing; and, indeed, the water must have been much too muddy there for fish to see a fly.

It was not until 8.30 in the evening, when the sun had set with a glow and the silvery crescent moon had risen above the chalk hills, that there was any real rise of trout. Suddenly, all over the surface, which shone in the light like polished coppery metal, the noses of fish came up, and the rings and splashes of the rises spread. A silver sedge was the fly that first suggested itself; but it was not for some time, when I had fairly tried it over numbers of fish, that I discovered that they were not rising at the sedge-flies. The red quill was substituted, and proved once more successful; they took the little fly freely, even when one was but a few feet off casting over the fringe of sedges. It was easy fishing, until the darkness became thicker and one could not see the fly or tell whether the rise was at or near it. But even when one can catch no more, and does not want to catch more fish, there is something in a chalk-stream like the Test which detains one on the bank until it is dark. The soft flow of the water, the whispering rustle of the reeds, the splash of big trout, the cries of dabchicks or coots, and the cool fragrance of the evening air keep one from going home. At last, thoroughly tired, and, sometimes, sweating or bent with several brace of heavy trout to be carried home, you tear yourself away to a ten o'clock dinner in a thatched rustic fishing-cottage with a flowery garden facing the street of the Hampshire village.

III

It was the last day of September and the season on the Test had, practically, come to an end, at least on the lower stretches of the river. Above Whitchurch, however, there is some water where good trout may still be captured in proper condition

up to October 1. On that date weed-cutting was to begin. It is not every day that one can fish on the Test, and I was determined to make the most of the privilege. I stood on the bank gazing upon the matchless trout-stream and put up my rod with leisurely deliberation. I had a presentiment that I should do nothing. Could I persuade myself that a blank day on the Test was greater pleasure than a good one on some inferior river ?

This water, that I had to myself to-day, had not been fished for the last three weeks. It was divided into two unequal portions by a mill ; the upper and longer stretch was broad, deep, still-flowing, weedy, and by no means clear. Below the mill was some rough water, and then a couple of hundred yards of swift-flowing stream, running with glassy transparency over a chalk and gravel bottom, with cottage gardens on the one bank and a neglected orchard on the other. The miller recommended the lower water. Here, among the undulating water-weeds, the forms of the fish with balanced fins stood out with awful clearness. Was I as visible to them ? I could have no doubt about the question from the promptness with which they vanished when I approached the bank. There were some small light-coloured duns upon the water ; but so far I had not seen a fish rise. I selected a little olive quill from my box and retired to a distance, whence I commanded a view of the water and prepared to wait patiently for a rise. The weather was so perfect, the stream so charming, and the exciting anticipation of sport so great, that I almost felt ready to assert that a blank day on the Test was better than a good one on any other river. The night had been rainy, but pleasing autumn sunshine, with pure blue sky and big white clouds, driven forward by a light south wind, followed upon it. The busy humming of the mill, the cries of children playing in the road above, the metallic music of the blacksmith's forge, and the other noises of the village mingled with the feeble song of robins in the orchard and the harsh twittering of swallows on the roofs collecting for the autumn flight. I had not waited many minutes before a fish rose in the middle of the stream. I saw his nose break the surface, and marked the place of the spreading circles before the stream carried them away. I made a tolerable cast, and the fly being perfectly dry, floated prettily over him. Twice he must have seen the fly yet did not come at it. The third time he saw only too well and vanished with the swiftness of an arrow. Some yards above was another fish large and dark, balanced a little below the surface with expectant demeanour and hungry-looking mouth. I judged him by his attitude to be a feeding

fish ; and, though he had not risen, thought him worth the trouble of a trial. I whisked the fly until it was dry and cast over him. He did not wait. The flash of the gut in the sunshine was enough ; and the instant the fly alighted on the water the trout was gone into the nearest weed-bed. I then retired from the bank and changed the cast for a finer one.

The agreeable melancholy of the English autumn had descended on the valley of the Test. Wet nights and heavy gales had begun to turn and to loosen the leaves. Showers of them fell at frequent intervals and were carried down floating upon the crystal stream. Once from the bridge I saw a trout rise at a dead leaf and then go down again to his expectant position. Water-rats chased each other with unusual boldness across the stream, and their fearless behaviour somehow added to the angler's feeling that the end of the season had come. My next fish rose against the red brick wall of the cottage garden, which came down to the water's edge. This was the first fish that I saw rise more than once, and he gave me hopes that he had come to the surface for a meal. I tried him and then waited until he rose again ; then tried him again, casting with all the care that I was capable of. It was in vain, and I began to despair of doing anything, and changed the fly to a much smaller, and later to a larger size. The little grey *Ephemeridæ* still occasionally floated down, and I could not match them better, nor suppose that the trout were taking anything else. Every now and then a fish rose in a desultory way, and I hastened each time to try for him. It became rather wearisome, and I thought to rest by walking to the limits of the upper water, above the mill which I have mentioned. Here the hand of autumn on the water was even more visible than below. The great growth of water-weeds had almost dammed the river's flow and reduced the even stream to stagnation. The water was broken by broad weed-beds and a rank vegetation which thrust itself above the surface. Here and there dead and yellow leaves from the elms had been collected into sodden heaps across the stream. It did not seem hopeful ; but there were some bits of clear open water, and, if one could but find a rising fish in one of these spots, it would be time enough to think of landing him when he was hooked. A number of moorhens made off with needless despatch, beating the water and raising a disturbance when I came suddenly round a bend. Right at the top limit of the water I found what I sought. A fish rose in an open bit. I approached the sedge-fringed bank and got out a line which seemed sufficient to reach him. The first cast fell short, but the second dropped in the right spot. I

rose him, and that was all. He was not to be persuaded to come again. The sun was now setting, and the surface of the Test sparkled with the last rays. I hurried down the path which the anglers' feet had worn across the water meadow. Below the mill a fish or two rose occasionally. I will not dwell upon the increasing anxiety with which I offered my fly to each in turn, nor the successive disappointments. Soon after six it was too dark to see, and the fish also gave up rising. I took my rod to pieces and slipped each one into the partitions of the bag, reflecting that, incomparable as the Test was as a trout stream, a blank day as the last of the season was a sad conclusion.

Next day I visited the water and found weed-cutting going on. The scythe had mown great masses of tangled weed, which floated down, and the plough had raked the gravel bottom. The limpid stream was a thick and muddy river. A few trout were breaking the surface now and again, and seemed to be gasping in protest at the disturbance. I wondered whether it would have been possible to console or delude them with a fly.

The season of fishing being over, I determined to end with a pilgrimage to the tomb of the famous angler who lies at rest in Winchester Cathedral. It was twelve miles by a road which leads from the valley of the Test into the valley of the Itchen. I had long wished to see the grave of Izaak Walton, who died at Winchester at the age of ninety, nor was I wrong in anticipating pleasure from the expedition. In the grassy close, surrounded by the red brick houses, stands the great Cathedral, more venerable perhaps than any other in the country. The old fisherman lies buried under a black stone in one of the small side chapels. "Here resteth the body of Mr. Isaac Walton who dyed 15 Dec., 1683." That is the inscription upon the tomb, and below it follow some verses that are said to have been composed by his brother-in-law, Thomas Ken, Canon of Winchester :

Alas ! Hee's gone before,
Gone to return noe more ;
Our panting Breasts aspire
After their aged Sire,
Whose well spent life did last
For ninety yeares and past ;
But now he hath begun
That which will ne'ere be done.
Crowned with eternal blisse,
We wish our souls with his.

This plain tablet upon the floor being held an insufficient

monument to one of Walton's merit and fame, some fishermen and admirers have set about raising a sum of money for a stained glass window. The verger told me that much was still wanted. I went back with him into the chapel, where a party of Americans were inspecting the tomb with intelligent curiosity. The fame of Izaak Walton has crossed the Atlantic. They knew about his classic book. Perhaps they, too, were fishermen. I believe there are such people in America. I waited for their remarks, and was prepared to share their emotion. The verger gave them a few biographical details, ending his tale with the same words as he had used to me: "And his death followed upon a cold which he caught when fishing." The Americans thought that it served him right for fishing in December when he was over ninety. I came to the conclusion that these people were not born to be anglers.

ALFRED CAVENDISH.

AMERICAN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, *Aug.* 13, 1906

MR. ROOSEVELT has for so long engrossed public attention to the exclusion of every one else that it seems rather curious he should be occupying second place at the present time. Mr. Bryan is now the man of the hour. Supreme interest centres in his return at the end of the month and the great reception to be given him by the faithful when he lands. That reception really marks the opening of the presidential campaign of 1908, for it means that Mr. Bryan has consented again to be a candidate, and that the various groups in the Party, the left as well as the centre, all groups, in fact, except the extreme left, have accepted his candidature and pledged him their support. What Mr. Bryan will say in response to the address that will be presented to him on landing will be read as carefully as if it was an election address, which, in fact, it is, although it may not be so termed. But Mr. Bryan has put himself in the position of being compelled to make a declaration and cannot seek shelter behind platitudes. Royalty, a president, a premier are permitted at times to say much and gracefully say nothing, but Mr. Bryan, returning from a triumphant tour of the world, what time sentiment in his party has crystallised on him as the candidate, may permit himself no luxury of platitudes. If he does he will be accused of cowardice and being a "dodger," of being afraid to give honest expression to his beliefs. Men have accused Mr. Bryan of many things, but cowardice never. It is much more the nature of the man to say exactly what he believes, to commit a blazing indiscretion, even at the risk of alienating support, than to shade a meaning or palter with conviction. A fine trait of character but dangerous, especially in America, where an epigram reduced to the popular level has been known to make or break a politician.

It is the fashion to pretend that the great are not to be envied ; that the price they pay for greatness is so heavy that the little would not pay it if they could, which is in keeping

with the hyprocrisy of the age that makes us sneer at millionaires and hypocritically assert that they know none of the joys of life of the lowly poor. There is probably no American who would not make enormous sacrifices to be elected president, but there are undoubtedly many Americans who would decline the presidency if as a condition they were virtually accepted as the candidate two years in advance of nomination. A man in that position is in the most trying position it is possible to conceive. He is a sovereign without a crown or a court ; a peer without privileges ; a spiritual leader fighting with secular weapons. Even in a democracy there is a code to govern its elect, and the President may very properly decline to do without adverse criticism what refusal by another would arouse hostility. The candidate for the presidency has no privileges, rather he is robbed of all his rights. He can say nothing that will not be assailed, do nothing that will not be questioned. He loses the privacy of the inconspicuous without gaining the protection that surrounds the great. The candidate lives in an X-ray machine, and never for an instant does the machine cease to throw off its radiographs ; to photograph him bodily and mentally ; to think his thoughts before he frames them ; to dissect them and show that the cells of his brain imprison what he would conceal. Two years of this life would kill the ordinary man or drive him to seek solace in an insane asylum.

With characteristic directness Mr. Bryan has said that if any one thinks that he is going "to look pretty" for the next two years he is greatly mistaken. He no more than Mr. Roosevelt could "look pretty" for two years. It is not in the nature of either. Both are too spontaneous, to both life is a thing of such rapid motion, to both the inclination to say what they think is too irresistible for either to walk with mincing steps and bridled tongue. Knowing, as of course he does know, that Democrats are eagerly turning to him to hail him as their uncrowned leader, and that the path to the crown is strewn with the pitfalls of careless speech, Mr. Bryan is not likely to seal himself up in a cell or to resort to the ambiguities of the oracle to escape risk. He will, I think, give free expression to what he thinks, and, in consequence, be a much more interesting character for the next two years than he has ever before been in his life.

I assume that Mr. Bryan will be nominated by the Democrats, an assumption reasonably safe as matters stand to-day ; but it must not be imagined that he can rely with any more

certainty on his election now than he could ten or six years ago. Mr. Bryan has grown in public estimation since that day when he made his meteoric flight of eloquence, and by the force of compelling oratory drove men to do his bidding. He has grown, and his growth has been watched and welcomed, but he has not yet entirely outgrown the stigma of his early associations. Stevenson may, with the fine disdainful scorn of philosophy, rejoice that "all my old opinions were only stages to the one I now hold, as it itself is only a stage on the way to something else. I am no more abashed at having been a red hot Socialist with a panacea of my own than at having been a sucking infant. Doubtless the world is right in a million ways; but you have to be kicked about a little to convince you of the fact"; but the American people have not yet climbed to its philosophic Parnassus. They are coldly distrustful of a man whose imagination is greater than theirs and who can grasp a thought in advance of them, and they are even more suspicious of a man whose courage is great enough to allow him to recant. Mr. Bryan's former "heresies" are to him now a veritable shirt of Nessus; then his armour and his strength, now his weakness, and to be rid of it he must lose a part of himself. Everybody recognises that silver is a dead issue and no more to be brought to life, but Mr. Bryan may not say that he was mistaken, because if he confesses that he was a blind leader then, will not his enemies say that proof is yet wanting that even now his vision is clear? In a word, and to make the situation quite clear, Mr. Bryan has the tradition of his past, which endears him to his partisans and arouses the now tempered regret of his opponents, who deplore his misguided and misspent political youth. He may not divorce himself from his past and his old friends, and that past stands between him and new friends.

There is too much at stake for the Party in power, and for Republicans who believe in that Party to surrender power without a struggle. They will not. The Democrats will not destroy the industries of the country by a change in the fiscal system or the subversion of the existing system of currency; nor is society in danger or the right of property menaced by the election of a Democratic President, but the country will be asked to believe that it faces this cataclysmic chaos if Mr. Bryan is successful. I do not regard the New York *Sun* as the safest exponent of public sentiment. I frequently read the *Sun* to feel sure that what it endeavours to make the public believe *is* public opinion the public diametrically opposes, but the *Sun* is representative of a certain class. And it is significant that although the nomination is two years in the

future, although Mr. Bryan is a great possibility but not an absolute certainty, although no man can tell whom the Republicans will nominate or what the issues will be, the *Sun* has already began to search out the enemy's position with a few well-directed shots. It sneers at Mr. Bryan, it reminds its readers what Mr. Bryan was, and asks if Mr. Bryan has so vastly changed ; if in a word, for that is the meaning of it, the country is any more prepared now than it was ten years ago to place its destinies in Mr. Bryan's keeping, and whether the risk would be less now than it was esteemed then.

Fierce opposition Mr. Bryan will have, and American politics, always extraordinary and bewildering, will once again surprise and amaze. The very men, or at least some of them, who now so fiercely denounce Mr. Roosevelt for having interfered with the sacred rights of property and given impetus to Socialism, may not improbably, when confronted between the choice of evils of Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Roosevelt's nominee, or Mr. Bryan, accept the former as less dangerous than the latter for this quaintly paradoxical reason. Mr. Roosevelt has shot his bolt and the worst is known, he can do nothing much worse (or at least the men who now stand in fear of him will try to make themselves so believe), but to what undreamed of possibilities of destructive interference might not Mr. Bryan commit himself in his desire to emulate his predecessor and equally firmly establish himself in the affections of the proletariat ? Slavishly to copy him or merely to walk after him would be ineffectual ; he must prove himself a man of originality, and willing to do just a little more than any other man has yet done.

I think this argument in all its multitudinous forms will be potently used during the next two years in the endeavour to compass the undoing of Mr. Bryan. In short, that argument may be crystallised into the homely proverb which tells of the folly of exchanging the known heat of the frying-pan for the unknown heat of the fire. Mr. Roosevelt has made the trusts and the monopolists dance to the music of their own grease, which has not been entirely pleasant but has not been absolutely destructive ; but if Mr. Bryan should take them out of the frying pan and plunge them into the fire—it would be the end.

It is regrettable that Englishmen and the English press do not constantly remember that Americans, as a people, are extremely sensitive, whose sense of humour is adjusted to a different focus to that of the English. As a piece of good-natured pleasantry,

certainly as one must feel sure, without any thought to offend or hurt, *Punch* printed, during the visit of Mr. and Mrs. Longworth in England, the latter's supposititious diary, which was mildly funny, but which perhaps no Englishman read with the slightest thought that it could be construed as an insult to the President's daughter, who was at the time his ambassador's guest. But this is precisely the view taken by several American newspapers, and in quoting the most temperate and dignified of these critics, I may convey some indication of the feeling that it has occasioned.

The case is hardly important enough [says the *New York Times*, with well measured restraint] to warrant more than a reference to the fact that once *Punch* had to confess itself a "scurrile jester" for its treatment of an American, but it is a pretty unpleasant case, nevertheless, and a good many references in after-dinner oratory to "common heritages" will be required to sweeten the tempers that will be more or less acidulated by it on this side of the water. . . . It wil make Americans extremely thoughtful as to their real standing in London society, and as to the sincerity of the welcomes some of them have received there n return for welcomes here, about the sincerity of which there is as little doubt as about their generosity. Nobody, we hope, will get at all excited over the latest specimen of *Punch's* humour; but there is a word that qualifies it well, a word much more frequently used by the Britons than by Americans—and the word is "nasty."

As the *Times* observes, the case is hardly important enough to warrant more than passing reference, but the perhaps unconscious admission of the *Times* is somewhat disquieting, that the so frequent expressions of international good-will and fraternal friendship mean nothing at all, and that it requires only an incident as trivial as this to fan the old lurking suspicion of jealousy and critical sensitiveness into an open flame of hostility.

Since the United States became a factor in *weltpolitik* it has changed its diplomatic manners, and is now more eager to employ the *nuances* of the art than in the past it was proud of its "shirt sleeves" methods. When the United States was isolated, when its boast was that it had no interests in the concerns of Europe, its diplomacy was chiefly with England, and a thinly veiled truculence was the marked characteristic of nearly all the diplomatic correspondence. All that has now changed. Recognised as one of the Great Powers, exercising a foremost influence in diplomacy, forced by circumstances to take an active interest in the affairs of the East as well as those of the West, no longer isolated, the United States, with that wonderful adaptability that is one of the most striking characteristics of its people, readjusted its point of view and changed its ways in harmony with new conditions.

The modern diplomacy of the United States began with the Spanish War that swept away the traditions of the first century of the Republic. It was no longer self-centred, it was no longer a hermit nation, the one great nation proud of its unique position in having no over-sea dependencies or colonies. Accident involved it in the politics of the Far East, and when Mr. Hay committed all the world to a benevolent declaration in favour of the open door, the initiative of the United States aroused no jealousy. A little later it was found convenient for Germany to use the United States as the medium for the formulation of another declaration of policy. Since then the United States has led rather than followed, as witness Portsmouth and Algeciras.

But it has not escaped the attention of the men who are responsible for American diplomacy that the active participation of the United States in matters that more peculiarly affect the destinies of Europe than they do that of America has aroused jealousy in certain quarters. The policy of the United States, an eminently wise policy so far as its own interests are concerned, is to maintain friendly relations with all nations, to be the ally of none, and always to remain the unknown quantity in the diplomatic equation. Only extraordinary circumstances would make the United States seek an alliance, yet no one doubts that if the emergency arose, if it were necessary for her to have an ally, she would do what other nations have done and find strength where strength is to be found.

That the United States has determined to allay any suspicion it may have aroused is clearly indicated by statements made by persons entitled to speak with authority in discussing the proposal to be brought before the Hague Conference for the limitation of armaments. The proposition is cordially supported here, and it was a disappointment to the government when Russia, in submitting a tentative programme of the subjects to be considered by the Conference, not only did not include a limitation or reducing of armaments among the questions to be discussed but, on the contrary, expressly excluded it from consideration. If, however, England or France shall raise the question the American delegates will second it with the approval of popular sentiment. Were the American delegates to propose action, it is the opinion in Government circles that it would prejudice the merit of the question and subject the United States to the charge of again interfering in affairs that are European rather than American, as America is not compelled by political conditions to main-

tain armaments bearing a mathematical relation to those of other countries ; but for the United States to support instead of to originate the motion could not arouse hostile criticism, and it would enable the United States to play its favourite diplomatic *rôle ;* namely, to be able to exercise great influence while seemingly merely acquiescing from pure disinterestedness in a policy that is for the benefit of humanity rather than for any direct advantage the United States would gain.

An illuminating light is thrown on the crooked path of American politics by the action of a Kentucky judge in granting a writ of injunction to prevent the Democrats of Kentucky from being dishonest. To deprive political opponents of power, it is a favourite trick of the dominant party in a state to change the boundaries of the political districts by which the vote of the minority can be swamped. To do this districts must be made unequal in size and population, but that is of no consequence. Thus in Kentucky, by way of illustration, a district with a vote of 1500 was constituted, and was entitled to one representative in the legislature. Another district with a vote of 11,000 was also constituted and likewise entitled to only one representative ; thus subverting the cardinal principle of one man one vote and destroying equal representation. But in the first district the votes were Democratic while in the other they were Republican, which deprives the Republicans of their proper and proportionate representation. The "gerrymander," as this method of political trickery is known, is a well-recognised political weapon, and seldom can be prevented, the complaisant courts usually refusing to interfere with the legislature, and the victims being quite content to wait until the swing of the political pendulum gives them an opportunity to obtain their revenge. One excuse given by the Kentucky Democrats for "gerrymandering" the state is that the same thing has been done in Pennsylvania and Connecticut, only in those states the Republicans are in control and the Democrats are the victims, and it is only poetic justice if in Kentucky the Democrats set their heel on the Republican neck.

While a preliminary injunction has been granted at the instance of the Kentucky Republican managers, the case is yet to be passed upon by the supreme court of the state, and it will be interesting to see whether that court will be influenced by political or ethical considerations.

An act of the last Congress has attracted little attention in England, although it will have far-reaching industrial and

commercial effects. After years of agitation Congress has at last removed the inland revenue duty on methylated spirits—which the Americans for some inexplicable reason prefer to call "denatured alcohol"—and now the United States is to have the advantage of a cheap and effective illuminant and fuel. In this country the process of converting maize, potatoes, and other vegetable products into commercial alcohol can be done at a low cost and sold, efficiency for efficiency, at less than kerosene, gasolene, or the other petroleum products. The western farmer thus finds a new market for his crops, and is provided with a new economical force of energy that, we are told, will revolutionise industrial conditions. The farmer will drive his motor car and his steam plough and light his house with the converted energy and light from potato peelings and maize that his stock reject, for we are told that "denatured alcohol" can be made out of almost anything, and the process is so simple and inexpensive that any one can do his own manufacturing. It may not quite prove itself the genii of the lamp, but that it will be a dangerous competitor to petroleum in its various forms is perhaps established by the opposition exerted for years by the oil trust to prevent the legislation which Congress has now enacted; and anything that will cheapen power will make the United States a still more formidable competitor in the international market.

It is one of the proud boasts of Mr. Hearst's New York *Journal* that it was largely responsible for the war with Spain. It is undeniable that the *Journal*, nobly seconded by other yellow journals, did much to inflame public opinion and create a sentiment in favour of the liberation of Cuba. The yellow journal is nothing if not clever, in a certain way, audaciously enterprising, and utterly unscrupulous. Not content with exposing Weyler to public infamy, the New York *Journal* organised filibustering expeditions with the deliberate intent to involve the United States with Spain, it "rescued" a female Cuban political prisoner from a Havana jail under the very eyes of Weyler, who was kind enough to turn his back and close his eyes while the little comedy was being played; and in a dozen other ways used its money, its recklessness, and its big type to make the United States champion the cause of the Cuban patriots.

I apologise to the New York *Times* for mentioning it in the same breath with the New York *Journal*, but a two-column leader in that dignified and carefully edited newspaper gives food for thought. In brief, the leader is an argument and a

plea for foreign intervention to prevent an attempt of the Russian autocracy to stifle liberty. "If our territory," says the *Times*, "adjoined the territory of Russia, if we stood geographically, let us say, in the relation of Germany or Austria to the Russian Empire, it can hardly be doubted that we should long ago have been compelled by considerations of our own peace and security to remonstrate with the Government of the Tsar against the prolongation of hopeless civil disorder in his dominions."

The *Times* recalls how "the cruelties of Weyler, his reconcentration order, and the heroic but vain efforts of the Cubans to estabish their independence, produced in this country a state of mind that, even without the destruction of the *Maine*, must speedily have led to our intervention." The European rumours that Germany and Austria will intervene with force "to support the efforts of the Tsar to re-establish his tottering throne" the *Times* regards as absurd, because "leagued oppression" would not be permitted, and England and France for their own protection would have to avert the overthrow of the balance of power and the disruption of the European Concert. "Nevertheless, although we are something like half a world away from the scene of this disheartening conflict," the *Times* continues, "our interests are very real, very immediate, and with the lapse of time they may compel us to such action as we might have already taken were we numbered among the European Powers." The *Times* admits that "the mere suggestion of American interference, or of any foreign interference with the domestic affairs of a great European Power, would be received with astonishment in every Continental chancellery," but it recalls the Declaration of Pilnitz, when "the self-interest of kings was held to justify the union of all to relieve the distress of one." But the conditions are now reversed. "It is impossible that the Tsar and his revolutionary bureaucrats should hold out against the protests and the pressure of the civilised Powers."

The *Times* does not pretend that intervention is probable or imminent; in fact, it says that "it is not a matter of the immediate future or that for the present it will come under practical consideration," but it adds:

> The point upon which we wish to insist is that the principle of ultimate intervention is not excluded by history, by international law, or by human reason or human probability. The interests, the peace, and the security of the Great Powers of the world, and, reinforcing those considerations, sympathy and humanity, the horror of cruelties long continued, the indignation kindled by the spectacle of a down-trodden people baffled in every attempt to win their

freedom, shot down for no worse crime than expressing a desire for liberty terrorised at every turn by the prison and the bayonet, must sooner or later lead to a union of sentiment and a concert of action that will end the Russian hell upon earth. It cannot go on for ever.

A few years ago little attention would have been paid to a leader of this character. American intervention in the domestic affairs of Russia would have been regarded as too preposterous, too quixotically fantastical, and too impossible of accomplishment for serious men to have wasted time in its discussion. But the United States has already done so many unexpected things in foreign politics that what it may next do ought to surprise no one. I do not mean by that to suggest that what the leader-writer of the *Times* would evidently like to see he will see. The American peril does not at present confront Russia, but if there is a man in Russia worthy of the name of statesman he will not minimise the significance of this utterance. American sympathy for Japan and dislike of Russia cost Russia a great deal during the recent war, and it may cost her still more if newspapers of the standing of the New York *Times* influence the public mind to look upon intervention or interference as a righteous task. For Russia ought not to forget that every arriving ship brings hundreds of her subjects fleeing from her tyranny, and that these fugitives are the most zealous propagandists in spreading amongst Americans a feeling of horror against Russia. These victims of mediæval stupidity —scarcely of more importance in their own country than the beasts of the field—without rights or liberties, when they set foot in America are men, with rights guaranteed to them and the power that the ballot gives them, illiterate though they be. In driving them out of Russia, Russia has put in their hands a weapon more destructive than the bomb or more powerful than the rifle. She has given them the ballot.

It is the common belief of Europeans that there is no such a thing as conservatism in the American character, and that the Americans are the one race in all the world to whom tradition means nothing. I have frequently taken occasion to point out the fallacy of this superficial judgment, and we have to-day again proof how erroneous it is. To the mass of the American people it is contrary to tradition, it is a blow struck at the foundation-stone of their institutions, that any man should occupy the Presidential chair for more than two terms. The Constitution does not directly or indirectly prohibit this ; there is no law of Congress that puts any obstacle in the way of a man being elected three times or ten times, but custom has

decreed that a double election shall satisfy the measure of any man's ambition.

The newspapers are now discussing with much earnestness, accompanied by the fine splitting of hairs, whether, if Mr. Roosevelt should again be a candidate, the "bogey of third termism" would not defeat him. No less a distinguished authority than Mr. Justice Brewer, of the United States Supreme Court, has publicly stated that "technically Mr. Roosevelt has had but one term," to which the opponents of Mr. Roosevelt and the thought of a third term say without disguise they want no "technical" and extra judicial interpretations of a tradition that age has given almost the reverence of a constitutional prohibition. One newspaper epitomises the feeling when it remarks:

there would undoubtedly be a considerable class of voters, even on the Republican side, who would be disturbed by such an innovation in our history as the continuous service of one man in the presidential office for nearly twelve consecutive years. . . . It is only by a transparent quibble that one can assert that twelve years, lacking five months, are not the same as the three successive presidential terms that both Washington and Jackson condemned as out of harmony with Republican institutions.

The argument of Mr. Roosevelt's friends that although he practically served one term as Mr. McKinley's successor he was not in fact elected, and therefore he is now for the first time serving as an *elected* President, is disposed of by opponents of the third term, who say that when in 1900 he was elected Vice-President it was with the understanding that he became a potential President; that when by the death of McKinley he became the constitutional President he was thus technically elected to the Presidency by the free votes of the people. "There could be no possible justification for a third term, or its equivalent, in this republic except an emergency of a most serious nature affecting the life of the nation," is the conclusion of one newspaper.

But the argument used on the other side is almost equally convincing and is perhaps most cogently expressed by the New York *Herald*.

No third term [the paper says] has yet been made a part of the Constitution, nor has it been accepted as a national principle like the Monroe Doctrine. Every rule has its exception, and it is easy to conceive of a political crisis wherein the re-election of a President of the United States for a third term might be not only unobjectionable but even advisable.

In any case, Mr. Roosevelt's renomination appears to be almost a foregone conclusion. It may be, indeed, rendered obligatory by the fact that he seems to be the only candidate powerful enough to hold the party together and oppose with any chance of success such a candidate as Mr. Bryan.

It is a pity Balzac no longer lives. How he would have immortalised a man who will soon be forgotten. When Russell Sage died a few weeks ago, and left behind him some fifteen millions sterling to his wife and not a penny for charity, the Human Comedy was deprived of one of its most precious characters. Russell Sage was a millionaire miser with a sole passion, the passion for the acquisition of gold. The American multi-millionaire is a curious psychological study, and well worth study, but Sage was the most curious of them all. Other millionaires have, besides the ruling passion of gold, some of the weaknesses that distinguish the common herd; they get a double enjoyment out of life, money-making is half their pleasure, but they still find time to spend it. Sage knew none of the joy of spending. To pile dollar on dollar, to have money to lend when rates of interests were high, to have money to spare when properties could be bought at a bargain to take advantage of distress—this was to him life. He wore a cheap and ill-fitting suit of clothes until it was threadbare, he ate an apple for lunch, he walked in heat and cold to save twopence. To the end he had the virtue of consistency. He never gave in life. In death he still clung to his millions. To his wife he left all; to charity not a penny.

A. Maurice Low.

THE DEVIL IN CHRISTIAN TRADITION AND LEGEND

THERE can be no greater misrepresentation than to describe the mediæval faith as a religion of gloom. The Christians of the Middle Ages dwelt much, it is true, on things which the cheerful Greeks kept out of sight. But the background against which the Greek cheerfulness was displayed was terrible and grim. To them, pain and error, disease and death were fatal and necessary, irrevocable and final. Against them there was no appeal. In these circumstances obviously the only thing to do is to forget them. But the Christian could afford to look at, even to dwell upon, pain and sin and deformity and death, because they were accidental to humanity, no part of the Divine intention, and because their sting had been drawn and their real power destroyed. The Faith was a glorious optimism—a vision of man's greatness, and of the good reserved for him. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the traditional Catholic view of the Devil, as shown in the writings of the Doctors and Saints of the Church, and in the folk-lore and legends of all Christian lands. This view exactly reflects the original promise, the words spoken to the serpent—"it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise its heel." The Devil is the defeated, powerless enemy, "the sport and laughter of redeemed man," the baffled, inefficient spirit, conquered once for all upon the Cross, and continually outwitted by the simplest rustic cunning of Christian men. "No mediæval poet," it has been said, "could have written *Paradise Lost.*" Milton's Satan compels the admiration and sympathy of the reader. Puritanism exaggerated the personality of the Devil, making him a Manichean counterpart of God. Its Satan is almost omnipotent, and his immense black shadow falls continually on human things. In a very real sense he has the victory, and has bruised man's head ; the whole world lies in his grasp, and not only the heathen world of the Apostle, but the world of redeemed and baptized men. As far as the race is concerned,

apart from elect individuals the Incarnation has made no difference. One result of the Reformation in Puritan countries was an enormously increased estimate of the Devil's power. The belief in witchcraft, with its attendant cruelties, rose to an unheard-of height in Calvinist Scotland and in England during the Commonwealth. The Devil entered into the place left vacant by the loss of so many gracious ministries and heavenly helpers, and from thence ruled over the popular imagination.

The story of the Fall of the Angels, according to the traditional Christian view, is told in *Piers Plowman*. We are familiar with the ordinary enumeration of the "nine orders of angels." But the poet tells us that:

> Christ, King of Kings, made *ten* orders of knighthood,
> Cherubs and seraphs, seven more and one other,
> Majestic and mighty, the more was their bliss,
> Over armies of angels archangels were there,
> Of the Trinity taught the truth to revere,
> Obeying his bidding; He bade them nought else.
> Lucifer with his legions had learnt it in heaven,
> But brake his obedience, abandoned his bliss,
> And fell from that fellowship in a fiend's likeness
> To a deep dark hell to dwell there for ever.
> And with him more thousands than man could number
> Leapt out with Lucifer in loathly forms,
> Believing in him who in this wise lied,
> "I will sit also in the sides of the North; I will be like the Most High" (Isaiah xiv. 18) . . .
> Nine days were they falling in likeness of fiends.

The patristic tradition is that a third of the angels fell thus, and that their vacant places in heaven were to be filled with the sons of men.

Lucifer, the leader of the rebel host, is a creature pre-eminent in brightness and beauty—indeed, a Light-bearer, a Son of the Morning. He is called by Dante, "la creatura ch'ebbe il bel sembiante,* and "colui che fu nobil creato più ch'altra creatura," † the most noble and beautiful being of all the creation of God.

Pride is assigned undeviatingly as the reason of his fall. Again, to quote Dante, that mirror of the whole spiritual world of the Middle Ages, "principio del cader fu il maledetto superbir di colui" ‡—"his cursed pride was the beginning of his fall"; and, again, he describes him as "colui che volse i spalli a suo Fattore" §—"he who turned his back upon his Maker." Shake-

* *Inf.*, xxxiv. 18.
† *Purg.*, xii. 25.
‡ *Par.*, xxix. 55.
§ *Par.*, ix. 127.

speare's "By that sin fell the angels" is proverbial with us. The whole mediæval tradition would be still alive among his audience in Elizabethan days. As to this "maledetto superbir," the reason of his fall, there is a curious legend of the Devil making his confession in Cologne Cathedral. He professes to repent his crimes, and to be willing to endure a thousand years of penance. "My son," says the priest, "all you need do is to bow before the Image of the Crucified, and ask Him for pardon." "What!" cries the Devil, "He who swept up the chips for Joseph? He who hung on a gallows?" And he turned on his heel with a curse.

The leader of the heavenly army was, of course, St. Michael, whose very name means "who is like to God?" He is described in the New Testament as saying to Satan, "The Lord rebuke thee." He is represented as transfixing the dragon with a whole spear; St. George, in his conflict, has a broken one. The angel conquers without scathe or struggle; man conquers, but with pain and effort—with the "bruised heel" and the broken lance.

The text already quoted—"I will exalt my throne above the stars of God, I will ascend into heaven, I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation upon the sides of the north"*—which was always applied to Satan, has had a curious influence upon traditional custom. The "north" was looked upon as his especial possession, and so in village churchyards the north side was reserved for suicides. Some readers will remember Mr. Housman's simple, direct, and vivid verses:

> The vane on Hughley steeple
> Veers round, a far-seen sign,
> And there lie Hughley people,
> And there lie friends of mine.
>
> To south the headstones cluster,
> The sunny mounds are thick,
> The dead are more in muster
> At Hughley than the quick.
>
> To north, a soon-told number
> Chill graves the sexton delves,
> And steeple-shadowed slumber
> The slayers of themselves.

The second sin of the Devil was believed to have been envy, which was the cause of the fall of man. "Di cui invidia tanta pianta," again Dante says. "For God made not death," the Book of Wisdom tells us, "for God made man to be an image of His own eternity, but through envy of the devil came death

* Isaiah xiv. 13.

into the world, and they that hold of his side do find it."* The Rabbis always taught that the fall was caused by the envy of the serpent. The animal typical of the deadly sin of envy is the snake.

Henceforth Satan lives for the ruin of man. He is "the Enemy." But He who created man at the first in His own image does not abandon him in the course of his mysterious destiny, but comes to be with him in a new and wonderful way which we call the Incarnation, and by the mysteries of the Passion and Cross the malice of the Devil is for ever rendered impotent. The Fathers teach, notably St. Ignatius, that the Incarnation was hidden from Satan. The liturgies and hymns of the Church exhaust the language of exultation in describing how "the ungodly was trapped in the work of his own hands." The idea is that in bringing about the death of our Lord, he unwittingly caused the destruction of death and of his own kingdom. They say that he swallowed the bait of the Manhood, and was caught by the hook of the Godhead. "The Descent into Hell," "the Harrowing of Hell," in the sweet old English phrase was undoubtedly a part of the original tradition, and was no empty formula, but a very living article of faith in the Early and Middle Ages. The "Gospel of Nicodemus," popularised by the Golden Legend, describes the triumphant breaking down of the gates of death, and the rage and amazement of Satan when he discovers how he has been deceived.

Then Satan, Prince of Death, said to Hell, "Make you ready to receive Jesus, who glorified himself to say, 'I am the Son of God,' but he is man that dreads the death. . . . I have tempted and have moved the people against him, I have made ready the spear, I have mingled the vinegar and gall, I have made ready the tree of the Cross, and anon he shall die, and I shall bring him hither." Then Hell answered, "Is not this He that raised Lazarus whom I retained?" And Satan said, "That same is He truly." And Hell said to Satan, "I conjure thee by my virtue and thine that thou bring him not hither." But even as they spake there came the thunder at the gates, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in."

Very beautiful and touching is the story of the entrance of the King of Glory into that dark place, and the exclamations of the waiting souls that crowd around Him, Adam and Eve, and David and Isaiah, and Simeon and St. John. The thief comes with Him carrying his cross.

Anon as Jesus Christ descended into hell the night began to wax clear. And anon the porter, black and horrible among them, in silence began to

* Wisdom ii. 11.

murmur, 'Who is he that is so terrible and of clearness so shining? Our master received never none such into hell, nor the world cast never none such into our cavern. This is an assailer and not a debtor, a breaker and a destroyer, no sinner but a despoiler; we see him a judge but no beseecher, he comes to fight and not to be overcome, a caster out, and not here a dweller.'

The Saviour ascends on Ascension Day with "a great prey," the multitude of the ransomed souls whom He has delivered from the jaws of death. Sometimes they are represented as literally emerging from the jaws of a huge dragon.

The old English use of the word "hell" as it is found in the Creed is worthy of note. It means the unseen covered place, the abode of the dead. When in popular English speech did "hell" come to mean Gehenna? The Latin tongues have only the one word "Inferno" to express both meanings. So Dante speaks of St. John Baptist as "he who suffered martyrdom," "e poi due anni inferno," that is, the two years from the time of his execution till the Descent into hell. Michael Angelo in one of his sonnets speaks of Dante as the man who had seen "l'Inferno giusto" (the Inferno proper), "e il pio" (Purgatory).

The reader will pardon me if I illustrate from the words of mediæval writers the reality of their belief in this triumph of Christ over death and hell, and over Satan their representative. These thoughts of the saints are like meadow-sweet by the waters of Paradise. My first extract shall be from the Mother Juliana of Norwich.

On this showed our Lord that the Passion of Him is the overcoming of the fiend. God showed that the fiend hath now the same malice as he had afore the Incarnation. And as sore he travaileth and as continually he seeth that all souls of salvation escape him, wonderfully by the virtue of Christ's precious Passion. And that is his sorrow, and full evil is he ashamed; for all that God suffereth him to do turneth for us to joy, and for him to shame and woe. And he hath as much sorrow when God giveth him leave to work, as when he worketh not, and that is that he may never do as ill as he would, for his might is all locked in God's hand.

Again she writes:

Also I saw our Lord scorn his malice, and set at naught his unmight, and He willeth that we do so. For this sight I laughed mightily, and that made them to laugh that were about me, and their laughing was a pleasure to me. I thought that I would that all mine even Christians had seen as I saw, and that they would all laugh with me. But I saw not Christ laugh. For I understood that we may laugh in comforting of ourselves and joying in God for that the Devil is overcome. . . . And after that I fell into a graveness, and said, "I see three things; I see game, scorn, and earnest. I see a game in that the fiend is overcome; I see scorn in that God scorneth him, and he shall be scorned; and I see earnest in that he is overcome by the blissful Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was done in full earnest and sore

travail." When I said he is scorned, I meant that God scorneth him, that is to say that He seeth him now as He shall do without end. And in this word God showed that the fiend is condemned. And this meant I when I said he shall be scorned at Doomsday, generally of all that shall be saved, to whose consolation he hath great ill-will. For then he shall see that all the woe and tribulation that he hath done to them shall be turned to increase of their joy without end, and all the pain and tribulation that he would have brought them to shall endlessly go with him to hell.

Far from being a doctrine of darkness, the mediæval faith was that his Maker had good will to man.

In the same spirit Walter Hilton, the Carthusian, belabours Satan with great vehemence :

When grace bringeth the fiend into the sight of the soul, as a clumsy caitift bound by the power of Jesus that he cannot hurt, then the soul, seeing his nature and his malice, turneth him upside down, and spoileth him, and rendeth him all to naught, scorneth him, and despiseth him, and setteth naught by his malice. . . . Much wonder hath the soul that the fiend hath so much malice and so little might. He can do naught without leave of our Lord, not even enter into a swine, as the Gospel saith. The soul feareth no more the blustering of the fiend than the stirring of a mouse.

The Yorkshire hermit Saint, Richard of Hampole, says : "He bound Satan so that he might never thereafter harm or offend the folk as before."

This blusterer, with much malice and little might, is a very different being to Milton's Satan. That this was the popular mediæval way of regarding him is shown by the miracle plays in which the comic element is always supplied by the Devil. In the more elaborate spectacles presented on great occasions he appeared with four tails. Hence the French proverb, "Faire le diable à quatre." The teachers and pastors of the people would have quoted, doubtless, "The sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child put his hand on the cockatrice den." The primitive Liturgy of St. Clement says that God " has given over to us bound the manslaying serpent, as a sparrow to children." The reference is to Leviathan in the forty-first chapter of Job.

So in popular legend and folklore he is outwitted constantly, contracts made with him are broken, he is again and again deceived by the simplest expedients, as substituting a lantern for the sunrise. This, if I remember rightly, occurs in the legend of the Devil's Dyke at Brighton. As a child terrified by a very different Satan, I remember the light brought to my own spirit by some story of the kind. The expedient in this case was cutting the sole out of a shoe. which the Devil had to fill with silver. The shoe was never filled, and so he could never claim

his part of the bargain. I remember feeling a thrill of relief at seeing that it was possible to evade and elude him after all.

These stories occur endlessly in every corner of every country in Christendom. There is an Icelandic legend which is possibly the origin of the proverb, "The Devil take the hindmost." He had agreed to instruct seven scholars in all the mysteries of magic for no other reward than that when their seven years' apprenticeship was over he should have as his thrall the last to leave for the last time by the single narrow iron door. On the fatal day the last to leave literally escaped him—eluded him by slipping out of his cloak which the Devil had grasped. He became a most worthy parish priest, venerated all over the island. As the iron door slammed to, it crushed his heel. The legends and ballads of the people are to the great dogmas of the Faith what the child's prattle is to the man's grave speech—the same language, the same thing.

He is constantly represented as childish, grotesque, spiteful. With his bellows he tries to put out St. Genevieve's candle as she carries it alight through rain and wind to church. A very well-known legend is that of St. Dunstan, who, when attacked by him whilst busy at the forge, brought the conflict to an end by seizing the Adversary with the red-hot tongs. This incident was the most popular pageant provided by the goldsmiths on Lord Mayor's Day, when the Mayor happened to be elected from their Company.

The triumph over the powers of evil was also represeuted in the ritual of the Churoh, notably in the Rogation-tide processions. The two first days "a dragon with a great tail of chaff" was borne before the Cross, and the third day after the Cross "with his tail all void." The Golden Legend says: "By this is understood that the first day before the law and the second under the law the devil reigned in the world, and on the third day of grace, by the Passion of Jesus Christ, he is put out of his realm." To Puritanism, after all that had been done, the Devil was still "the prince of this world." Yet of that hour, that was the hour and power of darkness, it was said: "Now is the judgment of this world; now must the prince of this world be cast out."

The Golden Legend gives a detailed account of the Rogation-tide ceremonies. Of the Cross it says that the evil spirits "dread the staff with which they have been hurt." A modern hymn has popularised this:

> At the sign of triumph
> Satan's host doth flee.

The lion and the dragon are the animals typical of the Devil.

"Thou shalt go upon the lion and the adder; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy feet."* So, too in the New Testament, Satan is compared to a "roaring lion." It is said that the ancient idea of the animosity between the lion and the cock is the origin of the placing of the weathercock upon the steeple. A mediæval rhythm says of the cock:

In nocte dum concinat leo perturbatur,

and the idea was to terrify Satan by the sight of his enemy on the highest point of the sacred building. The dragon was the symbol of the powers of darkness everywhere. In many of the stories of Saints delivering a countryside from a devouring dragon, the dragon obviously represents Paganism destroyed by the labours of the Christian Apostle. Up to the French Revolution a prisoner was set free at Rouen every year on Ascension Day in commemoration of the deliverance of the people from a dragon by St. Romain. In Provence, St. Martha bound a monster called the Tarasque with her girdle, so that the people could slay him "with swords and glaives." Hence the name Tarascon. In Spain a monstrous snake, called la Tarasca, is dragged in the Corpus Christi processions to signify Christ's triumph over death and hell. By the way, the Elizabethan Injunctions decreed that in the Rogation-tide processions "there should be neither George nor Margaret, but the old dragon to come on alone and show himself."

A whole stream of traditional teaching came down from St. Paul's words: "Made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it"—*i.e.*, the Cross. I have before me "A Sermon preached at Worcester on the eighteenth of April, 1686, being the Second Sunday after Easter. By the Reverend Henry Humbertstone, Priest of the Society of Jesus." The subject is the Sign of the Cross.

> St. Paul saith that our Saviour crucified did carry the Devil in triumph, and made him a spectacle to God and his angels. 'Tis a remark of Origen upon this place that, as Christ was crucified visibly, the Devil was crucified invisibly. Our Lord by suffering Himself to be crucified, you know, did deprive Himself of the use of His arms for a time; so the Devil, by the Cross, lost the use of his arms, that is, of his power over man and for ever. . . . For this cause he is afraid of the Cross, as a malefactor is afraid of the gallows, or as a dog is afraid of the stick with which he has been beaten. The infernal spirits, saith St. Anthony, fear that sign by which our Saviour triumphed over them, and made them the scorn of heaven and earth.

So it was believed, for the children of the Church, the Enemy

* Psalm xci. 13.

was rendered powerless by a little holy water, or by the Name of Jesus.

No sketch of Christian tradition about the Devil, however slight, can leave out of account his character of the "Prince of the powers of the air." He was believed to have special power over the air, to be continually stirring up thunderstorms and tempests of wind and hail. Hence the ringing of the bells during thunderstorms to frighten the evil spirits away. Again we find the belief in Dante.

> Giunse quel mal voler che mal chiede
> Con l'intelletto, e mosse il fummo e il vento
> Per la virtù che la sua natura diede.*

"Then came that evil will that ever seeks for evil, and stirred up smoke and wind by the virtue that his nature gave." It was by the help of Satan that Simon Magus, according to the early Christian legend, floated in the air till commanded by St. Peter to descend. It is significant that Leonardo da Vinci, the typical figure of the Renaissance, spent many years of his life in the endeavour to invent a flying-machine. The opposition he met with from the clergy and devout people was intense. It is indeed difficult to imagine a more concrete symbol of all that is most opposed to what has been known historically as the Christian spirit than a flying-machine. It must have seemed a partaking of Lucifer's daring presumption, to be speedily followed by a similar fall.

It is the old problem, the eternal debate between Christianity and Paganism, humanism, science, call it what you will. It is too great a question to be more than briefly touched on here. Both are necessary, and the future may hold in store some reconciliation of the two. But one may at least point out the barrenness of scientific conquest, and the littleness of human effort apart from the hopes and vistas opened to our race by the Incarnation and the Cross. "The brightness of that central truth shades into gloom on all sides," but the most grotesque and puerile of the legends of the Middle Ages, the most mythical and uncertain of the traditions of the Church, at least graphically expresses the weakness and the emptiness of evil, the victory of good, the certainty of the Divine purpose, and the greatness of the destiny reserved for man. Mankind is not the prey of evil powers, nor the sport of blind fate or chance, but ruled in love by an All-seeing Person, holding in His hand the crystal globe which is the mirror of the world.

R. L. GALES.

* *Purg.*, v. 112.

J. H. SHORTHOUSE AND *IOHN INGLESANT*

It is usual to look for flowers in a garden, or at all events in a flower-pot. Environment has become an inevitable word, when we are discussing character; whether we take the thought from Plato of "a gale wafting health from salubrious lands," or follow in the track of strict scientific research. Again, even in days when younger sons gravitate towards the City, and every boy regards electrical or motor engineering as the brightest career in life, we still have a lurking suspicion that there is something *βάναυσον*—cheap and vulgar about trade; and sympathise with the Athenian gentleman who saw in himself and his peers the "golden capital of the column" resting on grey indistinguishable undistinguished labour. Writers of books should look through College windows to weave their golden threads; or if they touch common earth should produce realistic tales of mean streets, or at least only promote schemes of social amelioration in the intervals of analysing the man who is artist or thinker amid the world of the Upper Ten. And so the Public was startled when there appeared in 1881 a great book by a Birmingham, shall I say "Brummagem," Manufacturer of no commanding appearance, unknown outside a small circle of friends. And the paradox was extended yet further when it was found that not only had a work of high spiritual beauty come out of a chemical manufactory; but that the most liquid and musical periods flowed from a writer who was cursed with a stammer of painful intensity; and that Italian scenes, which travellers can recognise in every detail, were penned by one who in his holidays pottered round Malvern and Llandudno, and who had never crossed the Alps.

The paradox, however, becomes less striking to any one who knows Birmingham as something more than the trade centre for sham jewellery. It has been well compared to one of the Mediæval Italian City States, a city full of eager life—mercan-

tile, civic, intellectual. King Edward's School has produced many another scholar besides Lightfoot, Westcott, and Benson; and has thriven on the teaching methods of a great Head Master, Prince Lee. The Birmingham School Board was early in the field with theories of education, before every educationist was omniscient about his own and his neighbour's system, especially his neighbour's. The Free Library is a more wonderful sight, crowded with artisans in the dinner hour, than when I saw its predecessor blazing in a piteous bonfire twenty-five years ago. Mendelssohn brought out the "Elijah" in the Town Hall, which is acknowledged to be one of the finest rooms for sound in England, and which supplies at its Triennial Festival and in numerous concerts some of the best music outside London. Burne-Jones was brought up on Bennett's Hill in the heart of the town: his greatest glass windows are in St. Philip's Church; and the Art Gallery was considered from the first an indispensable part of the Municipal Buildings. At the Edgbaston Debating Society the leader of the "Solid Seven" practised his powers of speech. So to be a Birmingham Manufacturer is often to be a man of wide reading and quick intellectual power. This does not always connote any deep spiritual sympathies; but Shorthouse by birth and tradition was a Quaker, and to this may be assigned the strong tinge of mysticism that pervades his writings, and his claim for the dominant influence of Spirit. Add the fact that his father had a habit of describing his travels in Italy, while he dressed in the morning, to small Joseph lying a-bed in his parents' room, and the puzzle of the Italian scenery is partly solved. From the first he was a delicate, sensitive, studious child, fond of reading and dreaming, fond of the society of some literary girl cousins, never playing a game, never debauching his soul with orgies of athletic "shop." And the family business, into which he passed in due time, had been so well managed that the *stress* of commercial worry seems never to have troubled him: holidays were fairly plentiful when he was young; his evenings were untrammelled for literary interests as he grew older. Perhaps the paradox has become more intelligible, and we may pass to a more detailed biography. Not that the facts are many—"Memorials of a Quiet Life" would fitly describe his sixty-nine years. Those who wish for a fuller account will seek it in the memoir so ably and sympathetically compiled by his wife, from which these pages have been largely drawn.*

* *Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of J. H. Shorthouse.* Edited by his Wife. Two Volumes. Macmillan, 1905.

Joseph Henry (not *John* Henry, as perhaps the better known initials of J. H. Newman, or the name of the author's special hero, led many to imagine)—Joseph Henry Shorthouse was town born, on September 9, 1834, in a street that must always have been dingy. But before the gloomy grime can have entered into his soul, his parents moved into the comparative country of Birmingham's West End, Edgbaston; and in various houses in Edgbaston, ending with Lansdowne, he spent the rest of his home days. His great-grandfather founded the chemical works, which he in due course inherited; and his maternal grandfather, John Hawker, founded the first glass house in Birmingham; trade ran in his blood from both sides. His father, also a Joseph Shorthouse, was thirty-seven when he was born; but for forty-six years longer he lived and remained the close and stimulating companion of his sons. A simple, unostentatious, business man, kindly towards all about him, tranquil in counsel, but of powerful memory and marked leanings towards intellectual subjects. From his recollection of the past his son drew his knowledge of old English society; and his fondness for things of the mind was early stirred by his father's talk. For many years also they travelled together, particularly in North Wales, and loved the scenery of the Coast and the mountain districts round Snowdon. The same type of thoughtful unselfish nature was apparent in the mother, Mary Ann Hawker, accentuated for many years by her growing blindness; the power of the inward vision, and the triumph of spiritual force over physical disability so manifest in her boy's writings, must frequently have been suggested by the sight of the figure walking in the garden, with the peaceful and contented look often seen on the faces of the blind, under the guidance of a cord attached to low posts. She belonged to the Society of Friends: was full of good works; but not too full to let her children always come first (there was no daughter, but two other boys younger than Joseph); and she imparted deeply by story, by explanation, by example, the plain teaching of religious truths. "From my earliest childhood," said Shorthouse once, "I have always regarded Our Lord Jesus Christ as the most loving and beautiful Being that ever walked this earth"—no slight gift from a mother's teaching. Besides the lessons she undertook herself, others were entrusted to governesses till the boy was ten; for at an earlier period, when he was four or five, a grave disaster had followed on his first experience of school. An old copy of Lindley Murray's spelling book is still extant, with the bottom edges worn away by twitching fingers: extreme nervousness had marked his plunge among other children, and the

hearing by his mother, in the home "Pupil Room," of next day's tiny lesson showed a face beginning to work grievously before the words would come, and the terrible stammer, which never was cured, had already begun. At eight years old he was attacked by fever—typhus fever; but though he wasted to a shadow, and seemed like to die, his parents were able to move him to a breezy suburb, Moseley, where among books and views of distant woodlands, he slowly regained strength. At ten school was tried again for two years, school where he was a day boy, and was now old enough and hardened enough to be happy. But the parents were troubled by the increasing stammer, and at twelve transferred him to a London cure doctor, an able man, but incapable of dealing with so difficult a case. For one year more school life was assailed, this time at Tottenham College. It sounds a depressing seminary; but we read that the life at Tottenham was too exciting for him—he was now fifteen—and very shortly he returned home to a more congenial training under tutors in French, Italian, and drawing, and to an undisturbed revel among his own books. At late sixteen he entered in somewhat amateur fashion on his father's business. Easy hours, constant whole holidays, a pony to ride spell something different from the career of the ordinary clerk. But the stammer needed its compensations, "When I first had to go into other people's offices on business, I used almost to long that the earth would open and swallow me up." The hearers used also to long that something would happen; for though familiarity, as often, would loose the bonds to some extent, the effect on first meeting was always trying. It was not the long silence, which may affect the hearer's nerve, and cause him to stand on the other leg and look out of the window, or change a conversation which has never begun. There was physical struggle which seemed to call for physical help. But he insisted himself that in the end his gain was greater than his loss. "Of a very excitable and lively disposition, and very much interested in politico-religious matters," he writes to Lady Welby, "I should have been certain to have taken to public speaking, success in which I very much admired—and John Inglesant would never have been written or conceived. In spite of the example of St. Paul I cannot quite look upon my stammering as a 'Messenger of Satan,' whatever (he adds with quiet humour) my unfortunate friends may be inclined to do."

The years that follow are chiefly noteworthy for his intercourse with four clever girl cousins called Southall, and sundry stayings at Moseley with a cheery, literary old grandmother,

who lived till ninety-two, and could remember visits to Birmingham by Dr. Johnson and John Wesley, and described S. T. Coleridge's appearance to her young grandchildren; whom she encouraged also in their first flights into writing, by suggesting they should bring her attempts in prose or verse, dubbed the "Moseley Pieces." In the old garden at Moseley long discussions took place on art and letters, and "Henry's book" soon became a certainty for the future. Nathaniel Hawthorne was a favourite prose author; Tennyson a favourite poet, before Wordsworth had asserted his later supremacy. The cousins also travelled together—among the Yorkshire Abbeys one summer; in Cumberland and Scotland two years later. At such times, while others would botanise or sketch, Henry would be wandering in a world of romance, or reconstructing scenes of history, or just listening receptive to Nature's voice, or probably, when he was thought to be doing these things, like Jowett fast asleep. Already he was beginning to distinguish between the dull and picturesque; he showed his preference in trifles such as his own personal appearance—early revolt in a Quaker—and began grouping the chivalrous and heroic figures of life, and ignoring the rest as supernumeraries. Yet the atmosphere he preferred was not the turbulence of fighting days, but the glamour of a more peaceful splendour, and a "land where it is always afternoon." It is true that he loved the pageant of moving life in the streets of a great city, though he would probably have been revolted by Walt Whitman's description of it in *The Open Road*. But it is not from the common herd that he draws the characters for his books; and this early preference should absolve him from the charge, sometimes made by surface-judging critics, that Shorthouse had touches of snobbery in the ducal settings of his lesser tales. As well accuse Edward Fitzgerald of snobbery for sitting in autumn and "reading old things, of knights and lorn damsels, while the wind sings"—"reading of summer and chivalry, gallant chivalry" (*The Meadows in Spring*); or abuse a child for building a castle with his bricks.

Meantime he must not be set down as a slipshod wanderer through the fields of the past. There are no historical lapses in his accounts of the Civil War; he was a close student of the old chroniclers, and like that soul of accuracy, the antiquarian friend whom we all know—he was a close student of old maps.

The years passed; and with a suddenness which may surprise a world, where bachelors increase unchecked, we find Shorthouse married at twenty-three. He and his wife, if truth

be known, had first met at the uncongenial school which caused the stammer, at the mature age of four; but the engagement had been postponed, and though an intermittent intercourse appears to have been kept up, it was not until the maturer age of twenty that any definite advance was made. The parents pleaded, after the manner of parents, for delay; and delay was granted for two years; then followed a year's engagement and marriage in August 1857. There is one love letter in the collection, not of remarkable beauty, when one's thoughts run on to Johnny sunk on the ground at Mary Collet's feet; only the Quaker language gives it a certain quaintness. "There was one beautiful moonlight night while I was with thee—third day night I think; it was that night thou wast so tired and poorly, and I felt the calm influence of the night to be very comforting. I do certainly believe that Nature pure and undefiled has this power of good, that it brings us into the presence of God." The married life that followed, though unblessed with children, was one of unbroken happiness, a true *camaraderie* of soul and mind. The day passed simply enough. Business at nine o'clock; mid-day dinner at home; back to business till nearly seven; then what the Midlanders call "a knife and fork tea"; talk for a short time afterwards; lastly, literary work, the reading often of Greek, both classics and divinity (though mostly with the aid of translations), and—with a deepening interest—the writers of the seventeenth century. Not many evenings were spent away from home; only a few kindred spirits were invited in, who would take an equal pleasure in serious discussion. Sometimes the reading was changed for writing; and the "Moseley Pieces" were succeeded by short works for an "Essay Society."

Up till now Shorthouse had followed the leading of his birth and childhood, and had remained a member of the Society of Friends; but from force of conviction he had never adopted their special peculiarities of dress, and only partially their demure form of speech. His reading, especially of the older English divines, with the emphasis they laid on a historic Church, was leading him nearer and nearer towards the Anglican position; the accident of a country church, with a service that attracted both husband and wife on a visit in Shropshire; the further accident, most human accident, of distance from the Friends' meeting-house and nearness to St. John's, Ladywood, in Birmingham; and the arresting personality of the vicar at that time, the Rev. Francis Morse, acting together upon a mind that was constantly feeling out for a wider culture and a more artistic view of life—all these

produced in 1861 the step which greatly changed the future. In August of that year husband and wife were baptized together, and became members of the Church of England. *Sir Percival* (as many think, as he himself thought, the best of the minor works) is dedicated to Canon Morse. Naturally, the step meant severance and pain in some quarters. To one correspondent he justified himself by pleading "Primitive Quakerism as a distinct sect is dead"; and

> It is not my fault that all the sacraments and ordinances of the Christian religion, *as it is addressed to men*, and not only to spirits, all the helps and means of grace, all that which brings *men as men* absolutely into communion with God, in worship, in common prayer, in common praise are all on one side, and nothing of it (in the sense I mean) on the other. It is not my fault that Christians in all ages have agreed in the means and way of worship and communion with God which I desire to partake in; and that this worship has been the means of comfort and grace to millions of Christian people in England in all ages, and is so now.

This passage I have quoted at length, as illustrating the point of view so prominent throughout the written works. Indeed, it is hard to read the one passage in *John Inglesant* which contrasts the Puritan Thorne's belief with Inglesant's more comprehensive praise of all things that ever delighted humanity, as "in themselves the good blessings of God—the painter's and the player's art, action, apparel, agility, music," and not see that Shorthouse could never have remained a Quaker, when Fox had regarded the past as "a long and dismal night of apostasy and darkness." But for all that the struggle left its mark, and this, combined with overwork, and possibly the effects of a fall from horseback four years before, led to a severe attack of epilepsy in January 1862.

At first it seemed as if his health would be shattered irreparably; and indeed it was only by long intervals of rest, and most generous business treatment from his father and brother, that he was able gradually to recover and avert a disastrous weakening of his intellect, and the loss of the brain power that produced his books. Devonshire, chosen later as the scene of *Blanche, Lady Falaise*, Malvern, Llandudno, Leamington, Rhyl —the last trio surely less irritating resorts then than now!— were visited in succession; and, finally, a return was made to a retreat which commends itself entirely to the writer's sympathies—the village of Malvern Wells, with its wide prospect over the Worcestershire plain, its grassy hill paths, its aloofness from the tourist, and its unrivalled opportunities for birds'-nesting and sliding down the sunburnt turf, though there is no record of the grave author discovering this fascinating school-

boy pursuit. Gradually the malady yielded to rest ; and, as before with his stammer, so now, the curse was turned into a blessing, and the deepened quiet of home life in Birmingham was secured for uninterrupted literary pursuits. Business he still transacted when his health became re-established. Hospitable he remained to the studiously inclined, especially if lonely and needing a good friend. And his public spirit led him to undertake the somewhat thankless duties of churchwarden for nine years. But the delicacy was never quite shaken off, and the pleasures of his life were set more than ever in the half-tones of a semi-invalid ; the experiences of John Inglesant in the year which followed his wound in battle and his brother's murder, the reeling brain and wavering consciousness, are all drawn from personal suffering ; and all intensified in himself, as in his hero, the eager reliance on a guiding hand.

By 1866 he had settled down once more to a regular working life ; and the wish to write a book—"If it was only quite a little book which nobody read, I should like to write one"—grew steadily stronger. He was now thirty-two years of age, and had been reading and thinking and dreaming ever since he had finally abandoned school at sixteen. The materials were ready to hand ; he needed a plot on which to thread his pearls. At last he lighted on the story of a knight, who, on returning from a crusade, met and forgave the murderer of his brother. That was all. For ten years he worked at intervals on his task, rarely mentioning the matter to his most intimate friends ; only to his wife he read each paragraph and page as it was written. Once there was a pause of diffidence and disillusionment for about two years—what publisher would take it ? How could he afford to publish himself ? Luckily a friend "out of a machine" appeared with encouragement and a promise of ten pounds towards expenses. But what does the world know of William Peveril Turnbull ? The book was finished eventually at Llandudno in 1876.

For the purposes of this short paper it will be best not to stray into by-paths of private reading and minor duties, but to keep the highroad of the fortunes of John Inglesant. At first the author's fears were justified. Two publishers refused the work, and as health considerations made a larger house and garden necessary, all spare cash was employed in moving from the smaller quarters of the last fourteen years to Lansdowne, his final home. The manuscript of *John Inglesant* lay in the drawer of a cabinet undisturbed for four years. Some work was done meantime on the smaller tales ; and in

1880 a decision was made to print the magnum opus at the author's private expense. An entry in the journal for Ash Wednesday of that year records "Took my first pages of tale to Mr. King (a Quaker publisher). To Church at St. Philips," this latter being for a short Lenten service, always held for business men by the late Bishop of Coventry. By July 1 the book was completed, and it is delightful to find that the old father had lived long enough to reap the reward of his early intercourse with his boy. The style charmed him. "How *could* Henry write it," he exclaimed, with an English father's incredulity at his son's producing grown-up literary achievement. The old Italian travel stories, told while dressing to the sickly child, had also borne fruit. "How often have I climbed that hill, and seen the mists rise above Siena just as he has described it!" A hundred copies were printed privately, and given away to intimate friends. Praise of more than conventional warmth at last led to a copy being submitted to Smith, Elder and Co. for inspection. The book was returned. Shorthouse received the news philosophically. He was pleased that the friends he loved had praised his work; he had found an outlet for the expression of long pent up convictions; the joy of creation was secured; fame did not attract him; his vitriol paid his simple bills. Why strive or cry? It was the last thing that Inglesant, his Christian gentleman, would have done. But again he was over-ruled by friends. A copy was sent to a well-known character in Oxford, Mr. Arthur Johnson; from him it passed to Mrs. Humphry Ward; and an opportune visit drifted it with her to Mr. Alexander Macmillan. Macmillan was a Platonist like Shorthouse; he read and approved, and requested to be allowed to publish it at his own expense, and by September 1881, *John Inglesant: a Romance* was before the public. The months that followed were a burst into fame. Mr. Gladstone's warm admiration no doubt quickened the movement; but the book made its way by its genuine beauty and distinction. The writer, however, showed no signs of being spoilt. He was no youngling; his preference for a retired life was decided by natural taste as well as physical necessity. And so, as soon as the first rush of correspondence, the pitfalls for autographs, the demands for interviews, the breakfasts in Downing Street, and the general fêting were over, the small figure with the pale complexion, long nose, and side whiskers, sometimes known as "Piccadilly Weepers," disappeared from the London which he was said to have "taken by storm," and seldom returned. Gradually also the mass of new acquaint-

ances that had risen up about him sifted itself out, and the few real abiding friends stand forth clear. In the years that followed, both from visits and correspondence, the names that occur most frequently are the Macmillans and H. Wards ; the present Bishop of Southwark, then Warden of Keble, and the Bishop of Ripon. With Professor Knight he corresponded often about Wordsworth, who became his favourite study (he had read *The Excursion* more than twelve times) as life went on ; and with Edmund Gosse frequently between 1883 and 1893 on all kinds of literary topics. His most intimate friend and correspondent on religious matters seems to have been Lady Welby, for whose "Links and Clues" he expresses an unbounded admiration. Then again there was Lady Lyell, who was a descendant of the Ferrar family, and had portraits to show him in her London house ; Canon Ainger, who preached about his books ; Dean Boyle, of Salisbury, who knew every one, but had actually lived in Birmingham. He visited also the Vice-Provost at Eton. But it would have been impossible for him to forget or neglect his old playmates, the four girl cousins, or the Midland friends of his earliest days. To one of these, Mr. Rawdon Levett, *John Inglesant* is dedicated ; and to him he was writing his most intimate letters from "yours ever affectionately" at the last.

But I must return to the life and the publication of the later booklets. In 1885, *The Little Schoolmaster Mark* was published, after previously appearing in two parts and two small volumes in 1884. It bore the mark of all the minor work—a fine idea encased in language that is always rich and refined, but leaving a general effect of slightness. Was this worth writing—writing, at all events, at such length ? Is the stone worth the setting ? He himself calls them "graceful tales only, which would make pretty Christmas books." For this reason the shortest are surely the best, and *The Little Schoolmaster*, especially Part I., appeals to me more than even *Sir Percival*, which was the author's favourite, or *Blanche, Lady Falaise*, which found favour with most of his readers. *The Countess Eve* is usually placed lowest on the list. *Sir Percival* followed *The Little Schoolmaster* in 1886, and may be dated, like an ode of Horace, by the death of Bishop Hannington in Africa, which probably suggested the closing episode of the book. More than ever before, the author displayed into what camp his religious views were leading him, and the story gained undue praise, or dispraise, from the sympathies of its readers. Meantime, the chemical business was not neglected, and Shorthouse's health was sufficiently restored to enable him to take a more active

interest in the municipal questions which were agitating the town, especially in a school-board election, where he was anxious to stand as a candidate among the "Bible Eight" (how deadly familiar it all sounds !), and to have the Bible explained to the children as well as read, granting at the same time liberty to day teachers to give religious instruction if they wished. This ambition the doctors over-ruled, and drove him back on the less thrilling duty of Treasurer to the National Society. Visits to the Eastern Counties and homes of well-known Quaker families, Gurneys and Frys ; a moonlight scene, while staying at Cambridge with the Westcotts ; an anthem at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, "God is a Spirit" ; tea at Farringford, and the reading of "Maud" and the Wellington Ode by Tennyson himself—these are the brightest spots in the memory of those years. Gradually he became more invalidish. Tuesday was added to Sunday as a complete day of rest. Evening entertainment was given up, and friends visited or received only in the afternoons. Walking remained his favourite exercise. In the holidays husband and wife turned frequently to Devonshire, which supplied him with a strong contrast to Birmingham streets, and brought the quiet needed for his mystic communings. "What has been well called the 'Practice of the presence of God,'" he wrote to a youthful friend, "being a scientific fact, is, like other scientific facts, only the result of effort and experience—communing with God is given to those who seek it diligently—it is entirely independent of all particular dogma ; but the history of religious thought in the world, and of individual experience, has conclusively proved that the reception of *the idea of Christ* has been the most efficacious means of proving this intimate communion with God." There speaks the mystic, and the thought runs through the whole tissue of his writings. The last three years of his life (1900–1903) were full of sickness and pain ; in 1901 the practical and kindly brother, John William, released him from partnership and made him a liberal allowance, so that no money anxieties troubled his mind. Hours and hours he lay in bed, surrounded by books, especially old companions of his meditations, such as usually find a dusty home on the twopenny second-hand stall—the *Familiar Epistles of Sir Anthonie of Guerara*, printed in London, 1577 ; *Feltham's Resolves*, 1631 ; the *Life of James Bonnell, Esq., late Accomptant-General of Ireland*, who had maintained a saintly character in the midst of the world through troublous times, exactly as his Johnny had always striven to do. *The Excursion* and Charles Lamb's *Letters* were the only two moderns, comparative moderns, that he would suffer, with one exception. He had

loved and read for years Keble's *Christian Year*, and now kept a copy always on his bed. There, too—delicious simplicity—was an *Edition de Luxe* of *John Inglesant*. He complained little, in spite of constant rheumatic pain, taking it as a sort of natural balance to a happy and sheltered life. "I am sometimes quite appalled," he said, "at the thought of all the kindness and goodness of God to me." He was a halting poet. Stanzas such as :

> Dante, Laura, Beatrice,
> Arthur, Tristram, Eleanore,
> And the shrine of Arthur Hallam,
> "In memoriam" evermore.

are hardly worthy of the writer of Malvolti's Vision ; but some lines from a later poem, "Odysseus," describe fairly enough these closing months.

> Thou shalt be aged with gentle age, and tired of life shall be,
> And such a one shall Death appear as thou wilt gladly see,
> And Death shall come upon thee very gently as a friend
> Who comes into the house at eve, when the day is at an end.

The friend came "into the house at eve," on March 4, 1903.

The interest of this appreciation has centred round the author of *John Inglesant* rather than the book ; and indeed it would be something of an impertinence to say much of a classic which devout students read through once every two years. But perhaps a few words may be added giving some of Shorthouse's own feelings about the work, as laid down in his letters and answers to criticism.

The main lines of the study lie along the antithesis which found its most striking expression at the time of the Renaissance, between the saint and the "gentleman" or "Cortigiano" ; between the straitest discipline and the widest development; between renouncing all things, yet leaving nothing unenjoyed ; between ascetic and hedonist ; angel and animal ; the Crucifix and the Venus de Medici. Johnny tried, as every cultured Christian tries, to reconcile and combine in his own life the two sides of the antithesis. One may also read in it Shorthouse's preference for the greater independence of the Anglican Communion as against the authority of the Church of Rome, however much simpler and stronger the Roman method may prove. Molinos, a kindred spirit to our English temper, is crushed by the Jesuits, but Molinos is triumphant in attaching our sympathies. Or, again, as a claim for free inquiry against religious intolerance in general. "I may tell you," he writes to one of the girl cousins, "that my own reading

of the book is that God prefers culture to fanaticism." And again "The book is a protest on behalf of culture of every kind against fanaticism and superstition in every form." To another correspondent, "Perhaps the chief object is to promote culture at the expense of fanaticism, including the *fanaticism of work;* to exalt the unpopular doctrine that the end of existence is not the good of one's neighbour but one's own culture. But surely in a wider sense, a man who has successfully cultivated himself, having conquered and secured for himself peace of mind, and a solution of the difficulties which have perplexed his life, cannot be said to do nothing, although he may not give himself to coffee-houses, or Sunday-schools, or Liberal organisations, all very good things in their way. One of my best friends complains that Inglesant is not active enough. I can see that so far as is compatible with perfect culture he was active, even to the close."

Elsewhere Shorthouse speaks of the book as representing a struggle between two ideas which both claimed Johnny's loyalty; the idea of devotion to duty as represented by the Jesuit Order and the King, and the idea of liberty—liberty guided by the inward leading, the divine voice. When challenged to show that Johnny ever "arrived" anywhere, he would answer that the history of many such lives showed that they never did "arrive"—they only drew nearer to truth on this side of the veil; but that the struggle and quest remained triumphant to the end, and in themselves brought satisfaction; and that as a matter of fact "in the last chapter Inglesant was supposed to *have* attained to complete mental rest and peace"; he is content to have reached more light, though he must wait for the shining unto a perfect day. His choice of a period is explained in a letter to Edmund Gosse, "My object was to realise, if possible, something of that exquisite age-spirit which combined all the finest feelings of our nature, and all the sympathies of our existence with a certain picturesqueness of tone and result which seems to me to mark the seventeenth century. The philosophy and the story developed itself as I went on." Asked what was the clue to Inglesant's extreme nobleness of character, his answer is very striking, "I reply that the clue to John Inglesant's life was evident on every page of the book—his devotion to the 'Ideal of Christ.' At the Sacrament at Little Gidding his first insight into the divine life is through the figure of the Saviour; in prison and distraction of mind and body, he consoles himself with the idea of Jesus; in Paris his mind is occupied with the same ideal, though he cannot bring himself to follow Cressy's advice as

to serving Him ; in every page of his life in Italy the idea of Jesus is prominent ; Inglesant tells the old Duke that he finds Him in every Communion ; the crises of his life all turn on the same idea, and his last words recommend a following of Christ."

Readers may expect to hear of Shorthouse's strong sacramental view of nature, which really lay beneath his plea for a wide culture, as all outward expressions of beauty represented to him the indwelling spirit of God. Or of his belief in spirit as triumphant over matter, wherein lies the power of Constance's influence in *Sir Percival*, and of the peasant boy teacher in the semi-pagan artistic court of the Prince in *The Little Schoolmaster Mark*. Or of his interest in "humour" in the widest sense ; of his feeling for scenery, his special love for music, his delicate handling of human passion ; but all these must belong to a Casaubon treatise of a later day. Or, better still, they can be traced by the eager few, who may be stimulated by this short sketch to read or re-read the works of the Master himself.

HENRY BOWLBY.

THE ARTS OF EMPIRE*

To the Reader

Having had the Manuscript of this Treatise, Written by Sir Walter Raleigh, many Years in my Hands, and finding it lately by chance among other Books and Papers, upon reading thereof, I thought it a kind of Injury to withhold longer the Work of so Eminent an Author from the Publick; it being both answerable in Stile to other Works of his already Extant, as far as the Subject would permit, and given me for a true Copy by a learned Man at his Death, who had Collected several such Pieces.

John Milton.

(1) A Monarch Tyrannical is he who, without regard to the Law of God or Nature, commandeth Free-men as Slaves and useth their Lands and Goods as his own.

(2) The chief and only Endeavour of every Good Prince, ought to be the Commodity and Security of the Subjects, as contrariwise the Tyrant seeketh his own private Profit with the Oppression of his People: *Civium non servitus sed tutela tradita est.*

(3) To the Perfection of every good Prince, two things are necessarily required (viz.) Prudence and Vertue; the one to direct his Doings, and the other to govern his Life: *Rex eris si recte feceris.*

(4) The second care which appertaineth to a good Prince, is to make his Subjects like unto himself; for thereby he is not only honored, but they also the better governed: *Facile imperium in bonos.*

(5) Wise Men have resolved, that those Wits which are neither over-haughty and singular, nor they which be base or dull, are fittest for Princes Secrets and Services.

* Political and polemical aphorisms, from the manuscript of the ever-renowned Knight, Sir Walter Raleigh. Published by John Milton at the Angel in St. Paul's Churchyard. 1692. Selected and arranged by the Military Correspondent of the *Times*.

(6) Severity ought to be used with great respect and sparingly, because over great Terror breedeth Desperation: *Poena ad paucos, metus ad omnes perveniat.*

(7) The Art Military is of all other Qualities most necessary for Princes, for without it they cannot be defended; force of Men only sufficeth not, unless the same be governed by Council, and Martial Wisdom.

(8) The Laws of Arms are in all Common-weales to be duly observed; for to enter Fight rashly and without respect to Reason, were Beastly; also to Kill or Slay would work no better Effect, than that all Nations should without Mercy Murder one another.

(9) No War therefore is to be made, but such as is Just; and in every Just War these three things are to be looked into (viz.) That the Author be of Authority, That the Cause be Good, and the End Just.

(10) No Revenge, no desire of Honor or Empire, are any lawful Causes of War; but the intent thereof ought to be directed only to Defence and Security: For Wise Men do take Arms to win Peace, and in hope of Rest they endure Travel: *Ita bellum suscipiatur ut nihil aliua quam pax quaesita videatur.*

(11) A wise Prince ought neither to undertake any unlawful Invasion, nor without sober and mature Deliberation enter into any War, as he that is unwilling to offend, yet of Courage enough to defend: *Nec provoces bellum, nec timeas.*

(12) To make War three things are required, Money, Men and Arms; and to maintain a War, Provision and Council, are needful: Therefore a wise Prince before he begins a War, doth carefully consider what Forces and charge thereunto belongeth: *Diu apparandum est bellum, ut vincas melius.*

(13) It ever behoveth that one only Commander ought to be, (for Plurality of Chieftains doth rarely or never work any good Effect) yet with this Caution that he be of Experience and Wise: *In bellica praefectura major aspectus habendus peritiae quam virtutis aut morum.*

(14) It were also for thy great Advantage, that the Forces should be ordered for the Fight, before the Enemy be prepared. First, For that thou maist the better perform, what thou thinkest fit to be done. Secondly, That thereby thine own Forces will thereof receive great Courage, being readiest to assail the Enemy, and to begin the Fight: *Plus animi est inferenti periculum, quam propulsanti.*

(15) The chief reasons to move War, are, the Justice of the Cause, the Facility of Success, and the Profit of the Victory.

(16) Greatly are Princes deceived, if in the Election of Ministers, they more respect their own particular Affection, than the Sufficiency of the Person elected.

(17) Every wise Prince doth presuppose, that times of Trouble may come, and that all such Occasions he shall be forced to use the Service of Men diversely qualified. His Study therefore is, in the meantime so to entertain them, as when those Storms arise, he may rest assured to command them; for whosoever persuades himself, by present Benefits, to gain the good Will of Men, when Perils are at hand, shall be deceived.

(18) Albeit Neutrality procure present Quiet and Security, during the Troubles of others; yet after the same falleth out a Disadvantage, because it entertaineth a certain Falseness, and so in short space will be perceived; not unlike those men that borrow upon Usury; for albeit they enjoy a certain time, without Trouble or Charge, yet the same being Spent, and the day of Payment come, they then feel the great Danger which their short Pleasure hath purchased.

(19) He that enlargeth his Dominions, doth not always increase his Power; but he that increaseth in force as well as in Dominion, shall thereby grow great; otherwise he gained no more than is shortly to be lost, and consequently he ruineth himself: For who spends more in War, than he gains by Victory, loseth both Labor and Cost.

(20) A Prince sheweth his Ruine at hand, whensoever he beginneth to break the Laws and Customs, which are ancient and have long time been obeyed by the People of his Dominion.

(21) That Prince which careth to keep himself secure from Conspiracy, ought rather to fear those to whom he hath done over-great Favors, than them whom he hath much injured: For these want Opportunities, the other do not; and both their Desires are as one; because the Appetite of Commanding, is always as much or more than the desire of Revenge.

(22) It hath been by long experience found better to send one General to an Army, though he be of mean Sufficiency, than to give the same Authority to two or more Excellent Personages with equal Commission.

(23) In all Enterprises of War (if present necessity doth not otherwise require) Leisure and Deliberation ought to be used; for often it sufficeth in lieu of Wisdom, to take the advantage of other Mens folly.

(24) The success of war chiefly dependeth on the Reputation of the Prince, which declining, the Vertue also of the Soldiers

faileth : Likewise the fidelity of the People decayeth, and their Money to maintain the War, ceaseth ; contrarywise, the Courage of the Enemy is increased, they that stood doubtful become resolved, and every difficulty augmenteth.

(25) Let no man in his Prosperity, give much credit to common Applause or Service, assured by any of whom in meaner Fortune he hath had no experience ; for the base People are learned no Lesson, only without difference of Truth or Falsehood to flatter Men in Authority, and with Shouts and Words of great rejoicing make shew of great Affection.

(26) Strange it is, yet by Experience proved true, That in Time of Danger, Fortune (or rather Destiny) so much amazeth the Judgment of wise Men, as seldom they conceive what Resolution is best to be taken.

(27) Who so persuades himself to be no less esteemed in evil than good Fortune, is deceived : For promises made during distres are rarely performed, unless the same necessity continue.

(28) Who reads Histories treating of great Actions shall perceive that good Princes indeed are more secure and better defended by the Love of the People, and Fidelity of Counsellors, than were they that entertained many Legions and Men of War.

(29) No wise or well-advised Prince or other State will undertake without excessive Forces to invade the Dominions of any other Prince, unless he assure himself of some Friends there to be a Mean, and as it were a gate to prepare his Passage. Example, The Romans by aid of the Saguntines entered Spain, the Aetoli called them into Greece, the Hediai into France : Likewise the Palaeologi incited the Turk to come into Thrace ; and Ludovicus Sforza occasioned Charles the French King to come into Italy.

(30) A Commonwealth that consumes more Treasure in the War, than it profits in Victory, seems to have rather hindered than honoured or enriched the State.

(31) A prince whose People is well armed and trained, shall do better to attend his Enemy at Home, than by Invasion to assault his Country : But such Prince whose Subjects are disarmed, had need to hold the Enemy aloof. Example, The Romans, and in this age the Swisses, being well armed, may attend the War at Home ; but the Carthaginians and Italians being not so well furnished, did ever use to seek the Enemy.

(32) All Castles, Fortresses, and Places of Strength, be made for Defence, either against the Enemy or Subject : In the first Case they are not necessary, in the second dangerous.

(33) To build Forts upon Places of Strength, either for Defence of our own, or to hold that which is taken from others, hath ever proved to small purpose. The Prince that doubteth the Fidelity of his Subjects, must of Force build Fortresses ; but he that feareth Foreign Force more than his own People, were better to leave them unbuilt.

(34) An army which wants Experience, albeit the Captain be expert, is not greatly to be feared ; neither ought an Army of well-trained soldiers to be much esteemed, whose Captain is ignorant.

(35) A discreet Captain being in the Field against the Enemy, of whose Virtue he hath no Proof, ought first by light Skirmishes to feel of what virtue he is ; and not to enterprise any general adventure, to the end that Terror or Fame should not daunt or discourage his own Soldiers.

(36) A Prince that is favoured of the Multitude, need not to doubt Conspiracy ; but contrarywise, where the People is generally discontented and hateth the Prince, then may he reasonably doubt every Thing, and every Person ; for no Man is so Poor, that wanteth a Weapon wherewith to offend.

(37) A Prince that rewards or pardons a Person that kills another Prince, albeit by that means he is aspired to Sovereignty, shall thereby both incur great Danger and Hate, and encourage Men therein to attempt the like against himself. Therefore wise Princes have not only left such Services quite unrecompenced, but also most severely punished them.

(38) The divers Adventures which happen to Men, may well inform, That much better it is, chiefly in Arms, to be governed by Reason than Fortune. A certain Peace is ever accounted better Security than victory hoped or expected. *Melior tutiorque certa pax quam sperata victoria.*

(39) Peace should be simple, true and unfeigned ; for all feigned and dissembling Amity is to be doubted. *Pace suspecta tutius est bellum.*

GREATER BRITAIN AND INDIA

CANADIAN AFFAIRS

1

It is probably correct to say that the majority of Canadians regarded the introduction of Chinese labour into the Transvaal with a feeling of antipathy. But the general confidence in the far-seeing sagacity of Lord Milner, who was charged with the twofold task of devising a policy of reconstruction after the war and of translating it into terms of action, prevented any public criticism of the Transvaal Labour Ordinance. The impossibility of securing a British majority, except by the employment of Chinamen (which would enable the one great British industry in the new Colonies to expand freely, and so create a steady inflow of British immigration), was admitted by all Canadians who had fought in South Africa ; and since an immediate application of the Durham principle—such as the legislative union of the Transvaal with Natal or Rhodesia, or the two together—was obviously impracticable, Canada admitted that the use of Asiatic labour was a necessary evil. In Australia and New Zealand, which lie within a short voyage of the over-crowded countries of South-East Asia, the " yellow peril " has always seemed a very real social and economic danger, and it was only natural that Lord Milner's device for assuring a British majority should be misunderstood by the advocates of an " All-White Australia " policy. The Australian Labour Party, which thought that the necessity of white stoke-holes was a logical consequence of the acceptance of that policy, could easily persuade themselves that the Rand deeps could, and should, be manned by white men only. The general belief that the Transvaal was a detached piece of Australia or New Zealand—compare with this fallacious notion Mr. Harold Cox's idea that Natal and West Ham are comparable societies—was at the root of the misconception which prompted the condemnation of an experiment, the nature and necessity of which could only be grasped

by the man on the spot—*i.e.*, by Lord Milner. In Canada, even in British Columbia, where the Asiatic labourer has been allowed to wander to and fro and lower the standard of the living wage here and there, nobody lies awake at nights for fear of the "yellow peril," or talks about it in his sleep—and the meaning and intent of Lord Milner's scheme for strengthening the British political garrison in the industrial capital of the South African sub-continent were at once grasped. It was seen from the outset that he was required to solve a problem closely resembling that which presented itself to the great Lord Durham, whose famous Report laid the foundation of the Canadian Confederacy. By linking together Lower Canada (Quebec), with its French majority and British minority, and Upper Canada (Ontario), where the British settler was paramount, Lord Durham ensured the triumph of the spirit of British institutions in the two small river-colonies which were destined to develop into a great trans-continental polity. But no such solution of the South African problem was possible. There was no great all-British community to be thrown into the balance—to weigh down the Dutch electorate despite their philoprogenitiveness (exceeding that of the Canadian *habitant*) until such time as they should learn the secret of thinking Imperially. The Orange River Colony was a Dutch Quebec. Cape Colony was half Dutch, half British—or so nearly so that the native vote, a corruptible element of the electorate, might determine the issue of a general election. Obviously the problem could only be solved indirectly.

If the Canadian Government had ventured to advise the makers of a Constitution for the Transvaal, their advice would have been summarised as follows : (1) a British majority must be somehow secured before responsible government is granted ; (2) Lord Milner has no party axe to grind at home, and should be allowed to work out his scheme for adding to the voting strength of the British garrison on the Rand ; (3) if his plan is successful in creating a working majority, then let the Transvaal run the Transvaal. But a stern sense of constitutional etiquette has prevented what might seem interference with the affairs of another Province of the Empire. However, it is certain that the Canadian people are strongly of opinion that the fruits of victory—a victory which was bought at a great price in blood and treasure, a part being paid by Canada, at Paardeberg and elsewhere—should not be risked by allowing the Dutch the shadow of a chance to control the affairs of the Transvaal for the second time of asking. There were no Pro-Boers in Canada (excepting in Quebec) during the war period.

To-day there are no Pro-Boers even in Quebec; and the attitude of the extreme Radicals and Socialists of the Keir Hardie type in the British House of Commons towards South African affairs is deeply resented throughout the Dominion, where it is seen that the policy of the Campbell-Bannerman Cabinet in regard to Chinese labour and the question of a Constitution for the Transvaal has been inspired by the wish to redeem rash electioneering pledges and to keep the support of the most ignorant section of the British electorate. Except by the guerilla parson who edits the *Toronto Globe*, the word "Liberalism" is not thought by Canadians to be a sufficient covering for the sins of omission and commission which have been perpetrated in the last six months by the Cabinet of antiques and plagiarisms of the antique, under the nominal command of the inventor of the phrase "methods of barbarism"—a phrase which is neither forgotten nor forgiven by the members of the Canadian contingents.

2

The visit of Lord Grey to Newfoundland marks a change in the relations between Canada and the island colony. He is the first Canadian Governor-General to cross the Cabot Straits into the "sea-girt Devon" which commands the entrance to Canada's chief trade-route. Naturally this new departure gave rise to the suggestion that Lord Grey and Sir William Macgregor —the most energetic Governor Newfoundland has ever possessed, and as popular as Sir Henry McCallum, the best known of his predecessors—were about to discuss the question of union, and it was rumoured that their meeting would be followed by the arrival of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and some of his Ministers at St. John's, prepared to negotiate terms for the entry of Newfoundland into Confederation as the Tenth Province. These statements were officially denied in Canada, and a strong protest against the interpretation put upon Lord Grey's visit was made public by the island Government, which came into power on a platform including an anti-Confederation plank. It was announced that the object of the Governor-General was to obtain a little of the excellent fishing afforded by the picturesque rivers of the interior, which, thanks to the existence of the Reid-Newfoundland railway and its steamship connections with the mainland, are now much frequented by American and Canadian sportsmen. Speaking in St. John's, Lord Grey denied the report that he had been sent by his Government to re-open the negotiations for union, quoting the words used by Judge Tremlett on a somewhat similar occasion from Judge Prowse's History of Newfoundland :

"The first charge, your Excellency, was a lie. The second was a —— lie. The third was a —— —— lie. That being so, your Excellency, there is no more to be said." It is, perhaps, unnecessary to say that the speaker did not supply the missing words.

That the idea of union with Canada is at present unpopular in Newfoundland is an undeniable fact. The old notion that the Dominion is a barren wilderness inhabited by disloyal savages has not yet been extirpated. In 1869, when Sir John Macdonald was about to realise his ideal of a transcontinental Canada, and Newfoundland sent two delegates to discuss terms of union, the most preposterous tales set about by the party of insularity and self-isolation—ideas that were really survivals from the days when Newfoundland was merely a great fishing-station—were readily believed by the simple-minded fishermen of the out-ports. It was actually believed that the Dominion Government would use Newfoundland babies as gun-wads, and that the bones of their fathers, compelled to serve in Canadian wars, would "bleach on the barren sands" of the continental colony. The following lines, written in 1869, were again repeated in 1894, when, in order to avoid bankruptcy and the loss of their Constitution, the island Government entered, on their own initiative, into negotiations for union with the Dominion—negotiations which would certainly have been successful if Canada had been represented by a Premier of insight and foresight, and reasonable financial terms had been offered. However, the people of Newfoundland were again asked to

> Remember the day
> When Carter and Shea
> Crossed over the sea
> To barter away
> The rights of Terra Nova ;

and the cryptic question : "Are you willing to sell your country for the price of a sheepskin ?"—at that time four shillings, the *per capita* amount of the provincial subsidy offered by the Dominion Government on condition of the island's inclusion in the Canadian Confederacy, would purchase a sheepskin in St. John's—proved a very forcible argument. To-day these quaint appeals to the illiterate elector would prove ineffectual in most cases ; and yet it is correct to say that the *racine de la rancune* is still alive in the fishing settlements along the iron-bound coasts of the island. None the less, the fact that the advantages of union would outweigh the disadvantages is beginning to be recognised. The Reid-Newfoundland trans-

portation system, the work of a Canadian statesman-capitalist whose motives have been misrepresented on both sides of the Atlantic, has revolutionised the political economy of the island by (1) opening up the interior, with its forest-wealth and many attractions for the tourist with a taste for fishing or the shooting of caribou ; (2) connecting the outposts with St. John's, and thereby loosening the grip of the ring of merchants collectively known as "Water-street," from the name of the "down-along" thoroughfare where their stores and wharves are situated ; and (3) providing access to the Canadian labour-market, with its insatiable demand for the worker who can turn his hand to anything—a type ubiquitous in Newfoundland—and thereby affording opportunities of obtaining employment in the mines of Cape Breton Island, and further afield, during the interval between one fishing season and the next. Again, it is not too much to say that the Canadian banks, which established branches in St. John's after the financial catastrophe of 1894, when the old system of credit collapsed, were the chief factor in the reconstruction of the chief business of the community. EachNewfoundlander who goes to Canada to look for a temporary job, and finds it ; each client of the Newfoundland branches of the admirably organised Canadian banks ; each Canadian "traveller" who goes to St. John's over the trans-insular railway in search of business, may be described as a missionary of Confederation. Trade with Canada is increasing more rapidly than that with any other country, as the following table—in which the unit is trade to the value of $1000—clearly shows :

IMPORTS.

From	1898-9.	1904-5.	Percentage of Increase.
Canada	2088	4105	100
United Kingdom . .	1935	2654	37
United States . . .	1928	2750	42
Other countries . . .	359	768	111

EXPORTS.

To	1898-9.	1904-5.	Percentage of Increase.
Canada	541	1135	109
United Kingdom . .	1443	1946	35
United States . . .	620	1418	128
Other countries . . .	4331	6173	44

The increase of Canadian imports, and the fact that Canada is

becoming as important a customer of Newfoundland as the other two chief competitors in her rapidly-expanding market, are the most significant features of this statistical survey. However, we must not forget that the fishing Provinces of the Dominion are rivals of Newfoundland, not only in the United States (where the militant fishing interests of Massachusetts have hitherto succeeded in keeping the door shut against both Colonies), but also in the Roman Catholic countries, where dried fish is a staple article of diet. That Newfoundland would profit in many ways by the removal of the tariff wall which separates her from Canada is obvious enough. At present Canada's emigrant capital flows southward into the Latin-American polities (at least £25,000,000 of Canadian money is now invested), and very little, if any, enters Newfoundland; so that the development of the mineral resources of the country is proceeding very slowly indeed. The British capitalist, with one notable exception, takes no interest in the possibilities of the island, and the much more enterprising American has as yet done little or nothing, Cobalt and other rich "mining camps" in Canada being the present attraction for him and his pioneering capital. Though some of the Water-street merchants are wealthy men—one or two of them may well be demi-millionaires in the Transatlantic sense—not one is rich enough to take in hand the business of mining development on a large scale, and combination between these cautious and conservative traders in any kind of speculative investment is out of the question. At present the geological survey of Newfoundland is supposed to be carried on by a single ill-paid official —a penny-wise-pound-foolish policy, if you like—and not the least important benefit accruing from entry into Confederation would be the arrival of the highly-trained and experienced specialists in the service of the Dominion Government who have done so much in the past for the advancement of Canadian mining, which is now one of the pivotal industries of the country. But, after all, the chief advantage to either party to the act of union would lie in the enormous additional power which the Canadian Confederacy would gain in negotiating with the United States for the settlement of outstanding fisheries disputes. As long as Canada and Newfoundland negotiate separately, those disputes (of which by far the most serious arises from the attempts made last year on the part of the Gloucester fishing-vessels to ignore the right of Newfoundland to act as the sovereign power in virtue of her Constitution within her own territorial waters—a right which was certainly not abrogated by the Treaty of 1818) can never be settled to the best

advantage. In the past the American Government have played off Canada against Newfoundland and *vice versâ*, and have profited largely by the jealousy subsisting between the continental and the insular Colony. Now, however, the Canadian Government are prepared to co-operate with the Newfoundland authorities in dealing with the diplomatists of Washington ; and it will assuredly be found, when the time comes for a public discussion of these matters, that British North America will act as a unit. In point of fact, Lord Grey himself holds all the keys of the great controversy in regard to the North Atlantic Fisheries in his hand, and there can be no doubt whatever that his meeting with Sir William MacGregor and his advisers at St. John's was not arranged solely for the purpose of exchanging fishermen's yarns, but also for the quiet discussion of British North American policy in regard to the coming settlement. It is known that President Roosevelt and Mr. Root are anxious to deal amicably with Canada and Newfoundland in this matter ; but nobody knows better than the Canadian Governor-General that the traditions of American diplomacy will come into play so soon as the actual negotiations begin, and that a friendly understanding between Canada, Newfoundland, and the British Embassy at Washington is absolutely necessary if a just and amicable settlement is to be secured. We may take it that this mutual understanding now exists largely as a result of Lord Grey's visits to the United States and to Newfoundland, which, it is hardly necessary to point out, were undertaken with the full consent and unqualified approval of his Ministers.

When the effect of this diplomatic *rapprochement*—a new thing, as I have pointed out, in the relations between the two Colonies—is seen by the people of Newfoundland, it is certain that the opposition to union will lose much of its force. The arguments against such a step are mainly sentimental, and sentiment dies hard among a maritime folk. The removal of the dead hand of the French *condominium* and the recent prosperity of the island have naturally increased the sense of nationality and the desire for independence, and Newfoundland fears—as Nova Scotia feared in the days of Joseph Howe—that she might lose her personal identity, if she entered Confederation on the most favourable terms. The only terms she will ever accept are such as were offered to British Columbia by Sir John Macdonald. Twice—in 1869 and again in 1894—these terms were refused. On the third occasion of asking they will certainly be freely offered. Meanwhile the words of Lord Grey on this subject, which were spoken at Govern-

ment House on the hill at St. John's, are not likely to be forgotten :

> A policy of Confederation can only become operative on the direct initiative of the people of this island. But I wish you to understand that, if the day should come when you—the people of Newfoundland—realise that it would be to your advantage to become a unit of the Dominion and a co-sharer with the other Provinces in all the wonderful prosperity which is arising already on their horizon, all you will have to do will be to bear against a door already open—and behind that open door you will find, I assure you, a most loving, hearty, and generous welcome.

That is the way to woo the Sea-nymph. Hitherto, to sum up the history of the ineffectual efforts to win her, she has "disliked not the match, but liked not the manner of wooing."

3

The Labrador boundary dispute is not likely to affect the friendly relations between Canada and Newfoundland. It would not have arisen but for the fact that the Canadian Government is at last convinced that the territories which form the littoral of the Hudson Bay are of great potential value for their mineral resources, and that they must, if possible, secure an outlet to the Atlantic from the inaccessible portions of the "Middle North," thus avoiding the necessity of seeking overland routes which, on the Pacific side, is the result of the Alaskan boundary award. The Labrador peninsula, with its area of 320,000 square miles and population of 10,000, was formerly regarded as a kind of North American "Never Never land," and the various attempts to explore the country have not been very successful, owing to the inhospitality of the climate and the rugged nature of the country. But it is now known that the precious metals occur there, and the discovery of the Klondike placers and the authentic accounts of mineral wealth far to the north of the existing railway systems in Quebec and Ontario, have proved once for all that no portion of the Empire's half of North America—not even the islands of the Arctic Archipelago —must be regarded as valueless. Canada is therefore anxious that the boundary-line between the coast, which belongs to Newfoundland, and the interior, which is her territory, should be accurately defined in the light of modern geographical knowledge. Two centuries ago France held Labrador, maintaining large fishing establishments and substantial forts in the straits of Belle Isle. When "New France" became a British possession in 1763, Labrador fell into the hands of the conquerors, and was at first given to Newfoundland, because the coast fisheries seemed the one valuable asset of the country, and

those who resorted to them could only be governed by way of the sea. Sir Hugh Palliser tried hard to introduce law and order among the turbulent French, French-Canadian and New England fisher-folk, of whom the last-named were the greatest nuisances. In 1774, however, it was restored to Lower Canada by the Quebec Act. In 1809 it was divided between Newfoundland and Canada, the eastern littoral being given to the former and the unknown hinterland to the latter, or rather to the Hudson Bay Company. But the boundary, as described in the State documents, is an impossible one. When the partition was made, the peninsula was mapped as lying further to the east than is actually the case, so that the prescribed formula, if rigidly applied, would give the control of a part of the coast to Canada, despite the grant of the whole coast-line to Newfoundland. It is clear that a new basis of adjustment will have to be reached, and that can only be done by working upon the most accurate scientific data. Accordingly, Sir William Macgregor has gone to Ause Sablon (the starting-point of the boundary line) and fixed its geographical position by time signals from Ottawa Observatory, and has chosen a point from which a surveying party will run a line next summer to the 52nd parallel of latitude. He now goes to Hamilton Inlet (where the seizure of timber cut by Newfoundlanders who refuse to pay royalties to the Province of Quebec, has brought the controversy to a mild crisis) to determine its geographical position and to fix the limit of tidal waters in its upper reaches, because Newfoundland's authority certainly extends so far unless a geographical blunder is to overrule the spirit of the 1809 arrangement. The problem to be solved, doubtless by some compromise, has been stated as follows :

If Newfoundland's territory runs inland nearly two hundred miles at this particular point, how far will it extend in the same direction at points north and south, where there are no such deep indentations? Will it be a mere narrow strip following the sinuosities of the strand or a block of territory fixed by some geographical parallel or some natural topographical feature? There is such a feature in the interior of Labrador known as "the height of land," an elevated plateau which forms a natural dividing-line between the eastern and western sections of the peninsula, and which would, if accepted, give a physical substance to the demarcation of the two districts not otherwise possible. Canada, however, on behalf of Quebec, is not expected to consent to such a division because it will deprive her of the known timber wealth and supposed mineral beds existing there, while Canada on her own account is thought to be desirous of effecting some arrangement which will give her an outlet to the Atlantic without having to pass through a coastwise strip owned by this Colony. Newfoundland, on her part, claims as hers all of the region habitually frequented by her people who trap fur-bearing

animals there and sell them at the Hudson Bay Company's posts on the Inlet, which posts pay duties to the Newfoundland Customs on all articles imported into the districts, thus admitting Newfoundland's sovereignty there.

When the necessary data are collected—the Canadians have a party of surveyors at the head of Hamilton Inlet—the question of the boundary will be settled, as the statute establishing colonial self-government provides, by the Privy Council or arbitrators chosen by the Imperial Government. The controversy will attract attention to the potential resources of this huge cantle of unexplored territory, and the prophecy of a geological authority (quoted on one occasion, if I remember rightly, by Sir Wilfrid Laurier) that Labrador would prove a great gold-bearing country, may be put to the test.

4

The success of speedy *Canada*, the new illustrated journal dealing with Canadian affairs, which aims at providing English readers with reliable information in regard to all phases of Canadian progress, is a striking proof of the growing interest felt in the "spectacular development" of the Dominion. Both in Canada and the Mother Country the new journal has been most cordially welcomed, and it is obviously destined to form an important factor in the growth of Anglo-Canadian commerce, and of a mutual interest in all the larger issues of Imperial policy. Mr. Walter Lefroy, who is the editor, combines an unsurpassed knowledge of Canadian affairs with literary ability and a clear understanding of the necessity of Imperial Preference. . . . The training of the public schoolboy who wishes to make a profession of colonisation, and so to obtain a share of the vast profits of settling the Canadian North-west has been much discussed of late. Some of the *Dii Majores* among English headmasters are taking a practical interest in the matter, which certainly ought to be raised next year at the Colonial Conference. But the "School Farm" established three years ago at Alberta by Dr. T. C. Fry, of Berkhamsted school—one of the oldest foundations in England—is obviously the key to a problem which has engaged the attention of every visitor to Western Canada. Dr. Fry's experiment has been a great success. E. B. O.

SOUTH AFRICA

THE SECOND BETRAYAL

OUR concern this month, in these notes, is not with the Parliament of Great Britain, or the speeches of Lord Elgin

and Mr. Lyttelton, which are presumably dealt with elsewhere. Whether or not the Unionist Party did what they could to avert the cataclysm, whether the poisoned minds of the Liberal Ministers fully intended the wreckage they have achieved, are matters of great importance to all who live in Great Britain, but, in South Africa the various degrees of responsibility resting on men and parties at home, have not attracted the same attention as in England. And this is natural, for when your house is being carried away by a flood, you do not stop to ask what is the chemical composition of water. British South Africans know that for the second time they have been thrown over, and that their sacrifices on behalf of Imperial unity have been ignored. It seems to them that the people at home after eight years of constant effort to retain South Africa under the Union Jack are now seemingly indifferent to the loss of the sub-continent which England has paid for so often both in blood and in money. That is how the Government and electorate of Great Britain are judged by loyal South Africans with regard to the loftiest obligations of statesmanship.

How does the home attitude, this apparent deadness to their most fervently held convictions, affect the over seas British ? How is the Englishman in the Transvaal taking his part in the desperate game, in which, with the dice loaded in favour of the Boers, he finds himself playing for the cause of British ideals ? And, how do the British in the older Colonies, Natal and Cape Colony, take this attempt of the Bannerman Ministry to make the enemies of our flag, our justice, our traditions of fairplay and clean administration, the enemies of all we care for, masters in the South African provinces of the British Empire ?

The answer is one which fires our national pride, for if we are ashamed of the Home Government, we may be proud of the English in the new Colonies, for they have shown great courage and a stolid determination to accomplish the incredibly difficult task which they have been set. The leaders and the rank and file have accepted the situation, they realise that all they care for has to be fought for at the polls for another generation, and that the political conditions and material prosperity of their adopted country which only ten months ago seemed safe, now depend entirely upon the efforts they can make in the face of great and recently invented political disabilities. They have said little, but their spirit is splendid. Of course there are not wanting, both in the Transvaal and in Cape Colony, a handful of Englishmen who are willing to sell their

birthright for the sake of office or other material advantages to be won from Boers or Cape rebels, but these men, unhonoured even by the astute Dutch leaders who make use of them, are few in number, and would not be worth mentioning but for the publicity which certain telegraphic agencies give to their pronouncements. They would attract little attention but for this advertisement which is, of course, greatly increased by the Radical Press and the *Morning Post*, which, otherwise admirable organ, holds a brief for every anti-British crank in the new Colonies. In South Africa these men are known, and they should equally be understood at home by all who study Colonial politics. They represent, like some politicians at home, no one but themselves, and if we refer to them at all it is only to warn our readers against their mischievous efforts to undermine the elected British leaders. If we want to know the standpoint of our fellow countrymen in the Transvaal we cannot do better than study the pronouncements of the Progressive Association of that Colony. In a recent number of the *Pretoria News*, this organisation was eloquently described in a passage which we cannot do better than quote :

> The Progressive Association numbers over forty thousand, English and Dutch-speaking voters, pledged to support British supremacy in this country at any cost. It has some sixty branches, distributed over the length and breadth of this colony. Indeed, wherever two or three loyal British subjects are gathered together, there the Imperial symbol has been unfurled and there the Progressive organisation is active and its members enthusiastic.

This powerful association delegated five of its most influential members to come home to lay the views of the British community before Lord Elgin. They are returning to South Africa to fight our battles and to win a second time the power that has been taken from them and from us. Already preparations for the election campaign are being made, and on August 9 Sir George Farrar made, at Pretoria, an admirable speech. His remarks about the so-called Moderates and mischief-makers should specially be noticed. We quote from the *Times* telegraphic summary :

> Dealing with the question of the Constitution, Sir G. Farrar said that the only thing left to do was to accept it loyally and "put their backs to the wall like Englishmen." It was not by any means all that they could desire, but they had done the best they could for the British cause, and no one more than those five delegates in England to whom the British community owed a sincere debt of thanks. They had now to face the elections, and they must all endeavour to sink their personal differences and fight as a united British party. The Boers on their side presented a solid front, and he admired them

for it. They had just the same difficulties and differences as the British, but they never displayed the same weakness for washing their dirty linen in public. Enough harm had been done already by the so-called "moderate Englishmen," the leader of whom went about the country apologising for the absence of General Botha from his platform and belittling the true representation to which the British population was entitled. The end of these gentlemen, said Sir G. Farrar, would be that, like Jonah, they would be swallowed by the whale of Het Volk, and when the whale vomited them forth, as it assuredly would, the speaker doubted whether even the wicked city of Nineveh would receive them back. "So far as the British community was concerned, they would be politically and morally finished and damned."

Sir G. Farrar concluded an admirable fighting speech with an appeal to Pretoria to work in harmony with the Rand. The idea that Johannesburg or the Progressive Association or the mining industry was a dangerous capitalist combine was grotesque. Mr. Kruger's *régime* had actually teemed with real combines and concessions in meat, dynamite, railways, and a hundred and one other directions, and it had taken the British Government four years to get rid of them. Het Volk were perfectly ready to sanction capitalists and combines of their own colour.

There is no trace of bitterness in this, and it well represents the spirit of the community. The Transvaal British will bear the burden put upon them by the friends of our enemies, just as the people of Natal have borne the burden of their war without accepting our help. They understand that while the Home Government is in the hands of the Bannerman Cabinet that the responsibility of maintaining the Imperial connection rests with the Colonies. It is the Mother Country who is disloyal to the Imperial ideal now, just as the Bond Government in Cape Colony was disloyal when, in September 1899, it allowed the carriage of a million rounds of cartridges to the Boers who were preparing to invade our territory. This time it is not cartridges, but votes that the Boers have been given, and the senders are not open enemies but the foes of our own household, who by their manipulation of a plain situation have left the British in the Transvaal in a very weak position. For the franchise is so arranged and the seats are so allotted that no strong British majority can be returned in spite of the fact that there is a considerable British majority in the country, and we must be prepared to face the possibility of a Boer administration, with all its consequences. A coalition Government with Sir Richard Solomon as Premier would be hardly better. Such a Government would throw the mantle of the Union Jack over Boer racial ascendency, for Sir Richard Solomon has before now worked towards anti-British ideals, and, although he was a most valuable public servant during the reconstruction under Lord Milner, he has, of late shown Boer tendencies, and it is possible that he may be preparing to be the

Merriman of the Transvaal. But if it is not to Sir Richard Solomon that we can look for moral courage and support in these dark days, and if the weakness of certain Cape progressives is notorious, on the other hand there is in Natal, in Cape Colony and in the Transvaal a fine body of men, whose love of their country and whose belief in eventual Imperial unity has stood even these latter-day shocks. "Purged by strong fire" they are going, with all the unselfishness and practical capacity of their race to work to hold for us that great province of our Empire which our blinded and partial Government is so ready to give to our enemies. We only hold South Africa by the stalwarts, let us remember this and assure them that their countrymen here, who value the great ideal of unity, towards which all believers in Greater Britain strive, hold their work in high honour, and wish their splendid courage a fitting reward.

INDIA

(By Our Own Correspondent in India)

Mail of July 28.

PROBLEMS OF UNREST.

The question of the hour in India is one that overshadows all other questions, and yet embraces most of them. It is the question of what has been vaguely defined as "the state of native feeling." Of late one is constantly receiving inquiries from England on this subject. The Denshawi episode, and the grave revelations of unrest in Egypt which ensued, seem to have produced a feeling of pained bewilderment at home; but they caused no surprise to those who had some knowledge of existing tendencies on the banks of the Nile. In the same way, what I have to say about the symptoms of unrest in India may disturb a little those who have no direct knowledge of Indian affairs; but it will be for the most part familiar ground to those who keep in touch with Indian politics. To understand the present situation, it is first necessary to appreciate the various causes of unrest. In my last letter, I touched upon some of the more obvious and deep-seated of these causes. The lack of flexibility in the Administration, the reluctance to adjust the system to changing conditions, the growing lack of touch between the Government and the people, the vague and unformed aspirations induced by the dazzling rise of New

Japan were, I think, among the points noted. Be it understood that these factors are not new. With the exception of the reflex and accidental influence of Japan, they have been slowly at work for a long time ; but recent events have served to accelerate and focus them. Foremost among these events may be placed the recent General Election in England and the departure of Lord Curzon.

The mere fact of Lord Curzon's departure had a momentous effect upon India. Nothing need be said here about the merits or the demerits of his rule ; that does not concern the issue. But in India he represented, above all things, strength. He was fearless, he knew his own mind, he had the courage of his convictions to a degree that was sometimes overwhelming. How far he was beloved does not matter at the moment ; the point is that, loved or feared, his lightest word commanded instant attention, and there was no man in the country, however great his position or however proud his lineage, who did not stand somewhat in awe of him. His strength gave stability to the Administration ; all India knew he was not a man to be trifled with. To-day in India there is no prominent man of commanding strength of character except Lord Kitchener ; and Lord Kitchener has no influence upon, and little connection with, the problems here discussed. The Indian Civil Service, magnificent though it is in many respects, rarely produces a great personality. It is not the fault of the men, but of the system and the conditions. Potentially great men may be among them, but fettered and controlled as they are, the unwilling slaves of an exacting routine, there is small chance of the development of individuality. Lord Curzon's successor has so far made little impression on the country or the people. This is said in no spirit of criticism ; Lord Minto has been in India only eight months, and the man who takes up the terrible burden of the Viceroyalty and commences to study the perplexing problems of India at threescore years, sets himself an appalling task. But there is a further contributory cause connected with Lord Curzon's departure, and that is the manner of his going. He had bulked largely in India for seven years ; he had filled a place in the popular imagination comparable only to that occupied by Dalhousie and Mayo. Here, again, it may be said at once that the rights or wrongs of the controversy that led to his resignation do not concern the issue ; and such unrest as exists in India is in no sense traceable to the constitutional question he raised. But it has an unquestionably direct connection with the circumstances of his departure. The public of India regarded it as a downfall, an overthrow,

in some sense a degradation. To them it seemed as though the King's vicegerent, the Viceroy who was looked upon as omnipotent, had been hurled from his high place. The forcing of Lord Curzon's resignation was the greatest blunder made in India for years, not on his account, but on account of his office. Any scheme, however imperative, should have been postponed rather than belittle the office of Viceroy. For that has been the result of the incident. It has created ideas which it will take years to remove. It has lowered the prestige and the influence of the Viceroyalty. If the influence of the Viceroy is weakened, the influence of the Administration of which he is the head is weakened also. The head of the Administration, it was demonstrated, was not more immutable than the rest; and, it is argued, if Lord Curzon could be thrust aside, how easy to bring about the ejection of Sir Bampfylde Fuller!

Next the General Election. The leaders of native political opinion had long cherished the belief that when the Liberal Party returned to power extensive measures of enfranchisement and self-government would be granted to India. They had been encouraged in this belief by the little band of uncompromising Radicals in England with whom their relations were chiefly confined. When the upheaval took place which for the time being has revolutionised the House of Commons, they expected the instant advent of a political millennium. The process of disillusion is now at work, almost precisely as it is at work in England. Mr. Morley shows no perspiring haste to create a new heaven and a new earth. His selection as Secretary of State for India is one of the few wise acts of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Mr. Morley commands the confidence and respect of Englishmen in India, and the cabled summary of his Budget speech has received the almost unanimous approval of moderate native politicians. He has been ready to listen, but has firmly applied the curb to wild aspirations. Yet there is a prevalent sense of unfulfilled expectations, which has produced the conviction that persistent agitation and emphatic demonstration are necessary in order to compel the attention of the Home Government. The feeling is that the Liberals, the Radicals, and the Labour Members will hearken and acquiesce if only enough noise and disturbance is made; and that feeling is perhaps the most potent and the most dangerous cause of unrest in India to-day. More on that point anon. It would be idle to deny that a further most pronounced cause of unrest is the partition of Bengal. This is not the place to discuss that vexed question. Mr. Morley has now wisely declared it to be a "settled fact," and so it

should be regarded. The agitation concerning the partition is practically confined to Bengal Proper; the rest of India, except for a few brief days, has never cared two straws about the question. Though there was an admixture of sincerity in the outcry, it was always to a considerable extent fictitious and unreal; and though still exuberant and clamant, it is entirely unreal now. The fact is that the partition served as a convenient rallying-cry; had it not been available, the acute-minded Bengali would have found some other slogan rapidly enough. To home readers it will perhaps seem strange to find the revolutionary disturbances in Russia included among the causes of unrest in India; yet such is to a limited degree unquestionably the case. India is not only affected by the stirring of dry bones visible throughout Asia to-day. That wave of democratic disquiet which has affected most Western countries has, by odd and fantastic and devious paths, touched India also; and among natives who read and think it has taken the peculiar form of intense interest in Russian affairs. As a rule, the native Press has in the past shown utter indifference to foreign politics; but it is most significant that the struggles of the Duma have been followed and discussed and expounded by every important native journal; parallels are drawn, and the moral needs no exposition here. There are, of course, many other incidental causes of unrest in India, some of them vague and elusive enough, but all tending in the same direction. Even Sir Edward Grey's statement about Egyptian disquietude had its little share of effect.

It will, of course, be said that the various factors enumerated may have been propelling impulses, but the real and final causes of unrest must lie within the polity of India itself. That also is true enough. Broadly speaking, the desire of most educated natives of India is for a greater share in the government of the country. I cannot pause to discuss their fitness for such a task. To do so would be to open up an almost illimitable field for inquiry. My concern for the moment is in another direction. It is a risky thing to lay down any general proposition concerning India; it is not one country, but a congeries of countries and peoples, and any general proposition concerning it should be guarded by many exceptions and qualifications. Yet it may be advanced as a generalisation that, so far as any change is visible in India, it is a change from passive acquiescence to a growing tendency to run counter to the desires and wishes of the Government. It is not acute as a rule, it is only occasionally manifested, but

the disposition is there. But quite apart, and in advance of this general tendency, there is a steadily growing number of native politicians whose aims, whether veiled or avowed, are directly subversive of British rule. These men constitute a genuine danger in India to-day. They are reckless, they are truculent, they are clever, they are unscrupulous, and they should be seriously considered. They do not represent the bulk of the population, and every loyal and moderate native disapproves of their views and detests their methods. But they are a real, albeit subtle, power in the land, and they cannot be disregarded. On the one hand, they touch and participate in the legitimate political associations of which no one disapproves ; on the other, they pursue their courses by secret paths and intricate organisations which evade detection. Outwardly professing the sincerest and most exemplary of motives, they have no other aim than to create anarchy and misrule, to render the task of good government more difficult, to sow the seeds of disaffection and sedition. They seek not to build up, but to destroy. They preach the doctrine that if India is to be "free," it must be by first adopting measures of "force" which will strike terror into the hearts of the rulers. It is far from the purpose of these comments to give an exaggerated impression of their capacity for evil. There is not at present the slightest possibility that they could induce any general movement, and it is tolerably certain that their propaganda leaves the Native Army entirely untouched. But they are adepts at catching the ear of the populace, and they know how to inflame the easily moved passions of the ignorant mob ; and it will not be their fault if India does not witness, sooner or later, a series of Denshawi episodes, or spasmodic outbreaks, in some form or other. These are the men who inspire and instigate the disreputable and seditious organs of the native press. They and their organisation are at the back—always at the back—of most of the troubles in India which end in violence. To them is due the inculcation of that spirit of disorder which resulted in the wilful destruction of property when the Swadeshi agitation was at its height. Another form of their activity is the fomentation of labour disputes, which are almost invariably engineered against European employers of labour ; and there is every reason to believe that they are associated with the general strike which has been partially dislocating the East Indian Railway. They have discerned in the active encouragement of labour troubles a potent weapon of mischief, and, did space permit, the widespread ramification of their influence might be clearly indicated. No concession

of a larger basis of representation on the Councils will satisfy these men. Their bent is destruction, and no review of present political conditions in India can fail to take them into account. They no more represent the general feeling of India than the Anarchists represent the general feeling of Europe; but they are the Anarchists of India, nevertheless, and their influence is more diffused, and they are infinitely more subtle, than any Western bomb-thrower. Their identity is usually well known to the authorities, but for the most part they have been allowed so far to go their way unchecked and unreproved.

A cognate but exceedingly difficult question, far more general in its application, is that of the native press. It may be said emphatically that the tone of the native press was never more bad or more violent than it is to-day. There are many honourable exceptions. The *Hindu*, of Madras, is an admirable, moderate, and well-conducted journal; but in these respects it reflects the general characteristics of the quiet and orderly province whose literary requirements it helps to serve. Several of the Bombay native papers, if sometimes severely critical in their articles, are nevertheless exemplary; the *Jame-Jamshed* may be quoted as a type. The *Indian Spectator* is the most thoughtful of Indian weeklies, but its influence is limited. The *Tribune* of Lahore, though erratic, is excellent in its way. Out of a host of papers in Calcutta, the *Bengalee* and the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* stand out as the most conspicuous. The Bengal native Press is like nothing else in the world. The measure of its effrontery would be inconceivable to those who have not studied it. Its capacity for abuse and misrepresentation is boundless, and in manufacturing agitations, sometimes without the slightest basis in fact, it could give points to the yellowist of American journals. It has excelled all its previous records by its unceasing attacks on Sir Bampfylde Fuller and its imaginative descriptions of conditions in the new province. But all these papers are printed either wholly or in part in English; the real sowers of sedition are the vernacular publications. Many of the vernacular papers have converted the practice of sailing close to the wind without printing definite sedition into a fine art. A favourite plan is to write in allegory, which deceives nobody and yet is exceedingly hard to condemn. Of late some of these papers have grown bolder. Sedition is openly propagated, without any pretence at concealment. Let me quote a couple of examples, selected and translated almost at random. I will not give the name of the paper, or the language

in which it is printed, or the province in which it circulates. These points do not matter: the examples I quote could be matched in more than one region of India. The first passage runs:

For the sake of our country, for the sake of the land of our birth, and for the sake of our descendants, we should, out of a sense of duty, endeavour to root out the rulers with a view to bring their oppression to an end and to free the country from their hands. On an occasion like this the whole duty of patriots consists in adhering to their resolution till the last, without being daunted by any peril that may stare them in the face. For, as we are to die one day or other, there is no reason why we should not immortalise ourselves by dying in the service of our country. . . . Till such an occasion arises, ye rulers of India! take all that glitters to be gold and satisfy yourselves, but when the time comes for the Indians to requite you for your favours, you will have to suffer all that the Indians have endured at your hands, and then, and then only you will learn the full import of your deeds. May God ordain that such a time may come soon!

The article proceeds to discuss the Mutiny, and refers to Nana Sahib as "animated by the lofty sentiment of patriotism." The other extract I will quote reads thus:

The people . . . naturally crave for the restoration of the former state of things, and their eyes, which see injustice perpetrated before them, wish to see rivers of blood flowing before them. . . . The people of India should boldly come forward, remembering the fatal wounds they have hitherto received. It is not necessary to tell them that if they bear in mind their past sufferings, the course to be adopted to free themselves from oppression will soon dawn upon them. They are already advancing slowly in that direction. The patriotic lovers of this country have come to understand clearly that if they die in their onward march along the right path they will obtain relief from oppression, while if they survive the struggle they will see themselves victorious. . . . The tyrants should bear in mind that when Indians come out victorious in their struggle against despotism, they themselves will scarcely have time to make good their escape from the country. Consequently it is for their good that we advise them to be ready to leave the country bag and baggage. If Government refuse to give the people what they demand, they will compel them to yield it perforce.

This kind of literature is not circulated by stealth. It was purchased in a busy thoroughfare in a large city. Urchins cry these papers in the streets like London newsboys, and hawk them at the entrances to railway stations. But it is probably in the rural districts that the greatest harm is done by these inflammatory publications. They penetrate into every small town and village. At eventide the village schoolmaster, himself a man of rudimentary education, reads the newspaper aloud to the villagers. They accept every recital of the misdeeds of Government, every incitement to antagonism to Government officers, as gospel truth, and ask one another with wondering

eyes: "Can these things be?" Consider how the magic of the printed word attracts the poorer classes in England, and reflect how infinitely greater must be its potent influence upon the ignorant ryots of Hindustan. The quotations I have made may not, perchance, seem very dreadful to those who read them amid the reassuring environment of London; but that will not be the belief of those who really know India. The windy oratory of Hyde Park, all the wild Republicanism that *Reynolds' Newspaper* has ever printed, still leave the masses of England untouched; but sentiments that are harmless enough in the British Islands, become like gunpowder when scattered broadcast through the length and breadth of India.

Many of the newspapers of this description are produced amid circumstances of extreme squalor. A room or two in a narrow alley; a collection of ancient type and a venerable hand-printing press; an editor who scrawls his rabid effusions in a garret, and derives a bare subsistence from a circulation based on a price fixed at one of the smallest of current coins. The more violently he writes the better the paper may sell. Sometimes he is financed by bigger men, who keep carefully in the background. A prosecution may be the making of such a man. It will probably mean notoriety, a halo of martyrdom, a large increase in the sale of his paper. That is the difficulty of the Government. Lord Cromer in a recent despatch recommended, in regard to Egypt, that the Pan-Islamic press should be left alone for the present, trusting to time and reliance on the true facts for convincing the Egyptian public of the folly of preaching Pan-Islamism. The cablegram that has reached India adds, however, that if the Egyptian press seriously menaces the public tranquillity it will, in the opinion of Lord Cromer, be the duty of the Government to resort to repression. The Government of India have for a long time past followed the policy recommended by Lord Cromer in Egypt. They have almost entirely abstained from press prosecutions. The writings in the native press are closely followed, but the writers are left entirely alone. Even such passages as—I quote the first that occurs to me—a more or less open suggestion that Lord Curzon should be treated as the Grand Duke Sergius was treated at Moscow, were allowed to pass unnoticed. I do not criticise this policy. It is quite possible that it is wise and right, and that it is best to give these things their vent. Moreover, press prosecutions are exceedingly difficult to establish, and they often do more harm than good. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the tone of the reptile press of India steadily grows more violent. It is worse now than it has ever been; it is certainly

not conducive to public tranquillity, and it seems to be positively inviting repressive measures. It constitutes one of the most anxious problems that confront the Government; and he would be a bold man who would say whether their attitude of inaction is right or wrong. The only remark I would offer is that no graver mistake could be made than to judge this question by the standards of England. If ever British rule in India is undermined, one of the causes will be the inveterate tendency, both in and out of Parliament, to examine and to pronounce upon Indian questions by the exclusive light of English experience.

It remains to consider the part played in the existing situation by the more moderate and legitimate politicians of India. They are, for the most part, associated with that peculiar institution the Indian National Congress. The Congress is the centre of the political activity of India. Large numbers of provincial gatherings send up hundreds of delegates to the great annual Conference held in one or other of the big cities during the Christmas holidays. The proceedings last three days, innumerable speeches are delivered, resolutions are passed on political topics of interest. These resolutions are usually submitted to the Government, which contents itself with acknowledging their receipt. The Congress has served to ventilate public opinion, it has occasionally exerted a certain amount of influence on Government policy, but its real practical work during the twenty years of its existence has been to awaken and stimulate a steadily widening interest in public affairs among the educated natives of India. The Government and the Anglo-Indian Press too long made the mistake of merely scoffing at the Congress. It was guilty of many follies, but it might have been foreseen that it would reach a stronger maturity, as it has done to-day. Hitherto it has been controlled by men who, although their views at first seemed radical, are now perceived to have been comparatively moderate. Such a man was Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, the first President of the Congress, a brilliant Bengali lawyer whose death has occurred only this week in England. The three men who are now most prominently associated with the Congress are probably Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Mr. Gokhale, and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee. The ablest and the most level-headed of the trio is Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, a Parsee barrister, who is unquestionably the most capable man now in public life in India. Never an extremist time has mellowed his views; and while he remains an ardent reformer, his eloquence and his great influence are invariably

cast on the side of moderation. He represents the best type of public man, in the Western sense, that India has produced, and to his lasting credit be it said that while touching Imperial affairs on the one hand, he has not disdained to take for many years a constant and arduous interest in the work of local self-government. Therein he has set an excellent example to his countrymen, and by his municipal labours he stands to the city of Bombay in much the same relation that Mr. Chamberlain does to Birmingham. Mr. Gokhale is personally a man of high and austere character. For twenty years, under a vow, he devoted his great abilities and scholarship to the task of teaching the young men of India, subsisting the while on a mere pittance. He maintains himself to-day on an income that many a British artisan would despise, and is giving the rest of his life to helping forward the political regeneration of his people. Warm-hearted and impulsive, he lacks the steadying solidity of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. His convictions seem unstable, he has not enough mental ballast, and he allows himself to be led away into unwarrantable statements in his fervid orations. Beginning with very moderate views, he is gradually drifting nearer the camp of the extremists ; and those who remember his "earlier period" perceive that his visits to England have rather turned his head. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee is the most influential public man in Bengal. He has remarkable natural ability. I can remember him holding an audience in England spellbound nearly twenty years ago. But he, too, shows less sense of responsibility and less inclination towards moderation as the years pass. His methods have become more flamboyant and theatrical, he has lost whatever dignity he once possessed, and he leads his "schoolboy agitators" in directions which do not make for order and good government. These three leaders, with many of lesser importance, may be taken to represent the comparatively moderate section of the Congress, and their followers still preponderate in the Congress camp. A determined attempt is, however, being organised by the "extremist party" to wrest from them the control of the Congress. The object of the "extremists" is not at all clear. They have formulated no definite programme, but say vaguely that the Congress must in future "act as well as deliberate." How it is to "act" remains unexplained. This forward party is composed of many of the younger and more irresponsible men, together with a menacing leaven of the "irreconcilables," from whom the views of the earlier Congress leaders are as the poles asunder. They are not strong enough and numerous enough to attain their end yet, but their numbers are increasing. It

seems probable that they will eventually succeed, will alter the character and aims of the Congress for the worse, and they may drag in their train such uncertain elements as Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Banerjee. These men laugh in their sleeves at the co-operation of Sir Henry Cotton, Sir William Wedderburn, and the rest of the little knot of Members of Parliament who take an interest in Congress affairs; but, meanwhile, they are glad to join in making use of them.

The Congress, it will be gathered, plays a part, and a very large part, in stirring up political unrest in India. It cannot be said that up to the present its activities have been otherwise than legitimate. It is not clear that this will always be the case in the future. The "extremists" who have been alluded to occupy, on a larger scale, a position somewhat analogous to that held by the Labour party in Parliament. It is not what they are now, but the strength they seem likely to attain, that is the important thing; and if they once get the upper hand the Congress will not long remain a purely deliberative assembly that does nothing for fifty-one weeks of the year. Yet even as it is the work of the Congress organisation frequently has results very much the reverse of pacific. Its connection with the gentlemen who think they are serving India by acting as incessant interlocutors to Mr. Morley, has a constantly disturbing effect. Every trivial incident that seems likely to reflect on a Government official is routed out and cabled home, and solemnly brought up at question-time in the House of Commons. The replies are cabled out, and magnified in the native press, until every obscure agitator dreams of the time when he, too, may attain to the fame of having a question asked in Parliament about some occurrence in which he has participated. Questions in Parliament are coming to be looked upon as a sure and easy method of baiting the Government, and to every paltry story some member is found ready to lend an itching ear. These things are not "conducive to tranquillity."

The purpose of these notes is to explain existent conditions, and not to suggest remedies. Mr. Morley has just said that the problem of India is not insoluble, and no doubt he is right. Yet those who think that the symptoms I have described are likely to be effectively allayed by granting a larger measure of representation on the Legislative Councils, or by throwing open a few more of the higher official posts to natives of India, are merely cherishing a delusion. I do not say that these measures are necessarily undesirable; but their incidental effect will certainly be to produce still more importunate demands, and they will not soothe the bitter feeling now visible everywhere.

In any case, India is utterly unfitted for a large measure of self-control, and her few able public men, good though they are, would hardly count as third-rate in England. The bitter feeling that has grown suddenly intense in India in the last few months has its roots in more fundamental issues ; it is concerned with the whole question of our position in India. Gratitude for the peace and prosperity that British rule has brought to India will not assuage it. Egypt suffices to prove that. The material blessings which British control has conferred upon Egypt have been felt by every peasant on the Nile, and every Egyptian of middle age can compare his position with what it was twenty years ago ; yet look at the unrest in Egypt to-day. In India the changes wrought are far less swiftly perceptible ; and the people are constantly being told of a mythical Golden Age under native rule that was swept away on the advent of the British. I only state the conditions that exist ; and the only possible conclusion is that they will continue to exist, perhaps to an increasing degree, and must always be reckoned with. They will not make the burden of Empire lighter. It is no answer to say that tens of millions of the population are untouched by these movements and influences. That is not quite true in fact ; and, in any case, it is the enormous number that are admittedly more or less affected who have to be considered. A grave feature of the tendencies at work is the new and unexpected unity they have shown. They are not confined to isolated provinces. The spectacle of Punjabi agitators uniting with Bengalis, of Bengali crowds being led by Poona Brahmins, is a new revelation in Indian politics. Pan-Islamism has nothing whatever to do with it. In their less reputable aspects, these movements are Hindu rather than Mahomedan ; they are largely Brahminical ; and while the noisiest participators are Bengalis, the most active and astute are Mahrattas. If India is not an insoluble problem, it may be safely said that the symptoms of the last few months seem to be likely to thrust the solution farther back than ever. One very large and important and separate aspect of this many-faceted problem I prefer to leave wholly untouched. Those who know India will be quick to discern the omission ; to those who do not, it does not matter.

While engaged in writing these notes I happened to receive a call from a native of high position with whom I discussed their purport. He is not a Government servant, and he is not a supporter of the Congress ; but he is an experienced administrator, a widely travelled man, a close and careful

observer, possessed of sound judgment, and one whose views may be trusted. He said :

Wherever I have gone of late, I have been astounded at the feeling that has sprung up. It is all the work of the last few months. Twelve months ago I would not have considered it possible. There is a general atmosphere of antagonism in the air, half-intangible, and yet very real. It has permeated everywhere. I notice it even in native Government servants of senior rank. All are talking in the same way. Japan has had a good deal to do with it, more perhaps than you think. You are right, too, about the Duma, though I am surprised that you have noticed that. Perhaps you do not know, though, why our people take so much interest in the Duma. They say : "We have always thought we could do nothing without arms. Here are the Russians without arms, and yet they have passively forced the Government to give them the Duma. If they can do such things why cannot we do it in the same way ?" You see, they think they will become "passive resisters." Personally, I do not think our people are fitted for self-government, and you know I am sincere when I say that. It is no use without the control of money, and you cannot give them that. Of course they will keep on asking to be allowed to govern themselves. It is your own fault, the fault of your education. Half the time they do not know what they want, but the clamour will continue. There may be troubles, of course, but I am convinced there will be no serious outbreaks. There is not the slightest chance of that ; and you may be confident that the Native Army is quite untouched by these movements. Lord Curzon's going had a great deal to do with it, and so had the new Parliament, from which they expected much. Remedies ? You will not find the remedies in the Councils, whatever you may be told. It is the fault of the Government and the system, which keeps the officials out of touch with the people. Fifty years ago it was all right. They mixed with the people then, and knew them, and there was mutual confidence. Now the officials only meet the people in the transaction of official business, and there is no mutual knowledge and no sympathy. It is not in the big cities that you see the effects of the system, but in the *mofussil* (the rural districts). The younger civilians are much to blame. They go through their work, but they do not care about the people. The older men are very different, but the new race think of their office work only. One result of the lack of touch is that the Government never become acquainted with the large numbers of really moderate men who are neither sycophants nor agitators, but who ought to be their greatest support if they did but know them. You would be surprised to know how many of these there are ; but the only certain avenue to Government recognition is uncompromising agitation. I regard the present tendencies as grave, but you are not going to get over them by giving little concessions here and there. The people have undoubtedly got the idea that the present Administration is weak. These Western ideas of reform are, however, no good. They are not suited to the temperament and traditions of Indians. Remember this always, *India wants a ruler, India must be ruled.*

I set down these observations as they were spoken, without comment, because they seem to represent a point of view that deserves consideration.

THE

NATIONAL REVIEW

No. 284.—October 1906

EPISODES OF THE MONTH

The Potsdam Party.

As few Englishmen have long memories, and most of our politicians have no memories, it may be advisable to review the genesis of British European policy, of which the *Entente Cordiale* with France forms the corner-stone. We believe that this policy, which had a popular origin, continues to command the enthusiastic approval of the overwhelming majority of the people of Great Britain, irrespective of party, and that, like our Alliance with Japan, it may be regarded as a national policy, and therefore independent of any changes of Government. We are convinced that were the British public aware of certain intrigues against our good relations with France, the intriguers—whether Cabinet Ministers bent on boot-licking pilgrimages to Potsdam, or journalists, living in the pocket of the German Ambassador in London, who derive their inspiration, if nothing more substantial, from the German Press Bureau—would receive short shrift. People would cease to listen to their admonitions if their tainted origin and sinister purpose were appreciated. It might have been imagined by all students of modern politics that the Anglo-German policy with which these marplots are seeking to supplant the Anglo-French policy, had had a sufficient trial, and that its humiliations and perils would have been burnt into even the shallowest brains, considering that for nearly forty years, *i.e.*, from the time of Prussia's aggression upon Denmark in the early 'sixties, with the object of appropriating certain territory which would enable her to construct the Kiel Canal, up to the

Boer War of 1899, under cosmopolitan Liberals and patriotic Conservatives alike, Anglo-Germanism reigned unchecked. During this period we ran in couples with our Teutonic cousins on practically all European questions, or rather it would be more accurate to say that we humbly followed the Bismarckian lead, and constituted ourselves the guarantors of the odious Treaty of Frankfort. Downing Street was so to speak the *annexe* of the Wilhelmstrasse, and it is no exaggeration to say that up to the day of his resignation Prince Bismarck was for all intents and purposes British Foreign Minister. We have no desire to dwell upon the more painful episodes of the Anglo-German era, which the Potsdam Party* in the present Cabinet have so conveniently forgotten, in spite of the fact that they have been set forth anew in authoritative and convincing fashion by one of their own colleagues, Lord Fitzmaurice (Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), who in the *Life of Lord Granville* has builded far wiser than he knew. Our betrayal of the Danes in 1863, and our conduct towards France in 1870, were equally marked by imbecility as regards our own interests and treachery towards our neighbours. That a British Foreign Minister and a Liberal to boot should actually have exercised his influence in order to restrain Austria from espousing the cause of stricken France, is one of the most disagreeable diplomatic revelations of our time, of which the less said the better.

An Inglorious Era.

AMONG the altruistic scribes who place their pens at the service of the German Government and the German Embassy in the daily, weekly or monthly press of London, not one has ever been able to show that Great Britain derived the slightest advantage from her prolonged subserviency towards Germany. The impudent legend that Prince Bismarck "supported" us in Egypt, which has been worn threadbare in the interests of Anglo-German policy, is finally shattered by the Granville papers, which show conclusively that this vaunted "support" was merely designed to prevent England and France from coming to terms, as there was a momentary chance of their doing under the enlightened influence of Gambetta; and had we access to the archives of the Quai d'Orsay, we should doubtless discover that Bismarck had

* The Potsdam Party in the Cabinet is understood to consist of Mr. Haldane, Lord Loreburn, and Mr. Bryce. Our War Minister is believed to be animated by his innate love of Germany, the Lord Chancellor and the Irish Secretary by the irresistible attraction which any enemy of their own country exercises over a certain type of British Radical.

played the same poisonous *rôle* of *agent provocateur* in Paris, just as in the autumn of 1898 Wilhelm II. sought to hound France and England into war by lavish promises of German assistance to both parties. It is on record that Bismarck was continually inciting the Gladstone Government of 1880 to "take" Egypt, while he was perpetually instigating the French Colonial Party, of which M. Jules Ferry was the leader, to resist the encroachments of England in a sphere where France had prior claims, upon which for historical reasons she was peculiarly sensitive. If he gave diplomatic support to England he gave moral support to France, and prayed daily that the parties might come to blows. He was so alarmed at the possibility of an amicable Anglo-French understanding upon Egypt at the opening of the crisis of 1881, that he supplemented the efforts of the German Embassy in London by despatching his son, Count Herbert Bismarck, on a personal mission to Lord Granville, for the express purpose of making mischief. Needless to say Count Herbert was received with open arms by the London *gobe-mouches*, and he could subsequently claim to have played no insignificant part in directing British policy into those channels which ultimately brought England and France face to face at Fashoda.

Lord Granville's Confessions.

THE Anglo-German infatuation, which during so many years hypnotised our statesmen and paralysed our policy, is all the more mysterious because neither cosmopolitans like Lord Granville nor patriots like Lord Salisbury cherished any illusions as to German good will. The Liberal Foreign Minister, who was not addicted to sensational statements, was moved to write to Mr. Gladstone on October 15, 1870, "It all looks much as if Bismarck wished to pick a quarrel with us. He has always hated the English, and, at all events, no confidence can be placed in him." Substitute "Wilhelm II." or "Bülow" for "Bismarck" in this passage, and Germany's policy is brought up to date, though for the moment she is craftily disguising her Anglophobia to gain time for the completion of that navy with which she confidently counts upon dealing us as staggering a blow at sea at her own time as she dealt France on land in 1870. Few of us were aware, before the appearance of Lord Fitzmaurice's book, of the provocative part played by Germany, with whom we were at the time believed to be on the best of terms, over the Penjdeh incident in 1885, which was within an ace of provoking war between Russia and Great Britain, though we had learnt from Bismarck's Autobiography that it was he who, in 1870, had inspired

Russia with the brilliant idea of tearing up the Black Sea Clauses of the Treaty of Paris to imperil Anglo-Russian relations, and render Anglo-Russian co-operation, with a view to mitigating the crushing conditions imposed by Germany upon France, out of the question. Lord Granville artlessly reveals how systematically the British Government was blackmailed by their German "friends" whenever this country was in difficulties with other Powers. Ultimately the hostile pressure of Bismarck was altogether too much for him, and it is upon record that in urging his view, "which all but prevailed," upon his colleagues, at a Cabinet Council in 1885, that they should resign, the British Foreign Minister, according to his own biographer, our present Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, "was mainly influenced by the conviction that the procrastination of the Russian Government, in regard to the mission of General Zelenoi (in Central Asia), was the result of the tacit approval, if not of an actual suggestion, from Prince Bismarck. This suggestion was believed to have been conveyed from Berlin through M. Radowitz." Moreover (we are again quoting Lord Fitzmaurice), "it was certain, in Lord Granville's opinion, that as long as the Liberal Government was in power, one question after another in every quarter of the world would be stirred up to the detriment of this country by Prince Bismarck."

Screening Bismarck.

OUR readers will probably agree with us that this was the natural and proper reward for five years' grovelling to Germany, and it may be hoped that the disagreeable lesson will not be wholly wasted upon our present Mandarins. As surely as they revive the discarded policy of "looking for guidance" to Berlin, they will suffer similar ignominies as their predecessors a quarter of a century ago, until at last even Mr. Haldane will be found advising his colleagues to resign as the only means of escaping from an intolerable predicament. At the same time, their conceit is so colossal and their ignorance of foreign affairs so profound, that Ministers will probably, like Lord Granville and Co., have to buy their experience at the expense of the country. As a beginning they could hardly do better than master the contents of the Granville Biography, which is as indispensable to a knowledge of international politics as Bismarck's *Reflections and Reminiscences*, and Busch's Boswellian *Life of Bismarck*. They will find narrated a series of incidents which would be utterly incredible if told on less unimpeachable authority, as for instance the German Ambassador's insistent and impudent attempts to bully Lord Granville into surrendering Heligoland, which, in the words of Count Münster, "would

strengthen the good feelings of Germany towards this country to an extraordinary degree." There was also the yet more astounding episode of the undelivered despatch, when for the single purpose of inflaming German public opinion against England Bismarck publicly accused Lord Granville in the Reichstag of discourteously ignoring an important German despatch *which Bismarck had himself instructed the German Ambassador not to deliver* (our italics). "I had a talk with Münster," writes Lord Granville to Mr. Gladstone on February 4, 1885, "who was frightened out of his wits and went home to consult his archives. He found the famous despatch, but a telegram not to act upon it. *He begged me to keep this secret* (our italics)." Cowardice is so characteristic of the British Mandarin that it is no surprise to learn that Lord Granville acted on Count Münster's disgraceful suggestion to conceal the fact that the despatch had never been presented, and that Bismarck had told a deliberate falsehood in order to excite anti-English prejudice. According to Lord Fitzmaurice, there were "reasons" why it was desirable *not* "to give Münster away." It is always easy to find "reasons" for contemptible behaviour. That the Ethiopian has not changed his skin nor the leopard his spots is evident from a very recent and not very dissimilar incident, viz., the mendacious accusations of discourtesy disseminated in the German semi-official press against King Edward for "refusing" to visit Berlin in 1904, it being known all the time to the authors of this calumny that the King had offered to visit his Imperial nephew in Berlin, and that it was at the latter's suggestion and for his convenience that our Sovereign went to Kiel instead. For two years the German Government has been exploiting this lie in the interests of their naval propaganda, and it is only now that it has served its purpose that the German public are allowed to know that it was a lie. What is the use of Mr. Haldane and Co. pretending that Teutonic methods have changed, and that the Bismarckian moral code was buried with Bismarck? The only difference between Bismarck and his successors is that *he* was rarely found out while they are generally found out.

A Suggested Explanation.

We never discuss international affairs from the Party standpoint, and we fully recognise that although the Liberal attitude in bygone days towards Germany may have been the more abject, Conservative policy during the Anglo-German era was equally unintelligible. Should a biography of the late Lord Salisbury worthy of its subject ever see the light, it could not fail to throw further

light on every problem of foreign policy, but it may be doubted whether it would solve this particular enigma. It is a matter of common knowledge that Lord Salisbury consistently regarded German policy with the deepest distrust from the time of his prescient articles in the *Quarterly Review* on the Danish question up to the day of his death, and although he was associated in the public mind with several "graceful concessions" to Germany, while his curious public declarations of friendship towards Germany, notably upon the eve of the Boer War, are upon record, one of his last acts as Prime Minister was to prevent a peculiarly dangerous Anglo-German entanglement which commended itself to some of his cruder colleagues. We escaped by the skin of our teeth in the winter of 1901–2 from an *entente* which would have placed British policy absolutely at the mercy of Wilhelm II., and must ultimately have precipitated that war between Great Britain and the Dual Alliance which has figured so largely in the German Emperor's schemes and dreams. Then, again, the scarcely veiled hostility of the obituary notices in the semi-official German press at the time of Lord Salisbury's death are eloquent tributes to his patriotism. They show that the suspicions which German diplomacy excited in him were cordially reciprocated, and they prove that he was never successfully enrolled in that long list of the Kaiser's British dupes which begins with the name of Mr. Cecil Rhodes and ends with that of Mr. Winston Churchill. Indeed, Lord Salisbury's skilful evasion of various Imperial traps that were set for him—*e.g.*, in the summer of 1895 and the autumn of 1899—were particularly piquant episodes, which, however, only serve to deepen the mystery of our general servility towards Germany. Year after year, and decade after decade, under Liberal and Conservative Cabinets, we pursued a foreign policy which was at once disastrous and unpopular, which could never be openly defended on British platforms or explained in the British Press, while it continually prejudiced and constantly endangered our relations with every other Power. It is a subject to which we have given no little attention, and, as a result of exhaustive inquiry and considerable research, we have come reluctantly to the conclusion, which is supported by several significant letters in the Granville Biography, that Great Britain remained under the German yoke owing to an illegitimate exercise of dynastic influence. A man who knew what he was talking about, once remarked to the present writer, "Remember that during the late reign the Crown's casting vote was always in favour of Germany." Then again—possibly in consequence of the known disposition

of the dynasty—the immense influence of *la haute finance* was a solid unit on the side of Germany. To follow Bismarck and his successors was presumably regarded as the line of least resistance in the City, as it seemed to be the appointed course of the country. It is common knowledge that Germany has lost the "casting vote" of the Crown, and although some of our leading financiers are more German than English "the City" is no longer a German unit.

War Makers.

Be the explanation of British policy what it may, there can be no dispute as to its calamitous effects on British interests. So far from gaining the good-will of Germany by saying ditto to Bismarck in European affairs, and allowing ourselves to be bled and blackmailed, our abject attitude, as might have been foreseen by any one familiar with the Prussian character, simply converted Prussian hatred of England, which had been a carefully fostered legacy from the time of Frederick the Great, into unmitigated disgust. The whole tone of the German press, which was completely controlled by Bismarck, many of the most disagreeable articles being actually dictated by him, was hostile in the extreme, and British ideas, British institutions, British statesmen, British policy, and any British princesses who happened to marry Germans, were systematically held up to hatred, ridicule, and contempt. The machinery of calumny was ultimately laid bare by the assiduous Busch, whose book ought to be a "set subject" for British Mandarins. The only difference between the German official apparatus of to-day and in Bismarck's time being that it was run by a giant, and is now worked by pigmies, as a consequence of which the whole process of poisoning the wells of public opinion has become visible to foreign onlookers, though unfortunately it remains shrouded from the German people, who still believe what Prince Bülow tells their newspapers to tell them. Bismarck, as we can now see, exploited the Anglo-German policy with extraordinary skill. He was for ever emphasising in London the ill-will of France and Russia towards Great Britain, and threatening our statesmen with a European coalition whenever they showed the least signs of becoming restive under his yoke. On the other hand, that "general diplomatic support of Germany," which was an axiom of our policy, provided him with a priceless asset, which he worked for all it was worth in other capitals, notably St. Petersburg and Paris. Just as he threatened us with France and Russia, so he threatened them with us, and levied blackmail all round for "keeping the peace." Not that he was

entitled to any gratitude on this account, because it was a dominant principle of Bismarckian diplomacy to foment differences and to promote conflicts between other nations, as he firmly held that the stock of international good-will was strictly limited, and that consequently friendly relations between other Powers were detrimental to Germany, while he was haunted by the nightmare of an overwhelming European coalition, consisting of Russia, France and England. We have not the space to recapitulate the various occasions, nor is it necessary to do so, as they are matters of common knowledge, when Russia and Great Britain, Great Britain and France, or France and Italy, found themselves on the verge of war since 1870; but in every single instance there is reason to suspect Germany of having played the grand international *agent provocateur*. That Wilhelm II. is a willing and not an inapt pupil of the Iron Chancellor as a war maker is shown by his success in promoting the Spanish-American War, the South African War, and the Far Eastern War, as also by his sinister efforts during the Siam, Fashoda, and Port Arthur incidents. Let us never forget, for we have it on the authority of no less a person than Count Bülow, that the German Government followed up the Krüger telegram in 1896 by endeavouring to organise a coalition against Great Britain, and certainly no stone was left unturned during the South African War to enlarge the area of hostilities. Russian diplomatists could tell a tale on this score should their lips ver become unsealed. Wilhelm II.'s latest achievement as marplot was his frantic effort to prevent a peaceful settlement of the North Sea outrage in October 1904. Happily his influence over Nicholas II. bears no proportion to his activity.

The Awakening of the Nation.

In the dark ages with which we have been dealing, the British public took comparatively little interest in foreign affairs, which were left in the hands of responsible statesmen. Nevertheless our official attitude towards Germany occasioned many misgivings, and Lord Palmerston's independence on this question contributed in no small degree to his unique popularity. It was the South African War which first opened the eyes of the ordinary Englishman to the importance of foreign politics in general, and to the imperative necessity of freeing our policy from all Tuetonic influences. We had entered upon our struggle with the Boers with the public assurance of the Prime Minister that Germany was of all European Powers the one we regarded as our friend, while there was every reason to believe that on the occasion of his latest visit to this country, immediately after the outbreak of war, the

German Emperor had strongly hinted at the desirability of an Anglo-German alliance—a suggestion which had been sympathetically responded to by our statesmen. We had, moreover, given the usual earnest of our good-will in the shape of another heavy instalment of blackmail, to wit Samoa, a valuable possession in the Pacific which we "exchanged" for imaginary German claims in Africa. That other Powers should sympathise with two little peasant Republics in their struggle for existence against a mighty Empire left us completely cold. That the newspapers of France and Russia, nations with whom we had been on the worst of terms for many years, should gloat over our misfortunes was scarcely resented. It was regarded as so much legitimate tit for tat. But when the well-drilled German press was deliberately set in motion by a so-called "friendly Government" to incite the German public against England the moment fortune declared against us, and responsible statesmen like Count Bülow delivered insolent and menacing speeches not obscurely predicting our downfall, while the German Emperor announced, *urbi et orbi*, that it was the want of ships alone which prevented him from espousing the cause of our enemies, and the whole German design came into view of floating a vast fleet on an ocean of Anglophobia composed of foul and filthy lies, which did not even spare Germany's devoted friend, Queen Victoria—it became obvious to the meanest British understanding that our foreign policy had been founded on a gigantic myth. The theory that the two great Protestant communities would stand shoulder to shoulder in the hour of need, and that Queen Victoria's grandson could always be relied upon as a steadfast friend of this country, collapsed at the first test.

"Our Bourbons."

FROM that moment there was a complete revulsion of feeling towards Germany, coupled with a stern determination to emancipate ourselves from a detestable yoke at the close of the war. This was not the result of any silly sentiment or of momentary spleen. The crisis had taught us that Germany was our deadliest enemy, who was only restrained by a sense of her own naval impotence from compassing our destruction. Moreover, the discussions of her huge naval programme of 1900 clearly revealed that she would challenge us on our own element the moment she felt sufficiently strong. Common prudence demanded that we should have done with such a "friend." On the other hand, the war had also taught us that French hostility, for which our own insensate conduct in the past was largely, if not primarily, responsible, was nothing like as acute and venomous as

Bismarck had encouraged us to believe. France was evidently not prepared to go to the length of entering an anti-British coalition, and her attitude favourably affected the attitude of Russia, who, to the intense disgust of the German Emperor, refused to make the forward movement in Central Asia in the winter of 1899–1900 for which, as was constantly pointed out from Berlin, the South African War offered a tempting opportunity; and the *Kreuz Zeitung*, the inspired mouthpiece of Wilhelm II., openly denounced Nicholas II. for his "dynastic weakness" for Great Britain. From these, and countless other incidents which we have not the space to enumerate, the British people drew their own conclusions, and made certain resolutions. But, *mirabile dictu*, the British Government remained where it had been ; and we shall never forget the bewildered indignation caused by the discovery that our Bourbons, who had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing, seriously proposed to re-rivet the German yoke once again upon our necks at the close of the South African War ! Those who would make a party question of the *Entente Cordiale* would do well to remember this. The German Emperor visited this country in the autumn of 1902 as though nothing had occurred, and the nation simply gasped on learning that Mr. Balfour and Lord Lansdowne were prepared to allow British ships to collect German debts from Venezuela at the expense of our relations with the United States, and to co-operate in the construction of the pan-German Baghdad Railway, which would make Wilhelm II. master of Asia Minor, and hopelessly prejudice our relations with Russia. In other words, our foreign policy, in defiance of all the lessons of the war, was relapsing into the old Anglo-German groove.

A Change at Last.

THESE damnable episodes completed the education of the Man in the Street, and finally convinced every Englishman that he must be to some extent his own foreign minister. Mr. Balfour and his colleagues speedily learnt under the pressure of public opinion that the Anglo-German game was up, and "Venezuela" and "Baghdad" were dropped like hot potatoes. It was at this moment, in the spring of 1903, that King Edward intervened with such decisive effect, and laid the foundations of that reputation as an international statesman which is the admiration of the civilised world and the envy of not a few "astute potentates." On his own motion he paid a State visit to Paris at a time when a popular reception was by no means assured, and from that visit, in which he charmed if he did not conquer the French, sprang the *Entente Cordiale* which was embodied in the Anglo-French Agreement

signed by Lord Lansdowne and M. Delcassé in April 1904. We have no desire to detract from the credit of the eminent signatories of that document. No one can deny that the moment they realised the wisdom of settling outstanding Anglo-French differences they brought to bear on the problem an amount of skill and statesmanship beyond all praise. But the real authors of the *Entente Cordiale* on the British side were undoubtedly the King and the Man in the Street, who between them had taken the control of foreign affairs out of the hands of an unimaginative Cabinet, and as the authors of that great international compact, it is their sacred duty, if we may be allowed to say so, to remain its vigilant custodians, lest some thoughtless or ignorant or mischievous Government should compromise an Understanding which safeguards the highest interests and satisfies the loftiest aspirations of the two great Liberal nations of Western Europe.

A Victory for Liberalism.

THE Anglo-French Agreement is unquestionably the greatest victory achieved by Liberalism, using that much-abused word in its best sense, which this century has yet witnessed, because, though in form a mere settlement of outstanding differences in distant continents, it is in substance a coalition between the peaceful and progressive forces of Europe for common defensive purposes. It was hailed as such in every enlightened capital throughout the world, while a sigh of relief went up from all the smaller nations, who felt that a new and powerful guarantee of their threatened liberties and independence had been called into existence. The lives of Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland are worth many more years' purchase to-day than they were three years ago. The *Entente* materially improved the prospects of international peace by removing an Anglo-French war from the sphere of practical politics. England would henceforward be relieved of the anxiety of a French invasion. France, on her side, could dismiss the nightmare of a simultaneous attack by the German army and the British navy. The settlement has surpassed the anticipations of its most sanguine supporters. Not only have all its political expectations been realised, but we have witnessed the growth of a real intimacy between the two peoples for which few were prepared. Every well-behaved Englishman is nowadays assured of a cordial welcome in every corner of France; every Frenchman can count on a friendly reception in England. There has, indeed, been so much going and coming between all classes of both communities, that the *Entente Cordiale* may now be regarded as "broad-based" upon the will of two peoples.

It is independent of ephemeral Governments in London or Paris, though it is not yet beyond the power of a sufficiently malignant or a sufficiently stupid Government in either country to compromise or undermine it, were the public on either side of the Channel to relax their watch and ward over this precious international asset. *Toujours en vedette* should be the common watchword, lest some mischief-maker from over the frontier should come overnight and sow tares in the Anglo-French wheat.

Reactionary Resentment.

It was only to be expected that such a triumph for peace and progress should excite corresponding dismay and resentment in such reactionary quarters as the Vatican, the Yildiz Kiosk and Potsdam. The only member of this mediæval triumvirate in a position to exhibit his resentment was the German Emperor, who lost not a moment in declaring war on the *Entente Cordiale*, and perambulated the French frontier rattling his sabre and breathing fire and slaughter. The chronic friction between Great Britain and France had brought almost as much grist to the German mill as the traditional antagonism between Great Britain and Russia. Indeed, the whole superstructure of Bismarckian diplomacy depended on the preservation of this double rivalry. There was an additional cause of vexation. The German Emperor, though exceedingly astute in playing on the vanity of individuals, especially Anglo-Saxon individuals, is a poor judge of the temper of communities, and he had refused to regard the negotiations between London and Paris seriously up to the very moment of their completion in April 1904, being animated by the *idée fixe* that the incompatibility of temperament between England and France rendered their differences insoluble. He failed to realise the educative effect of the tardy discovery on both sides of the Channel that the *tertius gaudens* was the sole beneficiary of Anglo-French friction. Therefore the diplomatic coup of the British and French Foreign Ministers came with all the force of a thunderbolt; hence the fireworks on the frontier. Count Bülow was, however, able to persuade his Sovereign to bottle his wrath, and to bide his time, and the Imperial Chancellor publicly expressed official approval of the Anglo-French Agreement in the Reichstag. The Emperor had not very long to wait for an opportunity of "testing" the solidity of Anglo-French friendship, which he was convinced would crumble at the lightest touch. The appalling disasters of Russia in the Far East reacted on the political and military position of her French ally, and enabled the Emperor to pay his theatrical visit to Tangiers, which he swiftly followed up by demanding of the French Government the head of M. Delcassé

on a charger, under a threat of immediate invasion. France was taken completely unawares, being totally unprepared for war. Moreover the mass of Frenchmen regarded Morocco as a secondary interest, and in the stampede of the moment they failed to realise the infinitely larger stake for which Germany was playing. M. Rouvier, the then Premier, consented to sacrifice the one French Foreign Minister who, since 1870, has made a European reputation.

Misusing a Victory.

THE fall of M. Delcassé in the summer of last year was a striking victory for Potsdam, which was offensively celebrated by the promotion of Count Bülow to a Princedom. But the Prussians did not know how to utilise their success. Wilhelm II., as usual, completely misjudged his neighbours, who rapidly pulled themselves together under the succession of insolent menaces levelled at them by sundry Germans in the confidence of their Sovereign, such as Dr. Schiemann, of the notorious *Kreuz Zeitung*, and Prince Henckel von Donnersmarck. Directly Frenchmen realised that Germany was not seeking the redress of more or less legitimate grievances which she might *ex hypothesi* have suffered at the hands of M. Delcassé, but was aiming at nothing less than the control of French Foreign Policy, the very statesman who had thrown over M. Delcassé was compelled by the pressure of public opinion to tell the Germans in diplomatic language to go to the devil. France pulled herself together in a most wonderful manner, and she will not soon be caught napping again. It is a great satisfaction to be able to add that the conduct of the British Government during these critical weeks was exemplary. Lord Lansdowne did not fuss our French friends by superfluous suggestions or empty assurances, but he quietly intimated to Germany that Great Britain would not remain an indifferent spectator of an unprovoked aggression on the Republic. In fact, he played the same beneficent *rôle* in preserving peace as the Russian Emperor and Queen Victoria had played in 1875. That any British Government should stand by and allow France to be struck down because she has composed her differences with England, which is the only allegation that can be made against French policy, for there is certainly no more peaceful Power in Europe than France—is simply unthinkable, and was, as a matter of fact, never for a moment thought of by the late Government, while the attitude of the present Government at the time of the Algeciras Conference—which was another eye-opener for Wilhelm II., who had

confidently counted on a change of attitude with the change of Government—shows that there is continuity, at any rate, in this branch of British policy.

A Change of Tactics.

HAVING failed to destroy our Understanding with France by force, and having made a scapegoat of Baron Holstein for that failure, for which, as a matter of fact, that single-minded and devoted diplomatist had no more responsiblity than the present writer, the Wilhelmstrasse has changed its tactics and is now trying to obtain its object by fraud. It is deemed a vital German interest to break up the Anglo-French friendship, which offers an insuperable obstacle to the attainment of Pan-German ambitions. A campaign has accordingly been started in such British newspapers as consent to take their marching orders from Berlin in favour of "an Anglo-German agreement" of the same character as the Anglo-French agreement, though, as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman opportunely observed to an Austrian reporter at Marienbad, there are no "differences" between England and Germany such as divided England and France. There is consequently no occasion for any "agreement." However, by constantly preaching Anglo-Germanism and by bamboozling our vainer politicians into making fatuous speeches upon the mutual affection uniting Great Britain and Germany, it is hoped to excite French distrust and revive the bogey of *perfide Albion* which has been exploded thanks to the steadfastness of Lord Lansdowne and Sir Edward Grey. The *Kölnische Zeitung*, which is one of the most important, responsible and moderate German journals, let the cat out of the bag in the comment of its London correspondent on the visit of the German Editors to this country: "Even those observers, who have hitherto been somewhat sceptical, departed with the conviction that this pleasant intercourse is beginning to exercise a very beneficial effect calculated to compose many differences. If any one is still doubtful he can find confirmation in the uneasiness of our French neighbours, which is already beginning to be noticed here." If England can only be inveigled into any kind of "understanding" with Germany, however intrinsically worthless, the Wilhelmstrasse would acquire a powerful lever for undermining our *Entente* with France, as the French would very naturally feel that we could never be counted upon in preserving the balance of European Power upon which the future of France depends, and which has been dangerously dislocated by the effacement of Russia. In that case we should inevitably see the evolution of that great anti-British coalition under German leadership

which has for many years been the sleeping and waking thought of Wilhelm II. Such an obvious *dénouement* must be obvious to every British statesman whose head has not been turned by Imperial flattery. *Germany only seeks our friendship in order to detach France from us.*

A Warning from the Wilhelm-strasse.

We cannot accuse official Germany of concealing its cherished designs against the *Entente Cordiale*, and if we blundered at this crisis we should do so with our eyes open. At the very moment of Mr. Haldane's pious pilgrimage to Potsdam, the *Times* published the advance sheets of an illuminating article appearing in the September number of the *Deutsche Revue*, entitled "Germany and Foreign Policy," with this brief introduction: "Our attention is specially invited to the importance of this article, but this invitation is hardly necessary, for the articles published by the *Deutsche Revue* on international politics are admittedly amongst the most authoritative and instructive expositions of Germany's foreign policy in the German Press." They were "generally from the pen of an intimate confidant of the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Bülow, and in this particular instance we have no hesitation in ascribing the inspiration to the highest quarter; for internal evidence shows the author to be intimately acquainted with facts which are not within the general knowledge of the public, and which can have been derived only from official sources." The *Deutsche Revue* begins by emphasising the importance of the meeting between the German Emperor and King Edward at Friedrichshof, which is grandiloquently described as the most momentous event of the last month in the domain of international politics, though, as a matter of fact, as we know from Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman the conversation was devoid of political importance. The cloven hoof is shown in the assertion of Prince Bülow's mouthpiece that it had been necessary to reassure the French as regards this visit, "for already the growing cordiality displayed towards Germany in London during the visit of the German Editors had aroused the suspiciousness of the French Ambassador, and caused concern in Parisian political circles, which had to be met by categorical declarations on the other side of the Channel, and provoked apprehensions in the Cabinet that the *rapprochement* with Germany had been carried too far." Always this recurring idea of exciting French suspicion! Nor should we forget that just as it is the function of the *Deutsche Revue* to sow suspicion, it is the function of German diplomacy in Paris to reap the harvest by magnifying every Anglo-German manifestation as

evidence of our cooling towards France. Suspicion is, in fact, the single diplomatic weapon left in the armoury of the Wilhelmstrasse. It would be more effective if it were less prominent.

The Real Wolf.

AFTER this exordium, the inspired writer of the *Deutsche Revue* proceeds to lecture Great Britain as to the alternative policies before her. The idea of a German aggression upon France is audaciously set aside because "no one contemplates in Germany" any such adventure, though very important persons undoubtedly contemplated it more than once during the last year and a half. France is the potential aggressor, and we are warned against associating ourselves with such a dangerous Power! It is truly sublime. "The traditions of the Delcassé policy continue to be at work with undiminished force in French diplomacy—a policy of which the object is to hem in Germany diplomatically with the help of England, Russia and other States, so closely that the ultimate inevitable attempt of Germany to break through the circle should end only by her defeat, diplomatic and military." France is encouraged to harbour this grandiose plan by "the assurance that England will hold unswervingly, under every Cabinet, to the *entente* with France, which is regarded as the personal achievement of the King, and which has brought him great popularity and far-reaching political influence in Great Britain." Remember that in Paris "peace-loving Frenchmen" are warned by German diplomatists against associating with such a bellicose Power as Great Britain. It will be no news to the readers of these pages, to whom the "Potsdam Party" has become a familiar phrase, to learn on the authority of the *Deutsche Revue* that "the present Cabinet contains in its ranks several very Germanophil Ministers, chief amongst them the War Minister and the Lord Chancellor" (why ignore Mr. Bryce, the faithful friend of every enemy of England), who are expected to effect the desired change in British policy. Apparently Sir Edward Grey is not yet *persona gratissima* in Berlin. He is a wicked man who "sees in the *entente* with France the first and most important object of British policy." But "he is willing also to allow the cultivation of good relations with Germany in so far as this does not injure the *entente*. Personally he attaches greater importance to a reconciliation with Russia, which is not, however, in his opinion, as it is in the opinion of the French press, to be directed against Germany, for he considers that it does not touch Germany," and "when once the negotiations with Russia concerning Central

Asia have been settled *to the satisfaction of Germany* (our italics) and should negotiations then proceed with regard to the Nearer East, Sir Edward Grey will certainly be prepared to come to terms with Germany concerning the latter's interests there." As a good boy he is to follow in the footsteps of the Potsdam Party, the kernel of the matter being that Sir Edward Grey shall not identify himself with the Delcassé policy of "an Anglo-French counterpoise" to Germany.

The British Reply.

ACCORDING to the *Deutsche Revue* "the ice appears to have been broken at Friedrichshof." Sir Edward Grey "will, however, only follow very slowly in this direction, amongst other reasons out of consideration for the great suspiciousness of the French Ambassador, M. Cambon, who is a determined opponent of an Anglo-German *rapprochement.* After this treatment of M. Cambon by Prince Bülow's henchman we shall consider ourselves justified in making free with the name of Count Wolff-Metternich, the German Ambassador in London, against whom all patriotic Englishmen should be on their guard. The question is thus summarised: "Will the Anglo-French group close up still more closely as a counterpoise to Germany, which is the object of French diplomacy, or, conscious that it is not strong enough, especially in view of the temporary elimination of Russia and of the actual dispositions of her policy, will it now strive to expand the understanding to Germany, which, it must be understood, should not be taken to mean the accession of Germany to the policy of the Western Powers." As we have previously stated, no English advocate of an Anglo-German *rapprochement* has ever been able to recite a single advantage which we have ever derived or could hope to derive from it, and therefore it is not surprising that no argument calculated to appeal to Englishmen is adduced by a German advocate of such a policy. It is to be a purely one-sided affair for the enhancement of German prestige. She is to enjoy the diplomatic support of the Western Powers, but is to give nothing in return, as we are explicitly informed that such an understanding "should not be taken to mean the accession of Germany to the policy of the Western Powers." Therefore when we are told that towards Germany "England has only the choice between either the policy, which might easily become dangerous, of an Anglo-French counterpoise, or that of including Germany within the circle of her friendships," we vote unhesitatingly for the former, with its imaginary risks, rather than admit a known traitor into the camp who would devote

herself to poisoning our other relations. Simpletons who imagine that if we came to terms with Germany she would abandon her aggressive naval programme should attend to the *Deutsche Revue*, which brutally declares that "England must reconcile herself to the thought of seeing the German Fleet occupy, alongside of the British Fleet, a position commanding and imposing respect upon the sea." The same thing is said in slightly different language in the interesting interview which Prince Bülow accorded to a reporter of the *Daily Mail*. The *Times* disposed of all these Machiavelian "overtures" in an article which was at once manly and statesmanlike, a most uncommon combination, and as it expresses the effective public opinion of the country we make no apology for reproducing the operative passage :

The *crux* of the article lies in the contention, stated in an almost menacing form, that England must choose between two alternatives, that of adopting towards Germany the policy, which might easily be "disastrous," of an "Anglo-French counterpoise," or of extending the circle of its friendships to include Germany. This implies an altogether new and momentous doctrine. For the last thirty years the peace of Europe has been secured by a system of counterpoises, and we are not aware that Germany had ever hitherto allowed her own right to be questioned, or had questioned that of other Powers, to seek in a system of *ententes* and alliances those combinations which might appear to be most effective for the preservation from time to time of the balance of European power. The *entente* between France and England represents the first occasion on which a third Power has ventured to maintain that a friendly relationship between two Powers must be construed as hostile to a third Power, unless that third Power be allowed to convert a *ménage à deux* into a *ménage à trois*. It is necessary to use plain language. We do not believe that German solicitations in London will affect our relations with France any more than German threats in Paris affected them a year ago. Those relations are based upon considerations of common interests and of general policy, which have commended themselves equally to the Governments and the people of both countries. We see no reason whatever why we should quarrel with Germany, or why Germany should quarrel with us, but we do see many reasons why our relations with Germany cannot, in present circumstances, acquire the same character of intimacy which our relations with France have now happily acquired. To modify these relations, whether by addition or by subtraction, at the bidding of Germany would be to recognise a sort of German hegemony in Europe ; and history is there to tell us that England's greatness is based upon her resistance in the past to similar claims of hegemony, whether they were put forward by a Charles V., or a Louis XIV., or a Napoleon.

Disarmament.

HAVING secured her supremacy on land, and being relieved of further military anxiety, Germany can henceforward devote herself to the development of her sea power until it reaches the British level. This is now the avowed semi-official programme, and it renders our disarmament-

mongers supremely ridiculous. In this connection it is worth quoting the candid letter from a Professor at one of the large Prussian Universities, who visited England with the German journalists this summer, and wrote an account of his impressions to "an academic society of which he is president," which ultimately found its way to the columns of the French newspaper, the *Siècle*.

> There is one point [says the Professor] on which German journalists can never consent to the slightest compromise. It is that of a disarmament of the army and navy. There exists in England a great and powerful current of opinion in favour of the proclamation of universal peace and, as a consequence, the material reduction or even the total suppression of military burdens. The Conservatives and Tories are not among these idealists, but a number of Liberals and members of the Labour Party harbour such aspirations. The English were never tired—not in their toasts, but in private conversation—of sometimes chaffingly and sometimes seriously taunting us with our "militarism." Such vagaries made no impression on our Prussian hearts. As is well known, it is a truism to say that no nation can, without speedy decline, treat with contempt the institutions to which it owes its birth.

England has at heart the contempt of a rich commercial Power for the "sailor's shirt and the soldier's tunic." Not so Germany, who knows that her peculiar strength rests in her "almost inexhaustible military reserve." "Must the German Empire," the writer exclaims, "renounce this natural advantage by disarmament, or by the international limitation of her contingents? We are no longer so stupid as that." We confess to having some sympathy with this view, as we share the opinion, expressed in Mr. Wilson's excellent article ("Blind Leaders of the Blind"), that the disarmament movement is a symptom of decadence, which would become exceedingly dangerous to the British Empire if it ever spread from the doctrinaires to the people, of which so far there are happily few signs. The reception of Mr. Haldane's disarmament overtures by his German friends is almost comic, but no snubs can quench his childlike ardour. On returning from Berlin he electrified an English audience by the announcement that as a "graceful concession" to this country Germany was about to withdraw seven thousand troops from her not very successful effort to subdue the Hereros in South-west Africa—a proceeding which "should remove misgiving on the part of too nervous people in this country." Mr. Haldane was instantly informed by the Kaiser's favourite journalist, Professor Schiemann, in the *Kreuz Zeitung*, "It must be emphatically stated that the recall of a portion of our troops has absolutely nothing to do with our relations with England. . . . Nobody in the world has the right

to interfere with us in this regard." As the *Outlook* observes, "Mr. Haldane is . . . determined to justify the confidence of the *Deutsche Revue* by discovering the most recondite examples of German consideration for British interests. As a beginning, his remarks on South-west Africa are pretty good. Next week he will perhaps explain that Germany establishes a bank at Teheran . . . in order to support British credit with the Shah; and the week after that that the Baghdad railway is in reality an altruistic scheme for facilitating the transit of the Indian mails." Mr. Winston Churchill, who is also suffering from an acute attack of that "German measles" of which he once accused Mr. Brodrick, has apparently come away empty-handed from the German manœuvres, as, unlike Mr. Haldane, he has no "graceful concession" to announce. Meanwhile, there are renewed rumours in Germany of yet another fresh naval programme, which we have reason to believe the Kaiser is bent on laying before the Reichstag. This is the result of our dropping "Dreadnoughts."

The Roman Catholic Crisis.

We cannot hope to understand the crisis which has been precipitated in France by the Papal Encyclical, *Gravissimo officii*, unless we realise the yet larger crisis which has threatened the entire Roman Catholic world ever since the single-minded and saintly Cardinal Sarto was elevated to the Pontificate as Pius X. The subject is dealt with in a most interesting article in the *Times* (September 7), entitled "Intellectual Catholicism and the Vatican." As the writer points out, the *non possumus* with which the sovereign Pontiff has met the Separation Law, which places the French church under a *régime* similar to that accepted by the Vatican in several other countries, and far more favourable than the system of *Associations Cultuelles* under which the Roman Church in Germany has flourished since 1875, "is but one manifestation of the policy of general reaction which the present Pope has pursued from the very beginning of his pontificate," in defiance of the amiable legend representing Pius X. "as a liberal and enlightened Pontiff of progressive views." Cardinal Sarto's early life in an Italian seminary, where he was immured until he received priest's orders at the age of twenty-four, have made it almost impossible for the Pope to be other than he is. His Encyclical of February 2, 1904, "in which he states quite simply and literally that the Hebrew patriarchs were acquainted with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and found consolation in the thought Mary at various crises in their lives," shows its author to be

unable to understand contemporary religious problems, however pure his motives and lofty his character. Indeed, his whole-souled piety and transparent sincerity add to the hopelessness of the situation. "If the Pope's policy were dictated by considerations of expediency or diplomacy, there would be a chance of its being changed. Pius IX. was always amenable to flattery; Leo XIII. was often open to conviction; Pius X. is impervious alike to argument and to personal considerations; he acts on fixed and absolute principles, which were formulated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries." The phrase "To restore all things in Christ," which is to be found in his first Encyclical, must be read in the light of the belief that he is, in a literal and absolute sense, the representative of Christ on earth—"volonté du Pape, volonté de Dieu"—in the phrase of the Archbishop of Cambrai. Practically this signifies "to bring all things—all States and all men—into submission to the Papacy," and Pius X. is bound by his principles "on purely theological, and not on merely worldly, grounds, to aim at such a domination over the civil power as was aimed at, and in part achieved, by Gregory VII., Innocent III., or Boniface VIII."

The Crusade against Thought.

THIS revival of mediæval pretensions has gradually brought Rome into acute conflict with intellectual Catholicism in France and Italy, and threatens to exasperate the faithful in Spain, while it must ultimately complicate the position of British Catholics. There have already been several ominous manifestations of what is nothing less than a crusade against thought during the present Papacy. After the condemnation in December 1903 (*i.e.*, four months after Pius X.'s accession) of the Abbé Loisy, the Abb Houtin, and the late Abbé Denis, the Roman Congregations remained comparatively quiescent until a few months ago, when the campaign was reopened by a Papal letter to Cardinal Ferrari, Archbishop of Milan, condemning the Bishop of Cremona's pastoral on "The Church and the New Times." Mgr. Bonomelli had committed the unpardonable offence of advocating religious toleration, and of declaring that the separation of Church and State was often to the advantage of the former. Pius X. condemned these heretical opinions "as modern liberalism which the Church will never accept." As the *Times* correspondent observes, "it can hardly be reassuring to Catholics in England, or in any Protestant country, to find that, at this time of day, it is declared unlawful for any Catholic to approve of religious liberty and toleration or to support the separation of Church and State

in any circumstances." Then again there is the still more recent condemnation of a *brochure* by M. Paul Viollet, entitled "L'Infallibilité du Pape et le Syllabus." The author is a distinguished and orthodox French Catholic layman, a Professor of the Ecole des Chartes, and a member of the Institut, the object of whose pamphlet was to show that the Syllabus is not infallible, and that when it condemns "modern civilisation," religious toleration, &c., it must not be taken literally. M. Viollet "certainly goes no further than did Cardinal Newman in his 'Letter to the Duke of Norfolk,' and what he says is said by nearly all English and American Catholic apologists, most of whom would accuse a Protestant controversialist of misrepresentation if he denied that the Church held what Pius X. has condemned." Another Catholic writer to fall under the ban is the Abbé Laberthonnière, two of whose works have been placed on the Index. He is a philosopher of European reputation, "and his philosophy is not scholastic; this alone would account for his condemnation, since Rome is determined to impose on Catholics a mode of philosophical thought and language which is dead and meaningless for the rest of the world." These events necessarily caused considerable perturbation in Catholic France, but an even greater sensation has been created in Italy by the condemnation of *Il Santo* the latest work of the great Catholic novelist, Fogazzaro. As *Il Santo* not obscurely suggests that if Christ returned to the earth "He would receive from the Vatican the same treatment, *mutatis mutandis*, that He received from the Sanhedrim," its unpopularity with the powers-that-be is not surprising. But, as the *Times* correspondent observes, "the fact that a Catholic of such deep and acknowledged piety as Fogazzaro should believe that to be true is the really grave matter." Simultaneously with the attack on Fogazzaro there has been a breach between the Pope and the Christian Democrats of Italy, who have met his efforts at suppression with open defiance. We are not surprised to learn, that "the Church in Italy is seething with discontent, and modern ideas have probably made greater headway among Italian Catholics, both clergy and laity, than among French."

Persecution of Father Tyrrell.

BRITISH Catholics have had a foretaste of what is to come in the persecution of the Rev. George Tyrrell, probably the most distinguished English member of the Society of Jesus, and the only English Jesuit whose writings have any influence outside the Roman Catholic communion. Last year he unsuccessfully endeavoured to obtain

from Rome a dispensation from his vows, but after long and abortive negotiations he withdrew his application. Early this year he was expelled from the Society by the late General, Father Martin, ostensibly on the ground that he had given an insufficient explanation of certain extracts from a privately printed pamphlet which were reproduced in January in the *Corrière della Sera* of Milan. The Papal consent for his dismissal was forthcoming, with the result that "Father Tyrrell was, *ipso facto*, suspended from his functions as a priest and excluded from the sacraments merely on account of a disciplinary offence against the Jesuit authorities, although he was under no ecclesiastical censure." Subsequently a French Bishop, unknown to Father Tyrrell, applied to the Vatican for leave to give the latter work in his diocese, but was met with a refusal to reinstate Father Tyrrell as a priest unless he would undertake to publish nothing, and to submit even his private correspondence dealing with religious matters to a censor selected by the Bishop. The attitude of Pius X. towards Biblical questions is needless to say obscurantist. The Biblical Commission appointed by Leo XIII. has been completely diverted from its original purpose, and its expert members have been swamped by bigots, whose sole qualification is their hostility to all criticism. Thus Cardinal Merry del Val has been appointed President, and Dom Jannssen, O.S.B., another fanatic, has been selected as Secretary, *vice* Father David Fleming, O.F.M., whose services have been dispensed with owing to his critical sympathies. Then again Father Gismondi, S.J., has been removed from the chair of scriptural exegesis in the Gregorian University to make room for a Belgian Jesuit, Father Alphonse Delattre, whose fitness for the position may be gathered from his own declaration : "Il faut tout prendre ou tout laisser." This Biblical Commission, has recently decided that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch. It is apparently still open to Catholics "to believe that he may have dictated parts of it to secretaries, and that additions may have been made to it in later times ; but the composite authorship, now accepted by all Biblical critics without exception, was utterly repudiated." We are told that this amazing decree, worthy to rank with the condemnation of Galileo, has alienated even the most moderate critical scholars, some of whom "were perfectly willing that M. Loisy should be condemned, but are less pleased at a decree which involves themselves, and implicitly condemns such works as those of Père Lagrange, O.P., and the little book on *The Tradition of Scripture* by Dr. William Barry, which has recently been published with the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of Westminster."

The Coming Syllabus.

ACCORDING to the correspondent we have so freely drawn upon all these episodes are but preludes "to the comprehensive blow at intellectual Catholicism which is now daily expected." A new Syllabus is being prepared consisting of condemned propositions extracted from the works of M. Loisy and other Catholic writers. Great pains have been taken to make it exhaustive. Not only books, but Catholic papers and periodicals in every language, have been ransacked, as well as non-Catholic Reviews. "Even Protestants are said to have been asked their opinion about the critical 'novelties,' and it is, rightly or wrongly, declared in Rome that certain Anglo-Catholics, including a Bishop who was once himself suspected of unorthodoxy, have expressed opinions as to the wickedness of liberal Catholics and Biblical critics which would do credit to the most orthodox Roman." The really important question is "whether the names of the authors from whose works the condemned propositions are taken will be mentioned, and whether they or any others will be required to subscribe the condemnations." The *Times* correspondent believes that the latter course has been decided upon, "even if the authors' names are not mentioned in the document," and that certain persons "will be required to declare their assent either to the condemnations or to certain positive propositions on pain of excommunication. Without this the Syllabus would fail in its object, which is to purge the Church of the 'intellectuals.' It seems likely to be successful." The publication of the Syllabus is expected to be accompanied by the condemnation of several Catholic periodicals, and possibly by a decree of the Index or the Holy Office condemning certain Catholic writers, including some of the best known English Catholic laymen.

It does not follow that all these will ultimately be condemned; there have not for a long time been such sharp divisions and keen dissensions—personal and other—in the Curia as there are at present, and although the Pope is advised almost exclusively by a small clique, in which Spanish influence predominates, now and then other influences make themselves felt. It is, however, most improbable that any influence will prevent the publication of the Syllabus.

A French freemason is quoted as declaring that the very liberal character of the Separation Law would in the end be to the advantage of the anti-religious movement, since it would give the Pope a free hand in the French Church. "Our hope," he said, "is in Pius X. We believe that, after separation, he will expel the Liberal Catholics from the Church, and the Liberal Catholics are our only serious opponents." On the other hand, a distinguished French Catholic layman, who is free from the

slightest taint of religious "liberalism," and has been a prominent defender of Ultramontanism, exclaimed when he heard of the last condemnations: "S'ils veulent que nous mourrions hérétiques, ainsi soit-il."

The Two Popes.

SUCH being the atmosphere of the Vatican, the policy of the Pope towards the French Separation Bill, which according to all impartial testimony is a moderate, not to say a generous measure, becomes perfectly intelligible. It is precisely what might have been foreseen. Pius X. owes his election to the Austrian veto upon Cardinal Rampolla, the French candidate, which is believed by Frenchmen, rightly or wrongly, to have been prompted by a hint from Berlin. Be this as it may, the German Emperor has struck up almost as intimate an alliance with the present Pope as with the Sultan of Turkey, and it is scarcely surprising that Frenchmen should detect the Imperial hand in the disastrous decision of the Vatican forbidding the Catholic Church in France from coming to terms with the Republic. Such a policy promotes chaos if it does not actually provoke civil war, and must still further weaken France to the advantage of her German enemy. With Russia *hors de combat* and France a prey to sectarian strife, the European outlook is decidedly discouraging. It is noteworthy that one of the eight Cardinals who advise the Pope on French affairs is Cardinal Steinhuber, the Protector of the Order of Jesus, while it was ostentatiously announced that the Pope received the Prussian Minister at the Vatican on the very day on which the Encyclical was published, and discussed French affairs with him. The international aspect of the Church crisis was subsequently accentuated by the election of a German, Father Wernz, as General of the Jesuits, commonly called the Black Pope. With two Popes in his pocket Kaiser Wilhelm is a happy man, and is manifesting his joy by showering "Black Eagles" on ecclesiastical dignitaries. He sets great store on the capture of the Order of Jesus, as likely to strengthen German influence in South America, where the Jesuits are all-powerful.

The Bewildered Bishops.

AMID much speculation and uncertainty as to the present attitude of French Catholics, upon which we hesitate to dogmatise, as most sources of information are prejudiced one way or the other, two points at any rate seem to emerge. A clear majority of the French Bishops were in favour of accepting the Separation Law, and were prepared to form the necessary *Associations Cultuelles* in their various dioceses to take over the churches. This is shown

by the publication of various unauthorised accounts of their proceedings in council last May. The second point is that the advice of the French Bishops has been completely ignored in Rome. The Pope has preferred to listen, so far as he has listened to any one, to Spaniards, Italians and Germans, whose orders the French Episcopacy are now summoned to execute. The bewildered Bishops met in conclave to the number of eighty prelates out of eighty-four, in the beginning of September, and held two sessions daily for several days; but Rome enjoined absolute secrecy, so at present we *know* nothing of their deliberations except that they opened with the despatch of a telegram to the Pope thanking the Holy Father for his "luminous directions." Under the painful circumstances it is not easy to see what there is for the Bishops to debate. They are forbidden by the Pope from forming *Associations Cultuelles*, and they cannot parley with the Government, as there is nothing to parley about, owing to the *non possumus* of the Vatican.

An *Impasse.*

THE position of the Government, on the other hand, is strong because sensible. The Separation Bill was materially modified to meet the wishes of Churchmen, and was carried through the last Parliament by great majorities in both Houses, and has since been enthusiastically indorsed by an overwhelming majority of the electorate. How then can Ministers be asked to alter it to satisfy the whim of an intractable and hostile Pope? They would be swept out of office the moment they made the attempt. As it is, many of their followers regard the present Bill as too favourable to the Church, and are hoping for an opportunity, which the folly of their opponents may easily provide them, for stiffening its provisions. Both M. Clémençeau, the Minister of the Interior, and M. Briand, the Minister of Public Worship, have declared that the Cabinet will enforce the law as it stands, but will avoid making martyrs. All Englishmen, without respect of creed, will sympathise with Catholic France in the distressing situation to which she has been reduced by the obstinacy and blindness of the Vatican, and devoutly hope that some way may be found out of the *impasse* before the fatal December 12, when the law comes into operation. If the Church persists in her refusal to form the requisite *Associations Cultuelles* her position will indeed be parlous. There is no daylight at present, unless it be the few faint indications of independence in certain Catholic circles. One Bishop could probably save the situation, and organise a rich and powerful national Church, if he were

sufficiently patriotic and sufficiently heroic to brave the thunders of Rome. In any event our Catholic fellow countrymen would be well advised to reject the advice of Father Vaughan, who is not the wisest of mankind, to make a demonstration on behalf of the Vatican against the Republic. Such action could not possibly help Catholic France, though it might not inconceivably injure Catholic England.

Home Affairs.

THERE has been a welcome lull in home affairs—no Parliamentary debates, no by-elections, comparatively few platform speeches. As a result those politicians who have broken the "close time" for politics have attracted unusual attention. Both the Ins and the Outs have their anxieties. That of the Unionists is clamant, that of the Radicals more remote, but none the less serious, though its relative distance enables the ostriches who call themselves practical politicians to bury their heads in the sand and pretend that all is well. One of their number, however, has refused to play this game, and has been treated accordingly by the others. In speaking in Peebleshire at the end of August, the Master of Elibank announced the portentous discovery that the Liberal Party had been unconsciously nursing a viper. In other words it had been borne in upon him as a Ministerial Whip that the pleasing fiction whereby the Labour Party is regarded as a mere pacemaker for the Radicals, and as such rather to be encouraged than otherwise, as it draws votes from the enemy—is a myth. Several significant incidents, culminating in the Labour candidature at Cockermouth, had opened the eyes of the Master of Elibank, to whom the Cockermouth experience was peculiarly painful, because in his former innocence he had actually supported the ungrateful Mr. Smillie in North-west Lanark "some years ago, when he did not appreciate or realise what has been forced upon him—the real cleavage between Socialism and Liberalism." Now he has become convinced that "it may be necessary in the future for the Liberal Party to embark upon another crusade." He had once believed that "there was room for union between the Liberal and Labour ranks, but observation of circumstances had convinced him that Liberals had now got to stand upon their own legs," because "unless the Liberal Party stood upon its own legs, its very vitals would be consumed." All this is fairly obvious to the average onlooker. Mr. Keir Hardie rarely opens his mouth without declaring war against "time-serving" Liberalism, while the accredited mouthpieces of the Independent Labour Party the *Labour Leader* and the *Clarion*, which

the Tapers and Tadpoles of both sides would do well to peruse, heap weekly contumely on the Government. That Socialism is gradually capturing organised Labour is evident from the proceedings of the Trade Union Congress, which behaved like a congress of continental collectivists.

The "Macdonnell Mystery."

THOSE unfamiliar with the ways of party hacks might have imagined that the Master of Elibank would have secured the gratitude of Liberals by his foresight and frankness in interpreting the signs of the times and in warning the Party of its peril. Far from it. All the Radical Scribes and Pharisees turned upon him and rent him for disturbing their fool's paradise. The Unionist Press has not unnaturally exploited this incident. We can all see the mote in our neighbour's eye, even when the beam in our own is invisible. We greatly enjoy the growing rift between Liberalism and Labour, but few of us realise that though the growth of the Labour Party may portend the disappearance of the Liberal Party, it will effectually prevent the reappearance of the Unionist Party. Outside Birmingham the Labour Party is robbing us of the Tory democracy, which has been the mainstay of the Unionist cause for the past twenty years. What are our leaders doing to regain the lost confidence of those whose support is essential to our existence as a force in the State? What are our prospects under present auspices? The "Macdonnell mystery" suggests an ominous answer. Did Mr. Balfour, Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Wyndham betray the Unionist cause behind the back of their followers by tampering with Home Rule under the alias of Devolution? If so, can they expect to enjoy the continued confidence of their followers, or lead them with any prospect of success in the coming fight against Home Rule? We ask, but we cannot answer these questions, as the incident still remains shrouded in mystery. But this at any rate is clear, that if the answer to the first question be in the affirmative, the answer to the second must be in the negative. The whole Party is deeply indebted to Mr. Walter Long for forcing this controversy to the front at this particular moment, as it was evidently the intention of that insolent bureaucrat, Sir Antony Macdonnell, to spring the letters, which on his own statement he holds *in terrorem* over his fellow intriguers, during the debates on Home Rule which in violation of the solemn pledges of several Ministers at the last election is to be the *pièce de resistance* of next Session.

In a characteristically straightforward speech at the annual meeting of the Irish Unionist Alliance on August 29, Mr. Long indignantly denied the rumour that on accepting the office of Irish Secretary he had abstained from changing the *personnel* at Mr. Balfour's request, owing to the possession of certain letters by certain people.

Drawing the Badger.

In the same speech Mr. Long criticised the Irish policy of his former colleague, and admitted that there was "abundant reason for many Irish Unionists to ask in tones of bitter indignation why were these things done in the name of the Unionist cause? Why were they done by men sent over to govern Ireland according to Unionist ideas?" This speech instantly "drew the badger." Sir Antony Macdonnell wrote a letter to Mr. Long coolly declaring that "the time has not come (if in my discretion it ever will come) for publishing the correspondence connected with the unsuccessful attempt to deprive me of office in 1904–5," which, as Mr. Long had probably forgotten, Mr. Balfour had refused to lay on the table of the House of Commons. Sir Antony Macdonnell also declared, "At my first interview with you, in 1905, you proposed that the agreement made with Mr. Wyndham when I took office in 1902 should be cancelled. I told you that I regarded the agreement as made, not with Mr. Wyndham alone but with his Majesty's Government, and that if it was cancelled I should at once resign office. The agreement was left untouched." It is incredible that the incident should be allowed to remain here. Mr. Walter Long has done his utmost to clear it up, and has repeatedly demanded the production of the letters which Sir Antony Macdonnell claims to possess, though he has necessarily failed to convince Irish Unionists that it was wise to retain Sir Antony Macdonnell after the retirement of Mr. Wyndham. Mr. Long has defended this decision on the ground that he did not regard a civil servant as "responsible for differences regarding matters of policy or administration that may arise between their political chiefs, all the more as he (Mr. Long) had satisfied himself completely," and our readers will note the gravity of this statement, "that rightly or wrongly, Sir Antony without any doubt, firmly believed that in everything he did he was only carrying out the wishes of the Government." Mr. George Wyndham professed to clear up the mystery in a subsequent speech at Birmingham, but as usual he only enriched the controversy with a mass of meaningless verbiage.

THE two persons directly involved in this painful business, besides Mr. George Wyndham, from whom we despair of ever getting an intelligible explanation, are in the first place Mr. Balfour, who as Prime Minister in 1902 was, according to Mr. Wyndham, informed by a cypher telegram of the amazing conditions on which Sir Antony Macdonnell had been appointed as Mr. Wyndham's "colleague," in which Mr. Balfour telegraphically concurred, and, secondly, Lord Lansdowne, who suggested the importation of this notorious Nationalist from India to carry out Unionist policy in Ireland, and who entertained his *protégé* at his country house in Ireland at the very moment that Sir Antony Macdonnell's devolution intrigue with Lord Dunraven was at its height. Now we are in the throes of another devolution intrigue, because behind the back of Lord Rosebery's "predominant partner," Sir Antony Macdonnell has been deputed to draft a Home Rule Bill, which the Irish, in spite of all Mr. Redmond's bluff, will undoubtedly accept as an instalment of that "larger policy" which, as the *Daily Mail* opportunely reminds us, was thus defined in Mr. Parnell's famous Cincinnati speech twenty-six years ago: "None of us—whether we are in America or in Ireland, or wherever we may be—will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England." Before the Unionist Party enter upon what will undoubtedly be the fight of their lives, they must ascertain the extent of the treachery in their own camp—that there has been some treachery is beyond all doubt—though the rank and file will scornfully repudiate the suggestion that the Party is tainted by the treason of any individual or individuals, however eminent. We must in justice to Mr. Balfour and Lord Lansdowne remember that so far there is no evidence connecting either of them with Devolution.

Treason in the Camp.

OUR lengthy analysis of Anglo-German relations, which is the most important of all questions from the British standpoint, as a false step at this juncture would jeopardise our future as a great Power, together with the space devoted to the Catholic crisis, compels us to "scamp" several important topics. Russian affairs are dealt with in an instructive paper from the pen of our Special Commissioner, who has exceptionally intimate knowledge of his subject. He appears to think that the Autocracy has yet another chance of salvation could it only succeed in discovering a capable Statesman.

Russia, &c.

* * * Cuba is evidently drifting towards the United States. Presi-

dent Roosevelt has been compelled to intervene, diplomatically in the first instance, between the Palma Government and the insurrection, which grew beyond its control ; but should Mr. Taft's mission fail, the work of pacification is expected to be entrusted to an American General. Cuba is about as fit for Home Rule as Ireland. * * * The Persian crisis preserves its peculiar form of periodic popular rushes to the spacious garden of the British Legation, which has become the favourite camping-ground of some fifteen or sixteen thousand Persians, who seek this "sanctuary" as a means of inducing the Shah to confer a constitution and to reform his Government. Apart from its internal situation, Persia is particularly interesting at the present moment as a diplomatic cockpit, and it is fortunate that British interests at Teheran are in the skilful hands of Sir Cecil Spring Rice. * * * Sir John Jordan, our new Minister in Peking, who bears a high reputation, is another British diplomatist with a difficult row to hoe. The movement of "China for the Chinese" which, in all its rational forms, excites intelligent sympathy, has unfortunately been made a pretext for injuring legitimate foreign interests in violation of specific obligations. Simultaneously with Imperial Decrees on Constitutional Government, and the abolition of opium-smoking, which need not be taken too literally, is another Decree practically superseding Sir Robert Hart as head of the Imperial Maritime Customs, which has been already put into effect. So far the British Foreign Office has hardly appreciated the gravity of this action, or it would not be fobbed off by illusory Chinese assurances. * * * Another country attracting increasing attention is Morocco, which is rapidly drifting towards complete anarchy which will cast a serious responsibility on France and Spain, the mandatory Powers of the Algeciras Conference. It is a matter of comment that among the most disturbed districts are Mogador and Casablanca, two spots upon which Germany has long had her eye as convenient coaling-stations to the South of England. * * * We are glad to observe that British diplomacy is still holding out at Constantinople against the preposterous proposal to increase the Turkish Customs duties, ostensibly in the interests of Macedonia, but really in order that the Sultan may be able to provide his German friends with the kilometric guarantee for the Pan-German Baghdad Railway. Some resentment has been caused in London by the scolding administered by Constantinople correspondents to Sir Edward Grey for refusing to hasten this "graceful concession." Those who write in this strain must be singularly oblivious of, or indifferent to, British interests.

Preference, &c.

In Imperial affairs we have to note the steady and gratifying growth of the Preference movement. Not only have the Commonwealth and New Zealand drafted a preferential tariff, but Mr. Deakin, the Australian Premier, has introduced a Bill granting a preference of 10 per cent. on British imports, by raising existing duties on foreign imports. With such a low tariff as that of Australia, this is quite as effective a form of preference as the reduction of the higher Canadian duties. The mugwumps of the British Chambers of Commerce, who continue to mark and waste time, cut rather a pitiful figure in the light of Australian action. * * * Another noteworthy Imperial incident is the retirement of Sir Frederick Lugard from the High Commissionership of Northern Nigeria, a post which he has occupied with signal ability and devotion for the last six years. Sir Frederick is a splendid public servant in the prime of life, from whom the country may fairly anticipate many more years of valuable services. * * * Mr. Haldane has followed up his raid upon the British Army by issuing a memorandum constituting a General Staff, which is to act as the "brain" of the remnant. He has also spoken eloquently of his desire "to popularise the conception of a nation in arms." Unfortunately the public have learnt from bitter experience that armies are created neither by memos nor by perorations. * * * If we have refrained hitherto from referring to the "Spectator" Experimental Company, it is because we were in some doubt as to how the experiment would be interpreted. These doubts have been completely removed by the admirable article in the *Spectator* (September 15) announcing that the success of the experiment has "very considerably altered our view in regard to universal national training. . . . We now realise that the benefit is so enormous that every effort should be made to endow the whole of the youth of the nation with physical training of a kind similar to that undergone by the 'Spectator' Company, and to make it as universal as the literary education imposed upon our children by the Act of 1870." After this we can most unreservedly congratulate our contemporary on its public-spirited enterprise, which has been attended with entire success. Sir John French, who is no flatterer, has declared that "Colonel Pollock's anticipations with regard to them (the 'Spectator' Experimental Company) had been amply realised, and they had proved themselves worthy of taking their place by the side of any of the regular troops." * * * Universal regret has been caused by the death of Lady Campbell-Bannerman at Marienbad on August 30. The Premier's bereavement has aroused the warm sympathy of his strongest political opponents no less than of his personal friends.

A PROTEST AGAINST PRIVILEGE

My aim in this article is to show that the Trade Disputes Bill, 1906, ought on no consideration whatever to be allowed to pass into law, and to establish this conclusion by proving, first, that the Bill will make trade unions a privileged class, placed above the ordinary law of the land ; secondly, that the reasons alleged in favour of this policy of privilege are of the weakest ; thirdly, that the policy which the Bill embodies will lead to grave practical evil.*

As to the Creation of Privilege.—The Trade Disputes Bill, 1906, gives trade unions complete exemption from liability to pay damages for any tort † whatever. Such immunity is at the present moment possessed by no person or class of persons, whether rich or poor, corporate or unincorporate, throughout the whole of the United Kingdom.‡ If this unheard of immunity be not privilege, I know not what the word privilege means.

Consider a man's liability for tort under the law as it stands. Every person is bound to pay damages for any wrong done by himself. This is elementary ; it would not be worth mentioning did we not find that from this most direct and obvious kind of civil liability trade unions, in so far as it is possible for them to act independently of agents, are to be freed by the Bill. A principal or employer again, that is a person who through an agent does an act which has legal consequences, is liable to pay damages for any wrongful act done by a servant or agent, at

* For the sake of clearness I have in general confined my attention and my illustrations to the case of trade unions in the popular sense of that term, *i.e.*, unions of workmen, but my readers must bear in mind that the Bill applies also to unions of employers, conveniently termed federations (Trade Disputes Bill, 1906, clause 5, and Trade Union Act, 1876 (39 & 40 Vict. c. 22, s. 16), and that the privileges offered by the Bill to trade unions, and persons conducting a strike, are also offered to federations and persons conducting a lock-out.

† That is to use very general terms, any civil injury, *e.g.*, an assault, which s not a breach of contract.

‡ I believe I might say throughout the whole of the British Empire.

his instigation or under his instructions, or (to use the current though misleading term) "under his authority." No principal, my readers might suppose, would have the impudence to claim exemption from responsibility so clearly just. The idea is natural. I shared it myself till I studied the Trade Disputes Bill, clause 4. An employer is further liable in damages to any third person for an injury done to such person by the wrongful act of any agent or servant in the course of such agent's or servant's employment. This is the kind of responsibility which we have generally in mind when we talk of an "employer's liability." It is by far the most onerous sort of civil responsibility imposed upon any one who acts through an agent. It differs essentially from responsibility for wrongs which, though done through an agent, are actually ordered, or in the strict sense authorised, by the principal himself. In the case under consideration the principal's liability depends in reality not upon authority, but upon employment. A person, lastly, may be liable, in one case at least, for torts which have neither been ordered by him to be committed, nor have been committed by any one who at the time of the wrong-doing was acting in strictness as his agent or servant; a person must pay compensation for a wrong done by another on his behalf if such person, after it has been done, ratifies the conduct of the wrong-doer.

Now what I want to impress upon my readers is that trade unions, and other aggregates of persons which can own property and act through agents stand to-day—whatever they may do a month or two, or a few weeks hence—in precisely the same position as an individual or a corporation. They incur all the liabilities in respect of torts which I have enumerated, and especially they are liable for the wrongful acts of their agents done in the course of such agent's employment. Individual employers, in short, corporations, partnerships, and trade unions, are now all in the same boat. If any theorist chooses to argue that no persons of whatever class should pay damages for any tort which they have not directly sanctioned, he may well be allowed to display his subtlety in the maintenance of an ingenious paradox. To such an eccentric my argument is not addressed. If there be still any man, and there certainly have been excellent men prepared to maintain that no one, rich, or poor, millionaire or workman, should be civilly liable for wrongs committed without his knowledge or instructions by an agent, let such an arguer hold to his crotchet. He will advocate no privilege. He will do no harm. He will make few converts. Such supporters as he obtains will not be found among the wage-earners, *e.g.*, the bricklayers and other artisans, who travel daily to and from their labour

in workmen's trains, and whose livelihood, limbs and lives are at the mercy of any negligent brakesman or engine-driver. Workmen have never objected to the wide extent of a principal's liability. For years they rightly demanded that though employed, *e.g.*, by a railway company, they should have exactly the same rights against their employer for damage caused by the negligence of his agents, *e.g.*, of an engine-driver, as the rest of the community. And each succeeding statute-book bears witness to the steady growth of the conviction, not always kept within reasonable bounds, that the legal liability of employers should be increased rather than diminished.

Let us now see what is the main privilege which the House of Commons offers to trade unionists; it is recorded in clause 4 of the Trade Disputes Bill, which runs as follows:

> An action against a trade union, or any branch thereof, whether of workmen or masters, or against any members or officials thereof on behalf of themselves and all other members of the trade union for the recovery of damages in respect of any tortious act alleged to have been committed by or on behalf of the trade union, shall not be entertained by any court; provided that nothing in this section shall affect the liability of the trustees of such unions to be sued in the events provided for by the Trade Union Act, 1871, section 9.

The language of this astounding clause may be intricate; its effect is clear. A trade union is to be freed by clause 4 from all liability to pay damages to any person, man, woman, or child, for any wrong done to the sufferer either by the union itself or by its agents.* The victim may have the justest cause of complaint, the wrong may be heinous and terrible; it may be done by the members of the union themselves; it may be carried out under the direct authority or orders of the union or its officials; it may be the result of the gross negligence of agents whom the union has chosen to employ, but whose action it has never controlled; the wrong—say a blow, which has maimed a man for life and rendered him incapable of earning an honest livelihood—may be the act of some fanatic employed in the peaceful picketing of non-unionists, who thinks nothing too bad for a scab or a blackleg, and the union may have assembled, have applauded his conduct, and have presented him with £10 as a reward for his zeal. Yet though the union may possess thousands of pounds, this will avail nothing to the sufferer. In none of the cases I have mentioned, nor

* The advocates of clause 4 are apparently not quite without alarm at the extent of the immunity they have created. The proviso, that the clause shall not affect the liability of trustees of a union, expresses a not perhaps unfounded fear that the sacro-sanctity, if I may use the expression, conferred on all union officials, may lead to a union being cheated by its own trustees.

in any other conceivable case, will the union be liable to pay him as much as a farthing damages.

So much for clause 4. To any man imbued with ordinary ideas of justice, the total exemption from all civil liability for wrong-doing which it confers on trade unions would seem enough, and more than enough, of privilege. Not so to the Government or the Labour Party. The Bill, in at least three cases, makes conduct, which under the ordinary law is distinctly wrongful, cease to be actionable if done "in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute," * or, in other words, when a strike is planned or is in existence.

The following will under the new law, to put the matter in plain language, be the immunities or privileges of persons planning or conducting a strike whom, for the sake of brevity, let us call trade unionists.

(1) In favour of such trade unionists, and in favour of such trade unionists alone, no combination will be actionable as a conspiracy which is a combination to do an act which would not be actionable if done by any man not acting in concert with others.

X, *Y* and *Z* determine to boycott *A*. They refuse to associate or to work with him; they refuse to work with any man who does work with him; they boycott *A's* employer; they boycott any man who deals with *A's* employer. They, however, take care to do no single act which would be actionable if done by *X* acting alone and not in concert with others. They thus ruin *A* and drive him to the workhouse. If the object of *X*, *Y* and *Z* is to compel *A* to join the Primrose League or the Land League they may be liable to an action for conspiracy and to pay heavy damages. If the aim of *X*, *Y* and *Z* is to compel *A* to take part in a strike, they will incur no legal liability whatever.†

(2) In favour of such trade unionists, and in favour of such trade unionists alone, the law will be relaxed under which a person who induces another to break a contract of employment with a third party is liable to an action.‡

* Trade Disputes Bill, 1906, cl. 1, 2 and 3. † *Ibid.* clause 1.

‡ See Trade Disputes Bill, clause 3. "An act done by a person in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute shall not be actionable as a tort on the ground only that it induces some other person to break a contract of employment or that it is an interference with the trade, business, or employment of some other person, or with the right of some other person to dispose of his capital or his labour as he wills."

The immunity given under this clause is extraordinarily vague, and therefore menacing. It is open to two observations:

1. Under it *X* may escape from any civil liability for inducing *N* to break one of those very contracts of employment, the breach whereof is made a

X induces *N*, who has undertaken to serve *A* exclusively in some particular employment, to leave *A's* service in breach of *N's* contract and greatly to *A's* damage. *X* is liable to an action by *A* and may have to pay heavy damages. But if *X* happens to be a person engaged in the conduct of a strike, and in order to promote the success of the strike induces *N*, in breach of contract, to leave *A's* service, *A* will not be able to recover a penny of damages from *X* even though the breach of *N's* contract be *A's* ruin. And a similar result will follow if in furtherance of a strike *X* induces *A* in breach of contract to dismiss *N* from his service.

(3) In favour of such trade unionists, and in favour of such trade unionists alone, the penalties imposed on so-called picketing will be relaxed.*

X, *Y* and *Z*, together with fifty others, watch or beset the house where *A* resides, and the factory where he works or carries on business, or crowd the approach to such house or place of business. Their avowed aim is to "persuade" *A*, or it may be not *A* but some other person, *B*, to join the Primrose League or the Land League. *X*, *Y* and *Z* each of them run no small risk of being put on their trial and sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labour. But if the object of *X*, *Y* and *Z* is to persuade *A* to join in a strike, or to dismiss a non-unionist from his employment, neither *X*, nor *Y*, nor *Z* will incur any risk of punishment.†

The broad result of the Trade Disputes Bill is as clear as day. To trade unions is secured absolute immunity from paying damages for any tort whatever. To persons engaged in the furtherance of a trade dispute or in effect to trade unionists, is secured the right of free boycotting; for them, and for them alone, the policy of the Government may be summed up in the formula: "Privilege, and again privilege, and nothing but privilege," and the privileges conferred are, after all, in plain language, nothing but the privilege to commit wrongs and the privilege to curtail the legal liberty of your neighbour.

As to the Arguments in favour of the Policy of Privilege.—Con-

punishable offence under the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875, ss. 4, 5, and is made so punishable because the breach involves a danger or risk of injury to the public.

2. The latter part of the clause is so vague that it certainly may give immunity from an action for wrongs even more serious than inducing the breach of a contract.

* Compare Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875, s. 7, sub-s. (4), and Bill, clause 2.

† The exact effect of clause 2 is, it must be admitted, a matter as to which it is very difficult to give an opinion which is certainly correct, but I think it has at lowest the effect I have given it.

sider the following words from the speech of the Attorney-General on March 28, 1906 :

The proposition, *i.e.*, a test action similar to that contained in clause 4, I understand, is that, however great and ruinous the loss that may be suffered by an individual, however unjustifiable the conduct of the union which may occasion that loss, even in the case of that conduct having been carried out by means of the use of the funds which are controlled by the union, yet those funds, the property of the union, are not to be made liable to redress the claim consequent on that loss. You must fairly face that proposition. I invite the House, before they put a proposition of that kind into legislative shape, seriously to consider its effect. It would be impossible to confine it to these combinations. If you place them in this position you will have to deal with claims on the part of other bodies also entitled to the consideration of Parliament, who may ask that the same privilege should be extended to them. Well, sir, I ask the House is there not this danger attending the alternative policy to which I have referred, namely, that in your anxiety to check one injustice you may create another? In your wish to prevent injustice being inflicted upon trade unions, you may create injustice against individual members of the community.*

The Attorney-General is the mouthpiece of the Ministry. Surely it is not unfair to say that a revolution which shakes the foundations of our whole legal system of responsibility staggered at one time many of the members of the Government. That Ministers or lawyers should have changed their mind is a trifle not worth dwelling upon. The strangeness of the position is that a revolutionary innovation is defended by singularly few arguments. To see that this is so we must summarily dismiss a number of unreal pleas which do not touch the substance of a grave controversy. Of these sham apologetics let me give but one example :

No one, it is argued, has a right to complain as long as a federation of employers shares all the immunities of a workmen's trade union ; here we have an instance not of privilege but of legal equality. To this plea there are two obvious answers. The first is, that it is true to the ear but false in reality. An employers' federation may consist of rich men, and as each individual employer will remain liable to pay damages for any tort which he has himself authorised, an action against such an employer may be a most valuable remedy. A sufferer who is unable to bring an action against a federation may be amply consoled if he is able to bring an action against a millionaire who is a member of the federation. A trade union, on the other hand, though it may possess thousands of pounds, consists of workmen who are certainly not rich. A person wronged by the union, against which he cannot

* The Attorney-General, March 28, 1906, Parl Deb. cliv., pp 1306, 1307. Weigh also the language used by Mr. Asquith on February 6, 1903, and by Mr. Haldane on January 22, 1906

bring an action, will feel that the possibility of bringing an action against a miner who is a member of the union is, even if he earns £3 a week, no remedy at all. The second and more important reply is this: Grant that an ordinary trade union and a federation of employers are placed on exactly the same footing. This does not shake in the least degree the argument against privilege. To me, at any rate, the exemption from the rule of law of federated employers is at least as detestable as the exemption of ordinary trade unions. The people of the United States dread more the despotism of employers leagued together than the tyranny of trade unions. And the people of America may well be right. The day may not be far distant when the workmen of England will demand not the limitation but the extension of the law of conspiracy.*

Let us turn then resolutely from the sophisms of debate to the few arguments of pith and substance—they amount only to three—which give direct support to the policy of privilege.

In the first place, it is urged that clause 4 does no more than bring the law back to the condition in which it stood, or was suaposed by every one to stand, from 1875 to the decision of the Taff Vale case in 1901. During these twenty-six years, it is added, the law excited no complaint. There is, therefore, it is inferred, nothing unreasonable in returning, at the wish of trade unionists, to a state of things which, while it lasted, satisfied masters and men, and worked no practical injustice. This is by far the strongest point to be made in favour of the indefensible clause which embodies the whole spirit of the Bill. This is the train of reasoning by which candidates for seats in Parliament have found it convenient to be convinced ; the wish to believe is as potent in the field of politics as in the province of theology. Each part, however, of the argument is open to criticism. The law lords, who are after all not quite ignorant of the law, deny that it was changed by the Taff Vale decision. The Royal Commission has come without hesitation distinctly to the conclusion that the liability of trade unions to be sued in tort is no new invention of the House of Lords, and the Commission has further, with great ingenuity, explained the source of the delusion that the funds of a trade union could in no case be made liable for the wrongful acts of its agents.†

* The immunity conferred by the Trade Disputes Bill on unions or federations of employers will seemingly lead to a singular result. If a millionaire carries on his own business he will be liable for all wrongs committed by his agents in the course of their employment. But should a body of employers, each of them millionaires, enter into a union or federation, this union or federation will not be liable for torts committed by its agents.

† Report of Royal Commission on Trade Disputes, 1906, p. 8.

The inquiry, moreover, whether the House of Lords committed a legal blunder is after all irrelevant. The only matter worth serious consideration is whether the law, as interpreted by the Taff Vale case, is good or bad, fair or unfair. If the law be bad or unjust it ought to be repealed or altered, even though the correctness of the interpretation put upon it by the House of Lords be in point of logic indubitably sound. If the law, so interpreted, be good and just it were folly to change it, even though every law lord should be held less capable of understanding the effect of complicated legislation than the least educated of wage-earners. There is again no proof whatever that the supposed immunity of trade unions did, in fact, for a quarter of a century work no injustice. Wrongs for which men think they have no remedy do not come before the law courts. The Taff Vale decision itself, *Quinn* v. *Leathem*, and a whole line of cases, prove that from the moment when it was believed or established that trade unions were liable for wrongs done through their agents, there were plenty of persons prepared to bring complaints for wrongs they believed themselves to have endured at the hands of trade unionists. In this, as in every other instance, the number of actions brought for a special kind of grievance is no measure whatever of the number of times that the grievance has been actually endured. To argue that injustice for which there is no remedy, is injustice which has no existence is the commonest of fallacies. When no man could obtain a divorce for less than £1500, it was constantly argued that no husband or wife, except a few persons of large wealth and dissolute manners, had ground to desire the dissolution of the marriage tie. Moreover, twenty-five years can scarcely be counted as more than a moment in the life of a nation. To assert or even prove that for so short a time trade unions were moderate in availing themselves of an advantage on the existence of which they could not with confidence rely, is no sufficient defence for an anomaly which, on the face of it, is unjust. On the question of the justice of changing the law, as established by the Taff Vale decision, the language of the Commissioners ought for every man of common sense to be decisive.

It remains now to consider the question on the ground of justice and equity, and here the objections against disturbing the law as laid down in the Taff Vale case appear insurmountable. There is no rule of law so elementary, so universal, or so indispensable as the rule that a wrongdoer should be made to redress his wrong. If trade unions were exempt from this liability they would be the only exception, and it would then be right that that exception should be removed. That vast and powerful institutions should be permanently licensed to apply the funds they possess to do wrong to others, and by that wrong inflict upon them damage, perhaps to the amount of many thousand

pounds, and yet not be liable to make redress out of those funds would be a state of things opposed to the very idea of law and order, and justice.*

The privileges to be conferred by the Trade Disputes Bill on trade unions are, it is in the second place argued, in fact possessed by masters, and give them an undue advantage in conflicts with their workmen; the masters are powerful, the masters are rich, the masters, by tacit arrangement among themselves, achieve all that trade unions can laboriously accomplish by elaborate combination and stern discipline; a strike is a battle, and workmen must be allowed to fight it out on really equal terms with their employers. That reasoning of this kind should carry weight with convinced trade unionists causes no wonder, but on examination it will be found that this tempting line of argument owes its force to a confusion of ideas. All men should have equal rights, but no civilised State has yet undertaken to secure that all men should have equal advantages. If the assertion that employers and employed do not stand on an equal footing means that rich men in reality break the law and, as against their workmen, make use of intimidation, of boycotting, or of conspiracy, this allegation, if true, is a good reason for considering whether the law of conspiracy ought not to be extended, and be made more rigorous than it is against all combinations, whether of masters or of men, which use their powers for purposes of oppression. But if what is really meant be that masters, whilst they break no rule of law, can, owing to the mere circumstance that they are wealthy, obtain advantages not easily obtainable by wage-earners, I entirely refuse to admit that this is any reason for placing wage-earners above or outside the responsibility now imposed upon every citizen for wrongs done to his neighbour. The notion that the State can with benefit to the nation encourage or tolerate lawlessness among any class, even though that class consist of the poor, is the worst of all anarchical fallacies. A tort is a wrong done to a given individual, *A*. When *A* claims compensation from the trade union whose agent has worked the wrong, what possible answer can it in common fairness be that the union could not, without injuring *A*, have continued a strike against *B*, a wealthy manufacturer? Even in real warfare some slight respect is paid to the rights of neutrals, and if a strike can—by a delusive figure of speech—be termed a battle between masters and men, each of the public is a neutral, who is entitled to demand that his legal rights shall be respected by both parties to the conflict.

Lastly, it is urged that a trade union absolutely needs for the efficient conduct of a strike every privilege contained in the

* Report of Royal Commission on Trade Disputes, 1906, p. 8 [Cd. 2825]

Bill ; a union necessarily acts through agents or branches not entirely subject to its control, and if the law of agency be hard pressed against a trade union, it will soon be ruined by the compensation for wrongs for which it is not morally responsible. A union further must at all costs maintain discipline among its members, and also be able to put strong moral pressure—to use a very euphemistic term—upon non-unionists whose conduct, though it be the mere exercise of their legal rights, may render a strike abortive. But this argument, impressive as it may be to ardent unionists, is a very dangerous one for them to use. It really tells against rather than in favour of conferring special privileges upon societies or men engaged in a trade dispute. The law of agency consists of pre-eminently equitable rules framed for the protection of the public. If any body of men,* be they capitalists or wage-earners, employ for their own advantage an agent whom they cannot control, it is the principals who ought to change a dangerous method of business, and not the law of agency which ought to be revolutionised for the encouragement of a practice hurtful to the public. Nor is there the least ground for believing that the law is in this matter pressed with undue severity against a trade union. Recent cases show that the courts have been pre-eminently careful when attempts have been made to fix a union with liability for torts, to see whether it can fairly be brought home to the union.† Grant again that a strike cannot succeed unless discipline is maintained among the members of a union and pressure is brought to bear upon non-unionists, does not this fact, if fact it be, suggest at any rate that a strike must involve grievous interference with the elementary rights of persons who do not wish to take part in it. The Bill itself is enough to excite reasonable alarm. Suppose that when a Conservative Government with a large majority is again in power the Primrose League should demand for itself and for every other society framed for the promotion of political objects, all the privileges claimed for trade unions by the supporters of this Bill. We should in that case all dread the rise of a new

* The dislike of unionists to the rigid application of the law of agency in regard to liability for torts, reminds one of the objection taken by men of business to the rigid application of another branch of the same law in regard to the taking of commissions. Unionists in the one case, and merchants in the other, equally object to rules fair in themselves when they happen to run across unfair customs to which they have become habituated.

† Compare *Glamorgan Coal Co.* v. *South Wales Miners' Federation* [1905] A. C. 239 ; *Bulcock* v. *St. Anne's Master Builders' Federation* (1901), 19 Times L.R. 27 ; *Denaby* v. *Yorkshire Miners' Association* (1906), 22 Times L.R. (H.L.) 543 ; and generally the analysis of cases in Report of Commission Appendix 2.

tyranny. Would any man of sense doubt that the Primrose League was determined to compel every person whom it could influence by hook or by crook to vote for Conservative candidates, and was intending to exert this compulsion by means which but for the proposed Political Disputes Bill, would be a breach of the law? There is surely no reason why less fear should be excited by the same demands put forward by or on behalf of trade unionists. When a body of men ask for powers which the law now denies them it is idle to suggest that they are asking for privileges which they do not mean to use.

The Arguments against the Policy of Privilege.—The defence of the Bill, and especially of clause 4, is, I am told, not legal, but political. If this means that a Government which opposes clause 4 will lose the miners' vote and diminish the Ministerial majority, I fully understand the practical force of the argument, but decline to pay respect or attention to a plea which subordinates the welfare of the nation to the interests of a party. If what is really meant is that lawyers accustomed to identify equal law with justice cannot understand some higher law based on broad political considerations, I accept the challenge offered me. Let the whole controversy over the Bill be considered in conformity not so much with the technical rules of law, important though it is that they should be maintained, but with those extensive views of permanent expediency, which are only another name for the well-established principles of fairness and equity. Let the whole subject be placed on this footing. It will then be found that there are at least four arguments which tell fatally against the policy of class privilege. They each rest upon the assumption that the Bill inordinately increases the power of a trade union to persuade or coerce individuals or classes who resist its commands. If any one is honestly blind to a patent fact which a few months ago was visible enough to the Attorney-General, I know not how to open his eyes. To prove what is self-evident is all but an impossibility.

First. The Trade Disputes Bill will provoke a series of free fights between masters and men, carried on on both sides with energy, which will be unscrupulous, because it has been released from legal restraint. Huge strikes will be met by huge lock-outs; picketing and boycotting will be fought by similar arms, and probably will be resisted, as I gather happens to-day in the United States, by detectives who—well paid by a federation of wealthy mine-owners or manufacturers—will watch, spy, and, if need be, fight on behalf their paymasters. Consider, too, the necessary action of the law courts. Supporters of the Bill imagine it will exclude the interference of the judges. But it is by no means certain that this

will be its actual effect. The Bill certainly may have the unlooked for result of compelling the judges to exercise their criminal instead of their civil jurisdiction. Supported, as they certainly will be, by the moral feeling of Englishmen, they will be driven to consider how they may put a check upon gross wrongs done to individuals. One course is open to them. The judges may consider, with a care not yet given to the subject, what acts may be crimes when done by an individual acting alone * with a view to interfere with the liberty of his neighbour; for any such acts, if done by persons acting in concert, will involve the existence of a criminal conspiracy, which renders the conspirators liable to indictment, and, if the outrageous provisions of clause 4 prevent it from passing into law, may give rise to an action for damages against a trade union. May not much conduct even now, which is masked under the euphemism of peaceful picketing, be criminal though pursued only by a single individual? This inquiry is harder to answer than the legal omniscience of Mr. Keir Hardie may assume. Should it receive an affirmative reply, the result to trade unionists might be serious. One thing alone is certain. It will be a national calamity if prosecutions were substituted for actions, and questions between masters and men, now determined at Westminster, were brought for decision before the Central Criminal Court.

Secondly. The Bill sacrifices to the supposed wishes of trade unionists the freedom of any person or class unable to resist extreme moral pressure, degenerating sometimes into illegal violence. Every class which is either feeble or unpopular is placed in peril. But by far the most serious matter of all is the exposure of working women to gross oppression. The sort of pressure, call it peaceful picketing, or persuasion, or what you will, with which a man of nerve and resolution can contend, may be far beyond the power of women to resist. Remember that every conceivable mode of intimidation will in effect, under clause 4, be at the disposal of the unions. Boycotting, involving as it does the refusal to deal with particular people, the refusal to supply them with the necessities of life, the cutting of every one who does deal with them, and social excommunication, accompanied as it may be by assaults, slander, and libel, would soon drive most women to obey the unwritten law of the union. Every woman's right to support herself as she pleases will depend not on the law of the land but on the policy of

* Compare Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875 s. 7, sub-s. (2 and the language of Romer, L.J. in *Giblan* v. *National Amalgamated Union* [1903], 2 K.B. (C.A.) 600, 619.

trade unions. If I am told that English workmen will not act thus unfairly towards women, I am forced to remember that, rightly or wrongly, many workmen, and many persons of higher education than workmen, hold the competition of women with men, when it lowers wages, to be unfair, and that if a strike is likely to fail because women are willing to perform some work refused by the strikers, the perfectly legal conduct of these women is certain to cause intense irritation on the part of artisans.

Suppose the following case: A wealthy manufacturer resists a strike by hiring a thousand women to take the place of men who have struck work. The committee of the trade union are determined that at all costs the strike shall succeed. They employ strong and zealous agents to picket the women. The agents, strong, stout, hulking fellows, are solemnly told that they must do nothing contrary to law, but they are also reminded that energy ensures victory. They work with a will. By persuasion or by terror they induce every woman to quit the manufacturer's employment. Is it at all certain that a jury might not give any woman who could bring an action against the union heavy damages? But under the Bill no action against the union will be maintainable. Can it seriously be contended that the Bill does not withdraw from working women protection against illegal violence? The risk of unfair pressure being brought to bear on working women deserves the most careful consideration both of those who advocate and of those who deprecate the concession of the franchise to women. Those who believe that a woman ought to have a vote for Parliament can surely not look with indifference on a policy which deprives her of the elementary rights of human beings. Those, on the other hand, who resist a woman's claim to a parliamentary vote on the ground that women have no reason as a class to fear oppression, will find the force of their strongest practical argument reduced almost to nothing by the passing of a law so peculiarly unfavourable to the freedom of women. As to the danger of oppression I am hard to re-assure. Mr. Henry Crompton indeed tells us that picketing is much misunderstood, and that whilst picketing is justified, all physical molestation or intimidation is condemned by working men.* Against this trustful optimism we must set one or two grave considerations. It is absolutely opposed to the conclusion arrived at by the Royal Commissioners, among whom on this point we may include Mr. Sidney Webb. "*Watching* and *besetting* for the purpose of peaceably per-

* See Webb, *History of Trade Unionism* (new ed.), p. 262, note.

suading is really a contradiction in terms. The truth is that picketing, however conducted, when it consists in the watching or besetting the house, &c. . . . is always and of necessity an annoyance to the person picketed. As such it must savour of compulsion and it cannot be doubted that it is because it is found to compel that trade unions systematically resort to it."* It is obvious how easy it must be to pass from the language of persuasion into that of abuse, to threats, and to acts of violence. Sir Godfrey Lushington goes much further than his colleagues. He is of opinion that even under the present law picketing is an abuse for which a remedy is required, and that the personal freedom of workmen "needs not less protection than hitherto, but more." He therefore recommends "that the existing prohibition of watching and besetting be retained, and that the proviso permitting it for the sole purpose of giving and receiving information be repealed."† To many persons this will seem the logical conclusion to which the evidence laid before the Commissioners leads; and a conclusion justified no less by common sense than by logic.

Mr. Keir Hardie on September 6 reproved Lord Lindley for the suggestion that unionists have any desire to coerce non-unionists into joining a strike or a trade union.‡ But the baselessness of this rebuke has been shown, and indeed was shown even before Mr. Keir Hardie spoke, by the behaviour of the Welsh miners.§ These miners certainly persuaded a good number of non-unionists to join their trade union. The methods of persuasion are noteworthy. They consisted of assault and of insult. The details are too lengthy to give, and the assaults seem to have been often carried out by the wives of workmen on strike. No doubt it will be alleged that the union did not instigate these outrages. It certainly gained by their commission. In any case, it will be an evil day for the liberty of individual working men or working women when a union is enabled to order or countenance such oppression as has been practised by the Welsh miners, and yet not be compellable to pay one penny in damages for the wrongs of which it has been the author. But if I am told, under whatever form or with whatever good faith, that Englishmen, and especially English workmen, will not act unfairly towards any man or

* Report, p. 11. The whole passage which is too long to be given in extenso should be carefully studied. I hope it will be read by every one. It may make intelligible to others, though it does not to myself, why the majority of the Commissioners, knowing all the dangers of picketing, recommend that the right of peaceful picketing should be extended.

† Report, p. 77.

‡ *Times*, September 7, 1906, p. 8.

§ *Ibid.*, September 6, p. 5 September 15, page 7.

towards any woman, I must once more say that men who do not wish to make any use of freedom from legal control should not ask for it.*

Thirdly. The passing of the Trade Disputes Bill will, in the long run—and it may be in a very short time—render morally impossible the suppression of boycotting, and, therefore, the maintenance of legal order in Ireland. The Bill in substance, conceal the matter as you will, legalises boycotting for the benefit of unions, whether of men or of masters. It will be impossible long to maintain that a gross form of oppression which is legal in furtherance of a trade dispute, must be treated as illegal in furtherance of a political dispute. I will not press the matter further. It was on March 28 last well enough understood by the Attorney-General. It is well enough understood by the Irish Nationalists. They deserve the commendation due to men wise in their generation. They have backed up the Trade Disputes Bill; they have said enough to record their conviction that the principles of the Bill are as applicable to land leagues as to trade unions, yet they have not said enough to alarm English opinion. But every Englishman anxious to maintain the union with Ireland ought to know where we stand. If the Bill passes, officials charged with the maintenance of the rule of law in Ireland will find themselves deprived of half the moral strength needed for resistance to lawlessness.

Fourthly. The Bill corrupts the English democracy. Democratic government possesses one great merit. It forces the Legislature and the Executive to pay attention to the interests and to the wishes of the mass of the people—*i.e.*, in England, of the wage-earners. It thus goes far to stimulate sound national feeling But, on the other hand, democratic government has at least one obvious defect. Its existence suggests that the interests and the wishes of the majority should be preferred to the permanent interests of the nation; it is apt to turn the demand for equal rights into the demand for unequal privileges. To stimulate this process, and to flatter the mass of wage-earners, is to corrupt the democracy and to render good government impossible. The mere agitation in favour of the privileges

* If any one's indolence or selfishness suggests to him that the concession of extraordinary privileges to trade unions can after all affect only the interest or the comfort of manufacturers and their workmen, let me remind him of the possibility or probability that there soon may be formed a union among domestic servants. Such a union might, for ought I know, be a real benefit to servants. Its existence would certainly bring home to many a head of a family the inconvenience, to use the mildest term, of coming into conflict with an association which was not liable to pay damages for any tort committed by itself or its agents.

contained in the Bill has already done much harm. A sovereign multitude suffers as much from adulation as a sovereign monarch. Trade unionists have refused to give evidence before the Royal Commission; they adopt a tone of hostility towards the judges; they sometimes at least display a want of confidence in the fairness of juries. All these things are signs of ill omen. But the harm wrought by flattery is as yet small. The prejudices of trade unionists have this excuse: working men are naturally misled by the ill-starred history of the combination law. Trade disputes have always with us been the subject of exceptional legislation. The exceptional restrictions imposed on trade combinations in 1800 are the remote but certain cause of the exceptional favour with which trade combinations were treated in 1875,* and the legislation of 1875 has suggested, and has seemed to trade unionists to justify, though it certainly does not, the astounding privileges claimed for them in 1906. But the working men of England do not as yet love privilege. If the Bill could be posted up for public reading and public discussion in every parish throughout the country, and its whole bearing be brought home to every man and woman, it would never pass into law. If, however, the Bill, whilst it contains clause 4, or anything like clause 4,† becomes an Act, harm will have been done far beyond any of the actual and specific wrongs, great as they may be, which under the shelter of that Act may be inflicted upon individual victims. The worst and most terrible effect of unjust legislation is that it produces an unjust condition of public opinion. Once teach any class, be it a body of nobles, of churchmen, or of wage-earners, that it is entitled to immunity from the ordinary law of the land, and that class will never forget the disastrous lesson of the right to privilege. This abstract reflection will seem to practical politicians of little worth; it is in reality of supreme importance. In any case, a lawyer who has devoted some thought to the principles of our constitution may be allowed to raise a protest—feeble though it may be—against a Bill which undermines the foundation of that rule of equal law to which England owes her freedom by inaugurating for the benefit of a class the fatal policy of privilege.

A. V. DICEY.

* Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875 (38 & 39 Vict. c. 86) s. 3.

† *E.g.* clause 4, as originally drafted by the Government.

KING LEOPOLD AND THE CONGO AT THE BAR OF BELGIAN OPINION

1885.

For many years King Leopold II., inspired by a purely philanthropic idea, has spared neither personal efforts nor pecuniary sacrifices in the achievement of his purpose. He has carried it to a successful issue, not without difficulties, which have only enhanced the brilliancy of his success. In doing homage to his Majesty by recognising the obstacles which he has overcome, we greet the new-born [Congo] State with the warmest cordiality and a sincere desire tc see it prosper and grow under its ægis.—Sir EDWARD MALET, *British Plenipotentiary at the Berlin Conference on African Affairs.*

1906.

The [Berlin] Act states that all the Powers exercising sovereign rights or influence in the territories bind themselves to watch over the preservation of the native tribes and their moral and physical well-being, and to help in suppressing slavery and the slave trade. These words, read by the light of what is going on in the Congo, seem almost to be ironically written. I say, therefore, that our right is perfectly clear. But I may add, quite irrespective of any right we enjoy under the letter of these Acts, we have a moral right to interfere, which comes to us in consequence—I cannot use a gentler word—of the false pretences under which the Congo State has acquired its privileged position in that part of Africa.—Lord LANSDOWNE *in the House of Lords on the present situation in the Congo.*

"THE RAKE'S PROGRESS."

Nemo repente fuit turpissimus, and it will be an interesting and instructive task for some future historian of the Congo to trace King Leopold's downward course through its successive stages from the initial Conference over which he presided in 1876 at Brussels to the end which is not yet. The outcome of that Conference, which was attended by all the most distinguished geographers and explorers of Europe, was the creation of the International Association for the Exploration and Civilisation of Central Africa. It was East Africa which King Leopold first thought of making the base of his opera-

tions ; and not until after Stanley's great journey across the Dark Continent did his Majesty, quick to realise its importance, turn his eyes towards the Congo. As soon as he landed in Europe Stanley received the most pressing invitation to Brussels, and his conversations with the King promptly bore fruit in a new organisation known as the *Comité d'Etudes du Haut Congo*, with the support of influential financiers and traders. The introduction of a new commercial element was not, however, in any way to affect the philanthropic catholicity of the King's projects. Stanley's services were enlisted to carry them into execution by a fresh expedition to the Congo, but almost before he had started King Leopold's ideas had expanded. Instead of merely throwing the basin of the Congo open to the commerce of the world, might it not be possible to establish ports which should be centres of influence over the neighbouring chiefs and tribes, who might ultimately be brought together into a republican confederacy of free negroes, an independent confederacy of which the President nominated by the King should reside in Europe ? " Our scheme," wrote Colonel Strauch, on behalf of King Leopold, to Stanley, " does not aim at the creation of a Belgian colony, but at the establishment of a powerful negro State." Stanley intimated that such a scheme was entirely visionary, and confined himself to creating stations on the Congo and concluding treaties with the native chiefs by which their rights of sovereignty were transferred to the *Comité d'Etudes*. But before Stanley returned to Europe in 1882, all the commercial interests in the *Comité d'Etudes* had been bought out, and that Committee itself transformed by King Leopold into the International Association of the Congo, which, although still styled international, supplied the framework of the independent and powerfully centralised State which King Leopold already had in mind. The political complications with France and Portugal and England, which arose successively as the scope of King Leopold's undertaking came to be more and more clearly realised, are as well known as the solution which they found in 1885 amidst a great display of diplomatic fireworks at the Conference of Berlin in the recognition of the Congo Free State under the sovereignty of the King of the Belgians.

One cannot but admire the extraordinary dexterity with which King Leopold steered his course to the appointed goal, and some years were still to elapse before any serious misgivings were felt as to the wisdom of those who had acclaimed this brilliant triumph of businesslike philanthropy. The two

decades during which the Congo State has already existed may indeed be divided into three periods of about equal duration.

The first was a relatively liberal period, in which the drafts drawn by the founder of the Congo State on the confidence of the civilised world were seldom openly dishonoured. The second was a period of transition, during which the way was steadily, though still cautiously, prepared for the predatory system of huge trade monopolies which, in defiance both of international obligations and of ordinary humanity, has practically converted the Congo State during the third period into a vast rubber estate exploited by forced labour. The language used by Lord Lansdowne and by his successor at the British Foreign Office during the recent Parliamentary debates shows how far public opinion in this country has travelled in twenty-one years from the time when the Congo State was enthusiastically welcomed into the comity of nations. And not only in this country. In Belgium especially, where for a long time a very natural reluctance was felt to credit the charges brought by private individuals, mostly foreigners, against the administration of the Congo in which Belgians, from the King downwards, are so largely concerned, many influential voices are now being raised to denounce "the conspiracy against truth which, since 1895, has been organised from top to bottom under well-nigh inconceivable conditions in order to hide the crimes committed on the Congo." These are the words uttered six months ago by a Belgian Deputy belonging to the Catholic or Government party in the Belgian Chamber, and, as there is reason to believe that when the Belgian Chamber meets again next month, a still more determined attempt will be made to probe the Congo question to the quick, the moment seems opportune for reviewing the evidence upon which the indictment of the Congo State is based.

The Commission of Inquiry.

A very copious literature exists in this country upon which it would be easy to draw ; but as it is generally recognised that the most immediate hope of a remedy lies in the intervention of Belgium, whose interests and good name are directly involved, and that in the peculiar circumstances of the case it is specially incumbent upon foreigners to respect the natural and legitimate susceptibilities of a friendly nation, I propose to confine myself in the following pages to evidence drawn exclusively from Belgian sources. The main document upon which I shall rely is indeed an official document furnished by the Congo State itself—or rather wrung from it under pressure

which it certainly did its utmost to resist, but to which it was finally compelled to yield. That document is the Report of the Commission of Inquiry sent out in the autumn of 1904 to investigate the condition of affairs on the spot, and frame proposals for the remedy of such evils as might be ascertained to exist in the territories of the Congo State. Not only was the appointment of the Commission in the main due to the action of the British Government in publishing the Report which it had received from Mr. Casement, a British Consular Officer in the Congo, and in proposing the holding of an International Conference to consider the affairs of the Congo, but the composition of the Commission, and the extension of its powers, were also due to Lord Lansdowne's pertinacity. The Commissioners selected were M. Edouard Jannsens, Advocate-General at the Belgian Court of Cassation (who acted as President), Baron Nisco, an Italian subject, President *ad interim* of the Congo Court of Appeal at Boma, and Dr. Schumacher, of Swiss nationality, Chief of the Judicial Department of the Canton of Lucerne. The labours of the Commission covered as much ground as could reasonably be expected in view of the enormous area of the Congo State and of the relatively short time they were able to devote to their task. Having arrived at Boma on October 5, 1904, they left for Europe again on February 21, 1905, and their travels never extended very far away from the actual course of the Congo River. Their Report was signed on October 31, and published on November 5 of last year. It unquestionably represents a genuine endeavour to arrive at the truth and to state it honestly, though it is rather difficult to reconcile some of the laudatory generalisations in which it indulges with the concrete illustrations which it furnishes of the working of the whole system of administration. The Commissioners may have considered unanimity more important than absolute consistency, or more probably they felt bound to say something which should save King Leopold's face in order not to jeopardise the whole result of their labours. The one grave failure of the Commission is the withholding of the evidence taken before it ; and this failure, against which Sir Edward Grey has rightly protested in the strongest terms, but without success, may fairly be imputed to the Government of the Congo, rather than to the Commissioners themselves. Such as it is, however, the Report of the Commission of Inquiry constitutes the very gravest indictment of the Congo State. Here again, in order to avoid the charge of partiality and prejudice, I shall give the preference to the comments and conclusions drawn from it by competent Belgian

authorities, and more especially by members of the Belgian Chamber during the five days' debate to which it gave rise (February-March 1906) in Brussels.* The Belgians whom I propose to quote do not belong to any one party or class, and cannot therefore be suspected of serving personal or political ends. Amongst them are to be found Catholics and Liberals, Conservatives and Socialists, Professors and Deputies from both the French and the Flemish speaking portions of Belgium, including many who were originally zealous defenders of King Leopold's colonial enterprise. Perhaps the most exhaustive and incisive criticism to which the facts brought to light by the Commission of Inquiry have been subjected in Belgium is to be found in the *Etude sur la Situation de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo*, by M. Félicien Cattier, Professor of Colonial Jurisprudence at the University of Brussels, a Liberal monarchist, who has followed very closely, and at first with no little sympathy, the progress of the Congo State since its creation; but another equally instructive work is *La Question Congolaise*, by Father Vermeersch, a Belgian Jesuit and Doctor of Law and of Political and Administrative Sciences, who, from an opposite pole of thought and sympathies, arrives at much the same conclusions as M. Cattier.

The Confiscation of the Land.

The first question with which the Report of the Commission of Inquiry deals is that of land tenure, and rightly, for everything else turns upon it. The total area of the Congo State is estimated at 900,000 square miles, or nearly eight times the area of the British Islands. About one-half of this huge area forms the *Domaine privé*, or, as it has recently been rechristened by King Leopold, the *Domaine national*. Another large slice, containing some of the most valuable land in the whole State, forms the *Domaine de la Couronne*, and is practically treated by the King as his own private property. Other tracts of land almost equally vast have been handed over to various chartered companies styled *Sociétés Concessionaires*, in which the Congo State, however, has a controlling interest as the holder of more than half the shares. Other and smaller portions are held by companies styled respectively *Sociétés Propriétaires* and *Sociétés sans Concessions*. But under whichever of these categories land in the Congo State may happen

* Most of the quotations from that debate in the course of this article are taken from the translation of the verbatim report made by Mr. E. D. Morel the indefatigable honorary secretary of the Congo Reform Association and published on its behalf.

to fall, the system is the same. The rights of the natives in the land have been ruthlessly confiscated, except as regards individual ownership in the villages, and the small cultivated plots immediately adjoining them. In a country that derives almost the whole of its wealth from the bounteous hand of nature, with little or no assistance from human labour, which is required only for the purpose of collecting it, all lands which, in a technical sense, were not "cultivated," were declared to be the property of the State. The consequences of this principle of wholesale confiscation were described as follows by the Commission of Inquiry:

As the greater portion of the land in the Congo is not cultivated, this interpretation of the words "vacant lands" concedes to the State an absolute and exclusive ownership over virtually the whole of the land, with this consequence, that it can itself dispose solely of all the products of the land, prosecute as a poacher any one who takes from that land the least of its fruits, or as a receiver of stolen goods any one who receives such fruit, forbid any one to establish himself on the greater part of the territory. The activity of the natives is thus limited to very restricted areas, and their economic condition is immobilised. Thus applied, such legislation would prevent any development of native life. In this manner, not only has the native been often forbidden to shift his village, but he has often been forbidden to visit even temporarily a neighbouring village without special permit.

Forced Labour and the Rubber Tax.

The iniquity of this system becomes all the more glaring when it is remembered that the Congo State practically depends for its financial existence on the exploitation of the rubber forests which cover a great part of its area. For some years past more than 80 per cent. of the exports from the Congo consist solely of rubber; and as the natives have been robbed of all their rights, and there is no legitimate incentive left to induce them to work, the State has been driven to fall back upon forced labour and coercion of the most revolting character in order to secure the exploitation of the forests, and the collection of the rubber which is its chief source of revenue. As was stated by M. Vandervelde in the Belgian Chamber, "that which is essential to the revenues of the State, and to the profits of the chartered companies, and of the Crown Domain, is the rubber tax," and the Socialist leader proceeded to read what the Report of the Commission of Inquiry had to say "on the suffering involved for the natives in the course of this frantic exploitation of the rubber forests."

In the majority of cases, the native must go one or two days' march every fortnight, until he arrives at that part of the forest where the rubber vines can be met with in a certain degree of abundance. There the collector passes a

number of days in a miserable existence. He has to build himself an improvised shelter, which cannot obviously replace his hut. He has not the food to which he is accustomed. He is deprived of his wife, exposed to the inclemencies of the weather and the attacks of wild beasts. When once he has collected the rubber, he must bring it to the State station, or to that of the company, and only then can he return to his village, where he can sojourn for barely more than two or three days, because the next demand is upon him. The result of this, therefore, is that, whatever may be his activity in the rubber forests, the native, on account of the numerous displacements which he is compelled to undergo, sees the majority of his time absorbed in the collection of india-rubber. It is hardly necessary to add that this state of affairs is a flagrant violation of the forty hours' law.

Is it surprising that in these circumstances the native should often prove recalcitrant and seek to evade the exaction of the rubber tax? "Let us see," continues M. Vandervelde, "what are the means employed, according to the Commission of Inquiry, to exercise coercion in such cases; the *chicotte*, the hippopotamus whip, which leaves bloody weals on the bodies of those upon whom it is used; servile labours imposed upon the chiefs; the seizing of hostages, which was recommended in 1897 in an official circular by Baron Wahis, the actual Governor of the Congo State, and, what is more terrible than all, the black soldiers of the Force Publique, whose intervention is indispensable to the working of the system." He again quotes the Report of the Commission:

According to the witnesses, these auxiliaries, especially those who are stationed in the villages, abuse the authority given to them, making themselves into despots, claiming the women, and food, not only for themselves, but for the band of parasites and ruffians which the love of rapine associates with them, and with whom they surround themselves as with a veritable body-guard; they kill, without pity, all those who attempt to resist their exigencies and whims.

And woe, indeed, to the unfortunate natives if they offer actual resistance. For this is, again according to the Commission of Inquiry, what happens when so-called punitive expeditions are undertaken:

The order given to a Commandant of a detachment is generally drawn up in the following manner: "N—— is instructed to punish such and such a village." The Commission is aware of several expeditions of this type. The consequences are often very murderous, and one cannot be surprised if, in the course of these delicate operations, whose object it is to seize hostages and intimidate the natives, constant watch cannot be exercised over the sanguinary instincts of the soldiers. When orders to punish are given by superior authority, it is difficult to prevent the expedition from degenerating into massacres, accompanied by pillage and barbarism. Military action, thus understood, always exceeds its object. The punishment being in flagrant disproportion with the fault, it confounds in the same punishment the innocent and the guilty.

One would like to think with the Commission of Inquiry that the worst outrages are due mainly to the absence of effective white supervision over the black troops of the State. But a member of the Liberal Party, M. Lorand, was compelled to quote a document signed by a responsible official of the State, a district Commissioner, Commandant Jacques, which throws a lurid light upon the spirit that animates some at least of the white employees of the State. These are the instructions, as read out in the Belgian Chamber, which Commandant Jacques sends to a Chef de Poste under his orders :

Decidedly these people of Inoryo are a bad lot. They have just been and cut some rubber vines at Huli. We must fight them until their absolute submission has been obtained, or their complete extinction. Warn for the last time the people of Inoryo, and put into execution as soon as possible your project of accompanying them to the forest, or else go to the village with a good *trique*. When you arrive at the first hut, speak as follows to the owner thereof : " Here is a basket, you are to fill it with rubber. Go to the forest at once, and if in a week you have not returned with 10 lbs. of rubber, I shall set fire to your hut, and you will burn." The *trique* may be used to drive into the forest those who refuse to leave the village. By burning one hut after another I think you will not be compelled to proceed to last extremities before being obeyed. Inform the natives that if they cut another single vine, I will exterminate them to the last man.

Equally damning was the evidence produced also by M. Lorand, with regard to the fortnightly reports demanded by the administration of one of the chief *Sociétés Concessionaires* in order that it should be supplied " with an exact idea of the general operations of the Company." In these reports were to be inscribed the number of women taken from their homes whom a sentry might detain, the way in which coercion and the seizure of hostages was exercised, and details as to the feeding of hostages. Two further documents were communicated by M. Lorand to the Chamber which, as he said, " give a good idea of the daily proceedings of the Congo authorities." These were memoranda written in pencil by officials of the Congo State :

Ndumby is authorised to go to Lakondue, to fetch a woman and a girl belonging to him, and who have taken refuge there.—Lusbo, 10th April, 1901. The Lieutenant Chenot.

Klomoni is instructed to go to Lakondue to fetch two women, Galula and Makassi Moiqui, who belong to the interpreter Sebastian.—The Commissioner Pimpurniaux.

One may hope that such gross cases of demoralisation are exceptional. But can one expect a high moral standard from agents whose regular salaries are a mere pittance, and who are directly encouraged by the State to eke them out by the most dubious methods ? M. Vandervelde referred to the practice of

giving bonuses to the agents of the State on the collection of rubber and ivory proportioned to their success in securing the largest amounts at the least possible cost. These bonuses are now stated to have been suppressed, but they have been replaced by the promise of pensions which are practically conditioned on the same proof of efficient service to the State. What was, however, scarcely less grave than the question of bonuses on the collection of produce was the system of bonuses granted to the agents of the State for the recruiting of the black troops of the Force Publique. M. Vandervelde read out the text of instructions issued a few years ago by M. van Eetvelde, Secretary of the Congo State, which speaks for itself :

The Congo State will allot for each recruit a bonus settled as follows : 90 frs. for every man, healthy and vigorous, and judged fit for military service, whose height exceeds 1 metre 55 centimetres ; 65 frs. for every youth whose stature is at least 1 metre 35 centimetres ; 15 frs. per male child. The male children must be at least 1 metre 20 centimetres in height, and must be sufficiently strong to be able to support the fatigues of the road. For every married man the bonus will be increased to 130 frs. The bonus will only be due for such men as have been handed over to the headquarters of the various districts.

Practices of this kind may to some extent have been dropped under the pressure of public opinion, or they may no longer be necessary for purposes of recruiting ; for, as one of the soldiers of the Congo State remarked to Mr. Casement : "I prefer to be with the hunters rather than with the hunted." But the vicious moral atmosphere which they have created remains, as M. Bertrand pointed out :

Such a system was bound to bring about the most frightful abuses. It is self-evident that, without law, without possible control, so to speak, over such vast territories, in view of the obvious intentions of those who had organised and directed the system, the power placed in the hands of officials could not help degenerating into abuses of all kinds. These officials live alone amongst savages, subject to a bad climate, to the effects of isolation, to the effects of absolute power over these primitive peoples, to the effects of continual contact with them, and to the effects of diseases ; they suffer from the dangers which threaten them every day, and, ceaselessly pressed, and themselves interested, to make their districts produce as much rubber as possible, they were bound to devote themselves to this task by every means. Abuses could not fail to take place, and the result of the bonuses was to lead to oppression, and to a frantic exploitation of the natives, to atrocities, and to the crimes which have been disclosed.

Official Responsibilities.

The Commission of Inquiry urges quite rightly that the blame cannot be allowed to fall only upon subordinate officials :

Note must be taken in examining these facts of the deplorable confusion which exists still in the Upper Congo, between a state of war and a state of

peace, between administration and repression, between those who may be considered as enemies, and those who ought to be considered as citizens of the State, and treated according to its laws. The Commission was struck with the general tone of the reports relating to the operations referred to. Often while stating that the expedition was solely brought about by arrears in taxation, and without even making any sort of mention of attack or resistance on the part of the natives, which would alone justify the use of arms, the authors of these reports speak of "villages surprised," "energetic pursuit," "numerous enemies killed and wounded," "plunder," "prisoners of war," "terms of peace." Obviously, these officers thought they were at war, acted as though they were at war, and that, indeed, is what their superiors intended. In handing these reports to the supreme authority, what, in a general way, are the annotations inscribed on them by the District Commissioners? Among advice, or criticism, or technical military observations, blame or praise with regard to the incidents of the campaign, very rarely do they consider whether the use of arms was justified. Under such circumstances we should be inclined to excuse subalterns who have not thoroughly understood the pacific character of their mission.

This position of affairs cannot be prolonged in the interest of the people, and in the interests of the officials of the State. The natives must not be exposed to being treated as enemies outside the law, and, on the other hand, measures must be taken so that officers who are conducting what may be accurately termed warlike operations, should not be liable to be summoned before the courts to explain these operations, as though it were a matter of an offence against the common law.

The Report of the Commission, indeed, shows that other and yet higher responsibilities are involved; for it acknowledges that the administration of justice in the Congo State has lamentably failed hitherto to exercise an effective restraint upon these hideous abuses. It says, it is true, in the first place: "Abuses committed in the course of the exercise of coercion were very seldom referred to the judiciary." But later on it makes the following grave admission: "The Commission has found that very often prosecutions, begun by the Assistant Public Prosecutors against white men, accused of having ill-treated natives, have not been followed up, owing to administrative decision."

Yet, as M. Vandervelde reminded the Chamber, the Secretaries of the Congo State did not hesitate in 1900 to report to the King that "the Government of the Congo State leans rather to an excess of severity than to undue indulgence in the repression of acts of ill-treatment."

The Commissioners' Conclusions.

It is impossible within the compass of a short article to take up all the points raised in the voluminous report of the Commission of Inquiry, and having quoted some of the most salient passages which give the results of its investigations, I must

confine myself briefly, and again in its own words, to the list of reforms in which it embodies its recommendations :

> We have specially in view a broad and liberal interpretation and application of the laws affecting land tenure, the enforcement of the law limiting the imposition of forced labour to forty hours a month, the suppression of the system of sentries and the carrying of arms by the black guards, the withdrawal from the trading companies of the right to employ coercion, the regulation of military expeditions, and the abolition of administrative interference with the judiciary.

These reforms, according to the Commission of Inquiry, were "urgent" and would involve no increase of expenditure. It refrained from insisting upon "others of great importance, and indeed necessary," because they would burden the finances of the State. For the same reason, no doubt, it acquiesced even in the maintenance of the principle of forced labour; and from the moment that it did so, its recommendations were bound to be mere palliatives which might have mitigated, but could never have removed, the fundamental evils of an iniquitous system rooted in confiscation and coercion.

The Commission of "Reforms."

Had King Leopold sincerely desired to remedy even the most glaring of the abuses disclosed by his own Commission of Inquiry, or to remove the painful impression produced by its revelations on public opinion in his own country as well as abroad, it would have been an easy matter for him to appoint a Committee whose task should have been simply to frame such legislative enactments or administrative instructions as were required to give practical effect to the "urgent" recommendations of his Commissioners. Instead of adopting the only course which could have to some extent redeemed his reputation, the Sovereign of the Congo State issued at the same time as the Report of the Commission of Inquiry a Royal Decree appointing a new Commission "to study the conclusions arrived at by the Commission of Inquiry, and to formulate proposals and discover practical means for giving effect to them." The composition of this new Commission emphasised its illusory character. Out of fourteen members, two were connected with the *Sociétés Concessionnares* whose abuses had been most strongly denounced by the Commission of Inquiry, and seven others were officials of the Congo State, *i.e.*, active members of the incriminated administration. As M. Vandervelde indignantly remarked : "It is exactly as if one called in slave-traders to a conference to abolish the slave trade. I notice that none of the men who have done good work on the Congo

form part of this Commission. I do not find the name of Dhanis, nor those of Wangermee or Lemaire or Cambier. Nor do I see a single representative of the Catholic missions." A Catholic member, M. Colfs, condemned this significant omission in still more forcible terms:

> It is strange to see a Commission of Reforms constituted from which the most impartial elements are excluded, those who have been accused, without being allowed to defend themselves, and whose only object is civilisation, without any thought of self-interest—that is recognised by all, even by the Protestants—when, on the other hand, are included representatives of companies accused and duly convicted of abominable crimes. And to them are added the officials who have been the representatives of the policy so completely condemned in the Report!

Even this Commission failed apparently to fulfil the purpose for which King Leopold had packed it. It contained a few independent members who would not be parties to a mere farce. Hence, instead of a formal report signed by the "Reforms" Commission, all that appeared at the end of eight months' labour was a letter to the King Sovereign signed by only three members out of fourteen—all three officials of the State, and implicated in the system upon which the Commission of Inquiry had passed judgment. Small wonder that the very modest recommendations of that Committee found little favour in their eyes, and that those even which it had declared to be absolutely urgent were ignored or whittled down or rendered illusory by all sorts of conditions and reservations. It would be mere waste of time to go through the sheaf of Royal Decrees which accompanied the publication of this letter; for, according to the Commission of Inquiry, it was not so much the laws of the Congo State which were at fault as the spirit in which they were administered; and even if the new decrees had sanctioned far more liberal enactments than they actually did, it was evident from the tone of the royal letters attached to those decrees that the Pharaoh had again hardened his heart.

The Finances of the Congo.

The Congo State has, in fact, ceased to be a State in the ordinary acceptation of the term, and has become practically a huge "plantation," recklessly exploited by its Sovereign, by methods which differ only in name from slave labour, for purposes of pecuniary profit, and of immediate rather than prospective profit. It was admirably set forth by M. Bertrand in the Belgian Chamber:

> The Congo has been exploited in later years after the system which is called the "collectivist system." . . . That which is in operation in the Congo

is for the profit of one man, the Sovereign-King. It is based upon the exploitation of the natives, and the Belgian taxpayer. In practice it is carried out as follows. The greater portion of the territory belongs to the Congo State, and to the Sovereign personally, both being one. It is a collective property, which has been formed by the brutal expropriation of the collective property of the natives, which was in existence for centuries. Another part of the territory has been handed over to Concessionaire Companies, who exploit it in the name of the Congo State, and who divide the profits with the latter, even to the extent of one-half. Finally, a very small part of the territory is left free to companies, or to native owners.

M. Bertrand went on to discuss the bearings of Congo finances on those of Belgium, and though that is a question which primarily concerns only the Belgians themselves, it is interesting to note that, besides the original lottery loan of £6,000,000, which provided a sort of working capital for the Congo, and in addition to a further sum of £1,200,000, borrowed openly and above board from the Belgian exchequer, the Congo State has gradually piled up further liabilities estimated at about £3,200,000, and that the Belgian Chamber is nevertheless denied any definite information as to the financial engagements which Belgium will have to assume if and when she takes over the Congo State. The same reticence is observed in regard to the current revenue and expenditure of the State.

In the *Bulletin Officiel* of the Congo State, the "Budget" is published, but hitherto the Congo State has never published a single account. Now, what does this "Budget" contain? Nothing but mere estimates. One cannot arrive at a knowledge of the real condition of the finances of a State until its accounts have been published, because only when that is done can one ascertain if the estimates of receipts and expenditure have been realised or not, and to what extent.

Even these illusory estimates deal only with the avowed or avowable revenues of the State. They give no details as to the share derived by the State from the vast Concession areas handed over to the companies in which the State is a chief shareholder, and still less as to the profits yielded by the enormous *Domaine de la Couronne*, though those Concessions, together with the Crown Domain, cover the richest half of the Congo territory. As far as can be gathered, the whole cost of administering the Congo State is charged upon its so-called Budget, whilst the companies and the Crown Domain secure the lion's share of profit. What such profit amounts to can again only be approximately estimated, so long as all official information is systematically withheld, by calculations based upon the scanty available data. One of the most notorious of the companies, some of whose methods were exposed by the Commission of Inquiry, is the *Compagnie Concessionaire* known

as the A.B.I.R. M. Vandervelde stated the following significant facts in the Chamber :

> We find that this company was created in 1892, with a capital of 1,000,000 francs [divided into 2000 shares], on which only 232,000 francs were paid up. What has become of these shares, of so small a value? In 1898 each share brought in 1100 francs in dividends, and was worth 14,600 francs. In 1899 each share brought in 1225 francs in dividends, and was worth 17,950 francs. In 1900 each share brought in 2100 francs, and was worth 25,250 francs. In 1901 each share brought in 900 francs, and was worth 14,550 francs. In 1902 each share brought in 850 francs, and was worth 13,400 francs. In 1903 each share brought in 1200 francs, and was worth 15,800 francs.

Less than £10,000 were ever paid up on its nominal capital, and, in the six years above mentioned, its profits, half of which go to the State as the owner of one-half of the shares, amounted to nearly £600,000.

King Leopold's Private Preserves.

The *Domaine de la Couronne* is wrapped in still greater mystery. Created in 1896 by a decree which was kept secret until 1902, it is administered by a Committee consisting of two members of King Leopold's household and the Secretary-General of the Congo Financial Department. It consists of a territory ten times the size of Belgium, containing the finest rubber forests in the Congo, and of six mines which the Sovereign reserves for himself to select in the future. With regard to the enormous profits which the Royal founder has derived from the *Domaine de la Couronne*, M. Cattier has produced some very remarkable evidence. He estimates them at 70,000,000 francs. The Belgian Premier, M. Smet de Maeyer, categorically refused to give any authoritative information, though he professed to question the accuracy of M. Cattier's calculations. But M. Cattier has not confined himself to speculative estimates. He has shown by documentary evidence, duly attested, that the *Domaine de la Couronne* has invested profits in the purchase of real estate in two administrative districts in Belgium alone to the value of over 18,000,000 francs. Other large sums derived from the profits of the Domain are stated to have been expended by the King on the rebuilding of the Royal Palace at Laeken, and other sumptuary works, as well as upon the service of the Press Bureau of the Congo State in Brussels, and the Press propaganda which it carries on in foreign countries. At what cost of human suffering these sums are wrung out of the *Domaine de la Couronne* was shown in Consul Casement's Report to the Foreign Office. The Commission of Inquiry learnt that things had improved of late, but

it did not venture to extend its labours into the Royal preserve, of which the secrets are so jealously kept.

Yet as M. Lorand forcibly argued, "the excuse put forward in order to prevent, or postpone to a distant future, the radical reform of the system, is that the Congo State lacks financial resources, when, on the contrary, its revenues are disgorged into the *Domaine de la Couronne*," and, he might have added, into the various monopolist companies whose inordinate profits accrue mostly to the State or its King-Sovereign as the chief shareholder.

When we are told that forced rubber labour must be maintained, and with it all the concomitants of horror necessary to its maintenance, on the plea of the unsatisfactory condition of the Congo State's finances, the plea is in flagrant contradiction with the facts. This excuse of the necessity of forced labour to balance the revenue and expenditure of the Congo cannot be seriously made, and it is inconceivable that the Commission should have attempted to invoke it, when we see in Belgium the beneficiary of the *Domaine de la Couronne* of the Congo State squandering in extravagances the product of the *corvée*, and of that outrageous exploitation of rubber which is depopulating Africa and filling it with abominations, thus placing Belgium in a position which her honour cannot allow her to accept.

The Duty of Belgium.

One of the most hopeful signs for the future is this awakening of the national conscience in Belgium. More eloquent expression could not be given to it than in M. Lorand's speech, which summed up with singular irony the intolerable position into which Belgian Ministers by themselves are being driven.

What means of action have we on the Congo State? It is an independent and sovereign State. This State, it seems, must be intangible and sacro-sanct in the name of Belgian patriotism, so long as there is a question of throwing light upon the consequences of its actions; but, the moment it becomes a question of asking it to account for its actions, this State becomes for us a foreign State, like all other foreign States! We are not allowed even to recall the fact that it was created by Europe with a special object of civilisation and humanity, and that the results of its administration are the exact opposite of those which its founders intended. Nevertheless, this State is so little a foreign State for us that when we point out the condition of affairs on the Congo, the Belgian Government hastens to defend it systematically, and, notwithstanding all that takes place in the Congo, the Minister for Foreign Affairs comes down to this House and reads us a speech, which is nothing more than a repetition of all the *communiqués* which the Congo Government publishes in the Press, and distributes everywhere, even on the seats of the *wagons-lits*. It seems, indeed, that our diplomatists abroad follow the lead of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and proclaim that everything which is said against the Congo State is calumny, indulged in by evil people, animated by disreputable intentions. Moreover, the Government continues to lend its magistrates, notably the magistrate who is at the head of the

Press Bureau, and its officials to the Congo Government, for the administration of that Government certainly includes a large number of Belgian officials. Finally, the Belgian Government lends its officers in such considerable numbers, that it would be impossible for the Congo State to continue its system of oppression towards the native population if the Belgian Government did not help it by furnishing it with a large number of its officers and non-commissioned officers, who are called upon to exercise in Africa, not the noble profession for which they entered the Belgian army, but the business of rubber merchants and tax-gatherers, under the odious conditions of which I have informed you, according to the admissions of the Commission of Inquiry.

Well, to-day, gentlemen, the cup is full; it is overflowing. You refused to hear the indignant protests of the public in other civilised countries, and of independent individuals in Belgium; now you can no longer escape the movement of reprobation which is becoming universal. You can certainly no longer escape from it by saying that the charges brought against the Congo State are British calumnies, seeing that all the charges levelled at the Congo State have been admitted by the Commission of Inquiry as being the result of the Congo State's own system of outrageous exploitation of the people enslaved to produce rubber, coerced and massacred when they do not produce it. What sanction are you going to give to these overwhelming disclosures? I understand and I respect the feelings of those who recoil before the idea of denouncing to foreign Powers, signatories to the Act of Berlin, actions which constitute a flagrant violation of that Act, and which may provoke a new International Conference. But what I do not understand is that the Belgian Government, which is in daily touch with the Congo State, should not say to it, "Enough! You have pursued up to the present a system of whose consequences you have probably been ignorant, but which has led to a mass of abuses which you had not foreseen. To-day, these abuses are admitted; they are the result of the system adopted by you to draw the largest possible profits from the colony. They are of a kind which call for vengeance, and which cannot be tolerated. They must disappear immediately, and radically, and Belgium will not remain a single day responsible with you for the state of affairs recognised by the Commission of Inquiry. You shall have no more officers, no more magistrates, no more officials of the Belgian State, if you do no immediately make up your mind to alter radically an admitted situation!"

If the Government is prepared to tell us that it will do this, I shall be the first to congratulate it for having accomplished, although very late in the day, its duty. But if this is not what you are going to tell us gentlemen (addressing the Government), you will be guilty of a grave dereliction of duty towards Belgium in tolerating the continuance of the abusive system which we have demonstrated. You will have affected in the gravest way the honour as wel as the interests of Belgium.

King Leopold's Attitude.

So far, however, it must be admitted the King-Sovereign shows no more disposition to yield to the pressure of Belgian than to that of foreign opinion. The two royal letters which accompanied the recent decrees indeed merely reiterate, and in

more defiant and grandiloquent terms than ever, his assertion of autocratic rights over the Congo State.

> My rights over the Congo are shared with none. They are the result of my labours and my outlays. . . . The manner in which the public powers are exercised in the Congo must depend solely on the creator of the State: it is he who disposes legally and in full sovereignty, and who alone can dispose in the interests of Belgium, of all that he has created in the Congo, until Belgium shall some day deem it desirable to come to an agreement with him to take over the Congo in his lifetime, or shall take it over in accordance with his testamentary provisions after his death. . . . Any interference tending to diminish his rights would bear the character of veritable usurpations, to say the least. It is upon him and upon no one else that devolve the maintenance and exploitation of the independent State. This duty towards Belgium and the Congo he will discharge to the uttermost.

Not only during his own lifetime is his will to be supreme in the Congo, but he proceeds to lay down conditions which shall effectually tie the hands of Belgium after his death. "I mean it to be clearly understood that my bequest of the Congo to Belgium shall be maintained by the latter in its entirety" —including the constitution of the Crown Domain, of the National Domain, and the rest of the appliances he has created for the ruthless exploitation of the Congo territory.

King Leopold's powers of resistance must certainly not be underrated. He controls great financial influences directly or indirectly interested in the maintenance of the present *régime* in the Congo. Belgian Ministers disclaim, and in theory are entitled to disclaim, all responsibility for the Congo State; but though they are not Ministers of the Congo State, they are King Leopold's Ministers, and in practice they have committed themselves deeply in his defence. Party discipline will therefore make it difficult for the majority in the Belgian Chamber to resist governmental pressure. The Press Bureau of the Congo will beat the patriotic drum for all that it is still worth. Moreover—and that is perhaps the most discouraging feature in the situation for those who look to Belgian annexation as the simplest means of ending a *régime* which they despair of mending—Belgium may not impossibly hesitate to take over a vast African territory already saddled with a heavy indebtedness and unknown responsibilities in the future. King Leopold's policy seems indeed to aim at such a wholesale and indiscriminate exhaustion of the resources of the Congo State that little will be left for his successors but the skin of an orange which he has sucked dry. Nevertheless, though Sir Edward Grey has very rightly intimated that, failing Belgium,

this country, like other signatories of the Berlin Act, has rights and duties, and also means of action, which cannot be indefinitely postponed, one must still cling to the hope that Belgium will yet take the initiative which properly belongs to her. The sand is running down in the glass, and for the sake, at least, of a name which in the days of the first King of the Belgians was reverenced throughout the world and nowhere more than in this country, one would fain see King Leopold, even at the eleventh hour, take warning by the words with which a Flemish Deputy, belonging to the most conservative and Catholic wing of the Government party, Heer P. Daens, closed an eloquent appeal for justice and mercy in the Congo: "The day will come when the light of truth will be thrown upon the Congo, and you will be plunged in darkness. For truth is comparable to steam, which, when compressed, acquires greater force. Beware of the explosion, for it will destroy you!"

By Scrutator.

BLIND LEADERS OF THE BLIND

THE GOVERNMENT AND DISARMAMENT

> You may hope for a time when the sword shall be turned into the ploughshare . . . but, believe me, when that day comes mankind will no longer progress. . . . Man will stagnate, and, unless he ceases to multiply, the catastrophe will come again.
>
> —Professor KARL PEARSON.

IN view of the fact that the British Government has announced its fixed and deliberate intention of heading a rush for the new "Pool of Siloam," which Ministers imagine that they have discovered in the schemes of disarmament which are to be proposed at the Hague Conference, it is of the utmost importance for the British citizen to ask himself and his governors what these schemes actually mean, and upon what basis of fact the Ministerial declamations against armaments really rest. The danger to this country of hasty disarmament is immense. The Cabinet, from its statements, has seemingly persuaded itself that all the nations of Europe are groaning beneath the burden of their armaments, and are panting to disarm. In this view, which, as I shall endeavour to show, has no relation whatever to facts, Ministers have found accomplices where they ought to have encountered resolute and steadfast opponents, among the naval officers of the Admiralty Board and the Generals of the Army Council. There is no check upon their rash or injudicious action, since the House of Commons is dominated by an ignorant and irresponsible majority, and Ministers persistently refuse to explain their policy, or permit their acts to be discussed. Yet here they can plead no "mandate" for their conduct. In a speech delivered before the election, Mr. Haldane solemnly assured the country that the Premier was prepared to spend freely upon the army, if efficiency demanded expenditure. I search the records of political speeches in vain for any hint to the British elector that among the articles of the Government programme was one which might issue in a committee of foreign lawyers controlling the development of the British navy, or in

the weakening of that navy, without any corresponding reduction in foreign fleets.

The country is justified in asking whether the Government knows what it is doing, and whether it has attempted to grapple closely with the question of disarmament. For if not, Ministers are marching straight into snares and pitfalls of every kind. At the outset the premises upon which the British Government is working are ludicrously wrong. The weight of armaments is not growing relatively to the wealth of States. Armaments are not more acutely felt in 1906 by the nations than in 1886 or 1876 or 1806. Their development in recent years has not been the cause of war, but, on the contrary, has prevented it. With the exception of three very minor struggles—the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–8, the Servo-Bulgarian War of 1885, and the Turko-Greek War of 1897, profound peace has prevailed in Europe for thirty-five years.

The moment chosen for diminishing British armaments is a peculiarly unfortunate one. I say nothing of our obligations to Japan, though they are serious, and disarmament is altogether incompatible with them. I only consider the European situation. After the Franco-German War and the recovery of France, a period of equilibrium or equivalence of forces was reached and maintained for many years—to the date of the catastrophes suffered by Russia in the Far East, and the disorganisation which followed the growth of the Russian revolutionary movement. From 1880 to 1904 France and Russia were sufficiently strong to hold in check Germany and the States which were her allies. But in 1905 the collapse of Russia left France in a dangerously exposed position, greatly inferior on land to Germany, and much weaker at sea than that Power. The result was that Germany at once determined to test the solidity of the Anglo-French understanding, and to drive from power in France the statesman who had had the temerity to disobey the orders of Potsdam, and effect a reconciliation between England and France, which it had for a generation been the cardinal aim of German policy to prevent. The German staff was prepared for war, if necessary, though it affects or really entertains so complete a contempt for the military power of modern France that it never expected her to resist *à l'outrance*. It argued that Germany had 61,000,000 citizens to France's 40,000,000 ; that the French people were divided and distracted by internal discord ; that their character had been weakened by the Pacifist agitation ; that the German mobilisation arrangements were so superior to the French that the German army would be able to invade and take the

initiative ; that the French stores and material were notoriously incomplete ; that the French system did not permit of the incorporation of the reserves before the corps moved off to the front ; that the French effective strength was ten per cent. below the nominal figure, whereas the German strength was slightly in excess of it ; that the transition to two-years' service had deranged the French organisation ; and that the German heavy artillery and superior rifle and bullet compensated for any inferiority in field artillery. At the last moment, however, the promise given by England to France, that in the event of an unprovoked attack upon France, Great Britain would come to her friend's assistance with her entire force, vitally affected the situation. Even so, the French Government thought it wiser to make certain very real concessions to Germany at the Morocco Conference, sooner than take the risk of a war which would almost inevitably have involved an invasion of Eastern France.

The position on land was indeed so unfavourable to France as to excite grave doubts in the minds of her generals as to the wisdom of trying conclusions at that moment. Now the conditions have not changed in any material respect since 1905. The French army cannot be further strengthened because there is not the population to give more men. The German army on the other hand can be strengthened to any extent, since Germany, with a rapidly expanding population already 50 per cent. larger than that of France, is not at present training all her available men. She has but one per cent. of her population in the active army on a peace footing, whereas under Frederick the Great she maintained an army which was $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the population, and whereas the present French army is $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the French population. It is therefore to England that France must look for help on land, and to England she will have to look in an increasing degree. Under such conditions it would have been only wise to increase the British army, instead of weakening it as Mr. Haldane has done. The British War Minister has committed an act of unpardonable levity and folly by striking 40,000 British troops or reservists off the Army List, by cutting down the artillery, the most precious element in the army, by disbanding several excellent battalions of infantry, and by entrusting the defence of England against invasion to the County Councils. If French Ministers judge coolly and cautiously, looking as they ought to do to French interests first and mainly, what can they think of such reductions, in view of the fact that the present Government

in England has renewed its predecessors' undertakings to France ?

We may be certain that the German press agents in France, who are numerous and well organised, will use the British reductions to the utmost to prove to French soldiers and the French public that the British offer of assistance is of little value, because it is not guaranteed by a thinking nation and an intelligent general staff. In fact, the behaviour of the British Cabinet, in its inconsequence and wild sentimentalism, resembles the fatal policy of Napoleon III., who, on the eve of the Franco-German War, in 1870, permitted the strength of his army to be reduced by 10,000 recruits, because he either hoped, or affected to hope, that disarmament was at hand, and that Prussia would never dare to attack France. There are, as M. Denis, the latest historian of this agonising period for France, has written, extremes of folly so great that the only right word to apply to them is treachery. And such an extreme of folly is that of which Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Lord Tweedmouth, the Sea Lords of the Admiralty, Mr. Haldane, and the Army Council have been guilty. For between them they have reduced the army by 40,000 men and some hundred of guns, and the navy by three *Dreadnoughts*, or the equivalent of three divisions.

Nor has the danger to England and France passed. M. Guyot, who is no panic-stricken alarmist, has recently drawn attention (in the *Nineteenth Century and After* for September) to the designs of Germany upon Holland, which are openly avowed by the Pan-German party. At any moment Germany may make a fresh move in Holland, and the inclusion of that country in the German Empire is one of the certainties of the future, unless France and England are so strong both by land and sea as to make such a project more than perilous to the Kaiser. To gain Holland a war by sea and land would be well worth risking, always provided that Russia is powerless. Though the commerce of Hamburg and Bremen might suffer during the war, it would be almost impossible to expel the Germans from their conquest ; and the issue would be almost inevitably the addition of Holland to the Empire, and the advance of the German Navy to the Hook of Holland and the mouth of the Rhine. Or, again, a reconstruction of Central Europe may at any time add 16,000,000 Germans, at present under the Austrian flag, to the German dominions, and thus render the conditions more than ever unfavourable to England and France. It can, of course, be argued that Germany will scarcely disturb the peace of the world while with each decade

that passes she adds 11,000,000 to her population, as against the 5,000,000 that England and France between them add, and that her wisest course would be to postpone a conflict till the not far distant date when she will be able to confront France upon the Vosges with 40,000,000 of her population, and with the other 40,000,000 to meet England upon the high seas. But the risk of waiting is considerable, as there is always the danger that Russia may recover or evolve a strong national government out of the present anarchy. The signs and omens thus point to a German advance in the not distant future, perhaps about the years 1910 or 1912, when the present British Cabinet will have so far weakened the British fleet and wrecked British finances as to render the possibility of vigorous British action remote.

That Germany will not reduce her army or her navy may be taken as certain. Her Government has publicly stated so much. Should France be driven to comply with the demands of the Pacifists, into whose hands Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman is playing, the result will be not a triumph but a defeat for England. If France was not a match for Germany in 1905, still less will she be a match for that Power should the German army remain intact and her own forces be reduced. Thus the British move can only be embarrassing to Britain's best friend. The French Government, like the German, has intimated that it cannot reduce its army or its fleet; but it is not a wise act for a British Ministry to increase the opposition which for the past twenty years has been offered by the Socialists and men without ideals and patriotism to armaments in France. Nor is there any other Power on the Continent that could afford to disarm without running extreme danger from Germany, who is the real disturbing influence, because her people feel their strength and capacity, resent the German want of Colonies, and are possessed with that instinct for domination which is one of the marks of the really great races of the world. The instinct, indeed, is a sign of virility as its absence is an indication of national decadence. To ignore the facts as to the German character is the common proceeding of the British Radical, who, with characteristic want of imagination, assumes that all people are as sentimental and irresolute as himself. But it is a mistake which should never be committed by responsible statesmen, in charge of a nation's destinies. If it should be committed, it is like to be punished as terribly as was Napoleon III.'s failure to grasp the true intentions of Bismarck.

The armies, then, are not in the least likely to be cut down

for the simple reason that the German Government, possessing the most powerful army in the world, will not and cannot reduce its land forces. We come now to the navies and to schemes of naval disarmament. In the brief debate in July upon the naval reductions, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman justified a reduction of the British Navy on the following grounds: (1) That it was specially incumbent upon England "to show a willingness to check the pace at which these great armaments have been mounting up of late years, with respect to the navy especially." (2) That there would be a positive gain of strength by such a course ("by piling one strength on another strength" you do not get greater force, but are like a man who, after eating one dinner, proceeds to eat a second). This may be called for convenience of reference the "two-dinner theory." (3) That England can disarm easier than other Powers ("we can set an example in stopping this rivalry in regard to the navy with greater ease than any other Power"). (4) That England "encourages other nations to go on in this rivalry" because she laid down one *Dreadnought* in 1905. (5) That the Sea Lords had been subjected to pressure by the Unionist party to induce them to consent to a programme of four armoured ships to be laid down annually and completed in two years. The last insinuation, it should be noted, is absolutely disgraceful to both the Sea Lords and Sir Henry. He and they must know of the existence of a certain document drawn up by Sir John Fisher, expressing the First Sea Lord's deliberate conclusion in November 1905, that four battleships annually was the very minimum programme consistent with British safety. It is extraordinary that the Sea Lords have not uttered a word to repel this false charge brought against the Unionist party, but by their silence have acquiesced in it and supported it.

Taking the first of Sir Henry's propositions, there are two ways of gauging the increased expenditure on the navy. We may in the first place compare the advance in naval expenditure in England with the advance in the national income on which that expenditure is virtually an insurance, and with the advance in other items of national expenditure, the object being to determine how far the rising cost of the navy is due to the changed conditions of modern life. All great nations must adapt their outlay to those changed conditions, under penalty of falling behind if they do not. I shall make it perfectly clear that the outlay upon naval armaments in England has not mounted up at any terrible pace, and that it has not kept pace with the growth of expenditure in other

and less vital directions. As the starting-point in the comparison the year 1859–1860 may be taken, since then a Liberal Government was in power, and had admittedly cut down naval expenditure to a dangerous level. The following are the figures in millions of pounds sterling for the various items compared, and the advance per cent. on each branch from 1859–1860 to 1906, over a period of forty-six years :

	1859–60.	1906.	Advance per cent.
Total national expenditure .	65	141	117
Naval expenditure . . .	11.8	32	171
Civil Service Estimates . .	9.6	29	202
Local expenditure . . .	30*	165*	450
Income returned	335	913*	172
Gross imports and exports . .	375	990*	164

It will be seen in a moment that the outlay on the navy has not advanced so rapidly as the growth in national wealth, accepting, as the Free Traders bid us accept, the income-tax returns as a fair criterion of national wealth. It has not advanced so fast as the expenditure on the Civil Service estimates, which include the national grant for education. It has not advanced half so much as the local expenditure. If economies are to be effected, the directions in which the above figures show them to be most required are the education vote, where great extravagance prevails, or in the local expenditure, which is rising at a rate that presses far more severely on the productive capacity of the nation than does its naval expenditure. A Government which really sought to put British finances in order would remorselessly cut down the local and educational outlay. It is certain that in either direction efficiency could still be obtained were the expenditure reduced by many millions. The national resources are being wasted by local maladministration, whereas every penny spent upon the navy is closely scrutinised, and so employed as to return full value in the shape of security. And is security a thing of nothing worth ? If so, will Liberals explain why trustees prefer 3 per cent. investments to those yielding 5 or 6 per cent. ?

The conclusion of the man who applies science—that is to say exact knowledge, as opposed to the mere assertions of the demagogue—to the problem will be that, judged by the advance of outlay in other directions, naval expenditure has not kept pace with the needs of the twentieth century. " Clear thinking," on which Mr. Haldane has laid such stress, is impossible without clear knowledge of the points of departure from which the thinker starts. But the Government have submitted no

* Estimates, but close to the mark.

clear survey of the financial conditions to the nation, and have based their argument upon premises which are not scientific, which are absolutely untrue, and which need to be challenged peremptorily. No such challenge was offered in the House of Commons.

A second comparison, which will be found to corroborate the first comparison, is one which takes the naval expenditure of the great Powers, and shows how in the past few years it has in all cases advanced. As Bagehot said many years ago, the British outlay on armaments must always be a function of the foreign expenditure. If the foreign outlay rises, the British outlay must rise, or England must surrender her Empire, her trade, and her position in the world to stronger and more self-sacrificing peoples. It is impossible to take the same points of departure as in the previous table, for the simple reason that the naval competition of to-day is between England, Germany and the United States; whereas in 1860 it was between England, France and Russia. In 1860, the German and American Navies were insignificant. The dates taken are 1885, when the British Navy had been permitted by the Liberal Government to sink to a point at which it was just equal to that of France, with the result that England was confronted with the gravest embarrassments in every part of the world; 1895, when the effect of Captain Mahan's works was beginning to be felt; 1900, which marked the culminating-point of British naval power; and 1906, when England had fallen below the two-Power standard under the control of a retrograde Admiralty and a short-sighted Government. The figures give the outlay on naval purposes in millions sterling, including naval works:

	1885.	1895.	1900.	1906.
England . .	11.4	19.7	31.5	32
United States .	3.2	5.8	11.3	25
Germany . .	2.2	4.1	8.0	12.4*
Two Powers .	5.4	9.9	19.3	37.4

In the period of twenty-one years British naval expenditure has barely trebled; American naval expenditure has increased eight-fold; German naval expenditure has risen six-fold. The two Powers combined were in 1885 spending less than half what England spent; in 1906 they are spending more than her by five and a half millions. Between 1900 and 1906 England increased her expenditure by £500,000; they increased it by £18,100,000, or practically doubled it. There has never been a period in modern British history in which a British Govern-

* Pensions are not included in the German vote, nor, it is believed, the full German expenditure on naval works.

ment permitted England to fall behind the outlay of any two other naval Powers. Even Mr. Gladstone, with all his sentimental leanings, never committed such an act of perfidy. In 1885, for example, England was spending more than France and Russia combined, though through the conservatism of the Admiralty at that date, and the enormous cost of vicarious service, she had not been able to provide out of the outlay a fleet markedly superior to that of France. In measuring the real expenditure of Germany it must be remembered that she levies an indirect tax to support her navy in the shape of compulsory service. If compulsory service be the fiendish and terrible thing that the Radical party represent it to be, its incidence cannot be less than a tax of ten millions sterling over and above the figures given above. In that case the direct and indirect outlay of the two foreign Powers on their navies in 1906 rises to £47,000,000, as against the British £32,000,000, and is 50 per cent. greater than the British outlay.

The "two-dinner theory" can only be met with ridicule, and questions why Sir Henry does not apply this new Liberal arithmetic to reductions of local expenditure and educational expenditure. "You cannot get greater efficiency by piling £85,000,000 on £80,000,000 of local expenditure." Therefore cut down local expenditure by £85,000,000. The whole is less than its parts; two and two make one and a half, and, therefore, there will be a positive gain by retrenching the £85,000,000 in question. And so on in every branch of the public expenditure. This is the first time that a responsible statesman has dared to insult the intelligence of a great nation with such an argument. Mr. Haldane proclaims, in the preface of a little work which he has sent into the world with his endorsement—though he has lamentably failed to act on his own principles—"We are learning that the taking of thought requires at every turn not only the expert, but the highest type of expert knowledge." The Liberal Government, however, requires not expert knowledge, but a study of Colenso's Arithmetic. "Enough of this foolery," in Sir Henry's own inimitable phraseology. Expert advisers will be useless to men who do not understand the most elementary axioms of mathematics and common sense.

Sir Henry's third argument for disarmament is that England can more easily than any other Power set an example in 'stopping this rivalry." If he means that England has so large a margin of advantage at sea that she can sit still for two years, I deny his statement absolutely. There is that "Admiralty"

document, to which I have alluded already, to prove that the Sea Lords are not really of this opinion, whatever Sir Henry, Mr. Robertson, and Lord Tweedmouth choose to tell the country. There is the evidence of the figures which I gave last month in this *Review*. There is the fact that the coming of the *Dreadnoughts* marks the beginning of a new era in naval war, and that in 1908 Germany will have as many of this type building as England, while the German ships are to be larger and far better armed than the British.* There is the Cawdor Memorandum, which is public property, and which can be set up against the Government's careless and ignorant statements. Depending absolutely upon the sea for existence, England cannot easily disarm, cannot reduce her naval programme, without running risks so grave that no naval staff should for one moment permit them to be taken. Germany and the United States are to a much greater degree self-dependent; they can import through neutral territory; and Germany has so immense an army that the complete destruction of her navy would scarcely affect her position in Europe. Both these Powers can more easily reduce their fleets than England. But what has Germany done in that direction, and what is she doing?

As for the next point, that by laying down one battleship in 1905 (where the United States laid down two of the *Dreadnought* type, and Germany two of the *Hannover* type, displacing between them 27,000 tons against the *Dreadnought's* 18,000), the answer to this must be that if England, by falling below the two-Power standard for one year has stimulated foreign naval construction, much more will she do so if for two successive years she falls below that standard, and if in 1907 she lays down fewer ships than Germany alone. Or does Sir Henry suggest that the British Admiralty ought to have laid down some weak and inferior type instead of the *Dreadnought?* If so, I reply that the position would have been even worse than it actually is. Japan would have laid down monster ships; Germany would have followed Japan; and instead of marching in the van of progress British naval engineering would have fallen to the rear. And it is this which our administration of all the sciences holds out as its great and glorious ideal!

But if Sir Henry's points of departure are so entirely wrong, what is the scheme of disarmament to which he is tending? Has he ever faced the practical difficulties of a general reduc-

* I must add that Germany will, in 1908, have six docks capable of taking *Dreadnoughts*, while England will also have six, of which only one is well placed for fleets operating in the North Sea.

ion in naval armaments? If he proposes that the expenditure of the Powers shall be reduced, how is he going to establish an equation between the cost of voluntary or vicarious service on the one hand and compulsory service on the other? The cost of compulsory service on his party's own showing is not to be estimated lightly; it amounts to many millions in addition to the totals that figure on the foreign estimates. Germany can get her men at one-fifth the cost of England; does it not follow that British reductions will place England at Germany's mercy unless the German expenditure is diminished in at least twice or thrice as great a ratio? Or is Sir Henry prepared to level up conditions by introducing compulsory service into England? If so, he should have warned the House of Commons of his intentions. So long as England retains vicarious service, the conditions in England and on the Continent will continue so essentially different that they must remain as incapable of comparison as pounds sterling with tons, or hours with cubic metres. Even if at the Hague the Powers agreed to limit naval expenditure, who would enforce their decision? The advantage which a single Power would gain by bad faith would be so stupendous that the risks would be even greater than they are to-day, while there would be more friction than ever. For instance, there are many items which might be charged to naval expenditure or to other branches of the estimates. Pensions in England appear on the Navy Estimates; in Germany they are paid out of other votes, or by giving the ex-seaman Government employment on the railways. Naval works and fortifications are differently treated in different countries. Naval construction could be cheapened in Germany by granting special rates over the railways to material. Only persistent interference at every turn by a vast army of international inspectors could ensure the observance of the conditions laid down, and the peoples would speedily resent such meddling, and find it just as costly as, and even more irritating, than the old state of preparation of war.

If the number of ships is to be limited, new difficulties at once arise. For in that case a fresh competition would begin, to produce the largest and most formidable vessel of each class. We should see battleships of 25,000 or even 50,000 tons, of displacements as large as those to which the new ocean liners are tending. We should see a great increase in the attention to gunnery, and a rivalry in the expenditure on ammunition for target practice and on reserve artillery. Fleets would remain incessantly in commission, and their training would be carried to a higher pitch of perfection. An increased

proportion of such costly metals as tungsten, manganese, nickel and chromium would be employed in armour manufacture. Again, if the strength of navies were fixed by displacement, most of these difficulties would remain, while England would be at a distinct disadvantage since her fleets, having to defend a world-wide commerce, must be prepared to fight in any part of the world, and must consequently carry more stores, coal and ammunition. In a word, the practical difficulties of disarmament are insuperable. Sir Henry and the Liberal party are setting out to suppress the competitive instinct in nations, when they as Free Traders exalt the unrestrained development of this instinct in the individual as the source and cause of all progress. Their policy is as futile as attempting to make water run uphill.

The clamour for disarmament among the Socialists and Labour leaders arises not from any real distaste for the employment of force, but from the exaltation of material over moral good, of immediate advantage over ultimate advantage, which is the essential characteristic of the demagogue in all ages and all countries. They will speedily be called to account by the shipbuilding constituencies, when their deluded supporters find that disarmament is equivalent to the loss of employment. No one can take seriously the humanitarian pretences of this party when we find its leaders filled with enthusiasm for the Russian revolutionists, who are guilty of greater cruelty than any soldiers, precisely because in their war upon the Russian Government they employ "methods of barbarism" and do not spare women and children. In the Stolypin outrage, for example, old women were blown to pieces and two children terribly injured. Yet Messrs. Ward, Sexton and Keir Hardie, when they have finished declaiming against the British soldier and the wickedness of war, profess to regard the persons guilty of this outrage as heroes and martyrs. Such muddle-headedness may perhaps be excusable in men of no education and very limited reasoning power; but what are we to think of that large section of the Liberal press and party which acclaims the Russian Revolution. while denouncing all preparation for war as a crime against humanity? A revolution in its very nature is an appeal to force, and, if appeals to force are in some cases right and justifiable, which is, in the firm belief of the writer, and the teaching of history, why is it wrong to make such preparations and provide such organisation that when the appeal becomes necessary, life shall not be needlessly wasted? Far saner, far more clear-sighted are the German Socialists, who have declared in their *Socialistische Monatschrift*, that "it

is of the first importance to the German working man that Germany should be *armed to the teeth, and should possess a strong fleet*. . . . In the fight for markets German workers may have to choose between the alternatives of perishing or forcing their way into those markets sword in hand." We turn to our Mr. Keir Hardie and find him, in sublime ignorance of the hard facts of modern life, protesting that he and his friends will never fight to maintain British commercial supremacy. It has seemingly not occurred to him that the choice for the British worker is the same as for the German Socialist, and that if the British worker surrenders the field he is doomed to perish, doomed to lower his standard of life, doomed to sink to the miserable position of the Chinese proletariat, which, because it is destitute of patriotism, has declined to servitude to the foreigner.

H. W. Wilson.

OPEN SCHOLARSHIPS

OPEN scholarships were first established, in order to encourage learning, by helping to pay the expenses of deserving persons who could not afford to pay for themselves. The present paper is written to show that they have ceased to fulfil their aim, and to suggest another means to effect that aim.

In the first place, there is no guarantee that those who win them need the money for their education. Many of them do, no doubt, in particular most of those who come from local grammar schools or day schools in the large towns; but a large number do not. This is notorious and needs no proof here. College tutors and schoolmasters know of cases where the scholarship money was handed over to the winner by his father to spend as he liked; some instances are known of clever boys or men who have had quite a respectable income after all their expenses were paid. A number of scholarships are won each year by boys who have already won open scholarships at a public school; and the boys who win these school scholarships are generally trained at a private school, which makes a speciality of such competitions (what is known as a "good private school"); the cost of these training schools is so considerable, as a rule, that the parents who send their boys there must be well off.* Sometimes a clever boy may be taken free by a preparatory school which hopes to profit by the advertisement of his success. This case, however, is exceptional; and if the objections now under discussion do not apply here, other objections do apply, as we shall see later. At all events, there is at present no guarantee that the money given in scholarships is properly given, and there never has been. The neglect of this precaution may have been due to a high ideal of human nature, but the

* *Royal Commission on Secondary Education*, i. 173. "There is much evidence to show that a considerable portion of these scholarships go to the sons of well-to-do parents, who are able to pay for a special preparation at expensive preparatory schools, and that the children of poorer parents have comparatively little chance of obtaining them."

quality of the motive of any action does not affect its result on other people. Here the result has been that the public looks upon these scholarships as so many valuable prizes, carrying no obligation, which any man may win who has brains enough ; scholarships are placed on the same level as a cup, which any man may win whose legs can run fast enough. When the abuse of scholarships became flagrant, it was suggested that those parents who wished might keep the honour and leave the money for others who needed it more. The response to this appeal has been so small, both in colleges and schools, that it may be left out of account. The fact is, the public have no conscience in the matter, and it is useless for practical men to expect a reform of the abuse by any appeal to honour or public spirit. The public looks on the matter as business, and their interest is keen for immediate gain.

It is interesting to see that the reflex effect on the institutions which offer scholarships has been the same. As the candidate thinks the scholarship a money-prize to be won if he can get it, and used for his own advantage, so the colleges (and still more the schools) use their scholarships as a means of attracting clever boys and of swelling their own numbers and credit. When college examinations were independent, one would try to take advantage of another by placing its examination before the rest, so as to get the pick of the market. In time this system of grab was found to be so inconvenient that the colleges formed themselves into groups : then came the tug of war, each group wished to be first, and a cycle of times was agreed upon. The cycle done, the colleges were still dissatisfied ; and now they examine in huge groups all practically at the same time ; the tug of war is removed to the council of election, when the representatives of the powers sit as at a Hague Conference, called in the interests of peace, at which each tries to outwit the other and so to get the advantages of war without the trouble of fighting. Cases are known where a college has even tried to go behind the Conference, and buy some promising brain by an offer which must be accepted or refused on the spot ; or there may even be an advance bid of a ten pound note for some favourite. The old loyal love for one's college, which led the same family to go to the same college for generations, is dying or dead ; a man sends his son where he can get most cash paid down for the transaction.

With the schools, these evils and other attendant evils are greater still. The large public schools exist by "attracting clever boys." The public has no means of distinguishing a

good school from a bad one, because they do not know what makes a good education: consequently they judge schools by their numbers, or by the number of open scholarships which they win. If the schools cease to get open scholarships, down they go in the public estimation, down go their numbers, houses become empty, they cease to pay their way. To avoid this, they offer more and larger bribes, which are given even when they are not deserved, otherwise the private schools will not send their good candidates next year. The motives are not disguised; I am only repeating what I have heard said with my own ears. In all these competitions the circumstances of the candidates are left out of account.

But how has the custom worked as regards its ultimate aim, the encouragement of learning? In the first place, it has set up a wrong standard of learning altogether. The commercial spirit, which has just been seen in the teachers, is even stronger amongst parents and boys. How indeed can they help it? I can do no better than to refer to the articles on this subject which have appeared in the Government Reports.* We are told in the Royal Commission (i. 173) that the parents are demoralised and look on scholarship winning as a matter of business. It is good business to invest so much on a boy in a "good" preparatory school, that he may afterwards pay his way and more. "If parents are demoralised, so are boys. They are hawked about from school to school, and early come to think of themselves as articles of commerce." Often enough they are asked to put a price on themselves (this is the rule at Cambridge), and thus their commercial value as twenty-pounders or fifty-pounders becomes impressed upon them at an impressionable age. Sharp practice is not unheard of; as in the case of a boy who asked leave from school to see his uncle just returned from Australia, and used his leave to sit for a scholarship at another school. (R. C. i. 173.)

From his earliest age, then, the boy is trained to work, not for duty's sake or for love of learning, not to make the best of his natural powers for the common good, but to win so much money at a public school, that he may hereafter win so much more money at a university. If he wins he is to be satisfied and to be praised by his masters, even though he may have done less than his best; if he does not win, how is he to be convinced that he has not failed, or to leave school with the self-respect which

* *Royal Commission on Secondary Education*, vol. i. 167; *Special Reports*, vi. 91 (referred to as R.C. and S.R.). See also *Schoolmasters' Year Book*, 1903, Pt. III. p. 50.

should come from duty well done? How can the master and the boy fix their minds on the daily work, and know that it has been well done by the thousand and one boys who never could win any scholarship? What is the moral effect on the boy who cannot win a scholarship, and then on discovering this gives up work as a bad job; or the boy who wins, and then has two terms of idleness, as often happens, because his aim is attained? Possibly evil effects attach to all prizes; but there is no doubt that there is less evil in winning a book than in winning hard cash. It cannot be wondered at that education in England is now so generally judged by its power of direct wage-earning.

These moral effects are difficult to gauge, because no one can understand them unless his life is spent in teaching; even for teachers it is difficult, because most of them have been brought up to regard the system as natural, like sun or rain. The man who has won a string of open scholarships, and afterwards becomes a master in his old school or a fellow of his college, has no knowledge of the delight of teaching boys who like intellectual work for its own sake; and he will probably tell you that no boys ever do like it. He cannot measure his false standard by a true one, because he knows of no other. But neither he nor any one else can deny that English education is based on early specialising; and this is a direct result of the scholarship system, which encourages the highest possible degree of specialising and discourages everything else. An open scholarship at the university can indeed be won without it; there is no space here to deal with this remarkable fact and to ask why it should be should be so, but it is true. However, this is not the view of the public, or of the schools, and the curriculum of the schools implies early specialising. Preparatory schools indeed cannot help it, for specialising is necessary if they are to win scholarships at a public school and by these they live. I may quote what was said lately at the British Association by a preparatory schoolmaster.

Mr. G. Gidley Robinson, speaking on the preparatory school curriculum, said that the preparatory schoolmaster was obliged to shape his curriculum according to the requirements of the public schools. These had gradually grown owing to pressure from without rather than on reasoned grounds of what was best for young boys, and they varied with the different public schools. Scholarships were the root of the mischief, and the needs of scholarship candidates dictated the curriculum for all boys, dull and clever alike. Thus the present curriculum was vitiated by the aim imposed upon it from above—viz., to produce, not the well-prepared, but the specialised boy. The curriculum should be wide rather than special, and should aim at developing the faculties in due proportion; it should be arranged on principles adapted to the average

and not to the exceptional boy. No settlement would be satisfactory which imposed on young boys the rudiments of three languages besides their own; the omission of one language must be an essential principle if discussion was to be fruitful.

This is fully borne out by all the evidence available; and I may refer again to the Government reports. In the Special Reports (vi. 46–48) are given some specimen time-tables, where we see as an average taken on a number of schools, 2 hr. 49 min. a week given to English (language, literature and composition) in the bottom form (average age 9–10), and 1 hr. 10 min. a week in the top form (age 13); or to include Scripture and history, 6 hr. 58 min. and 5 hr. 3 min. respectively. But the senior forms spend on Latin 5hr. 49min. and 7hr. 49min.; on French 2hr. 49min. and 3 hr. 8 min.; the top form on Greek 4 hr. 34 min., or German 3 hr. 41 min.; to take the foreign languages together, the two top forms fill respectively 8 hr. 38 min. and 16 hr. 31 min. (Latin, Greek and French). Thus boys of nine or ten spend considerably more time, whilst the hardly less immature boys of thirteen spend thrice as long on foreign languages, as on all their English studies put together. Those who are preparing for mathematical scholarships are less numerous, but the same objections apply. Contrast with these the time-table of the German beginner, based on the mother-tongue; and that of the classical Gymnasium (S.R. iii. 256), where the mother-tongue (including composition and vocal speech) occupies 3 hr. 20 min. at the bottom and 2 hr. 30 min. at the top; and note that as a result of careful thought and experiment the time given to this has been recently increased. Adding, as before, Scripture and history, the range is from 7 hr. 30 min. to 6 hr. 40 min. For the English public school we have no exact statistics; but the time given is usually in the lower forms not more than 1 hr. a week to literature, nothing to the teaching of composition (essays are often set, but the art of composing is not taught), and nothing to the use of the tongue; the total with Scripture and history is about three hours. At the top, literature is generally dropt altogether. Boys who specialise in mathematics and natural science do practically no classics—which they just cram up for their Little Go or Smalls—but they do not attempt to make up for this by any thorough study of English.

The neglect of English is the most obvious symptom of the disease, and the most easily tested; that is why I dwell on it now. The English paper in public school examinations,* whether for scholarships or for entrance, is a farce. So few marks are

* Much instruction may be gained, and many a profitable hour spent, in

given to it that it does not count ; the preparatory schools consequently ignore it. It is rare to find a boy who can write a page of English, even on some familiar subject, without the gravest faults of style, misuse of words, sometimes of even elementary grammar. His speech is as bad ; faulty in enunciation, and clumsy in expression, so that the boy is practically a dumb animal which can do little more than bleat. As to the candidates for entrance, a couple of sentences is often the limit of their capacity. No more encouraging is the capacity of the university man, after ten or twelve years at school. Professor Clifford Allbutt has lately published a little book,* in which he mercilessly exposes the ignorance of those who submit theses for a medical degree. It is often quite impossible to know what they are trying to say. The same complaint is heard on all hands, and is at the bottom of the recent anti-Greek agitation.

But English is not the only sufferer : in their very subjects of speciality the boys fail by any reasonable test. Knowledge they have in plenty, but it is cram knowledge. The classical men, even the best of them, cannot use their knowledge readily ; they need time and quiet, pens and ink. They cannot even write quickly and correctly, they cannot speak at all : translate they can, on paper, and write notes by the ream, but the study of language is indeed dead for them. Science scholars are ignorant of literature, often despise it ; and so little does their special cram avail, that they can be caught up by a good classical man in a very short time. I have often heard men who do the teaching of this class of scholar say that they wished the boys would come up without knowing any natural science. In mathematics, for whatever reason, the failure is not conspicuous ; perhaps it is more difficult to make a mess of mathematical teaching than it is with language or literature, perhaps this study more than others requires a special gift : but I cannot think the mathematician would be the worse for knowing his own language well, and having studied some of the masterpieces of his own literature.

Nature is kind, and gives us a chance to learn even after leaving school ; but one of the worst results of this specialising is the premature exhaustion of many minds and the disgust for intellectual effort which it leaves behind. Who has taught boys of ten and boys of fifteen without seeing the marked difference in their way of looking at their work ! Little boys, clever and

searching for English papers in Mr. Lloyd's collection of ten years' papers in *Public School Scholarships*. Macmillan & Co.

* *Notes on the Composition of Scientific Papers*. The book deals only with the composition, not the science.

dull alike, are nearly all keen and bright, eager to learn, responding in a moment to the capable teacher; at fifteen they are dull and heavy, they do not respond to a touch, they shirk, they look on work as a grind. He who maintains that this is a necessary change incurs a heavy responsibility. I make bold to say that it is not necessary, but that it is a direct result of specialising. Those same boys, in their own hobbies, are still bright and fresh; and as for intellectual capacity, one will tell you all the bowling averages of the last year, another knows the market value of every postage-stamp or the prices of half the articles in Harrod's Stores—feats of memory which fill me with amazement. I know also from experience, that in a curriculum reasonably planned, and taught by intelligent methods, boys do not lose this freshness to any great degree. Nor do they hate intellectual exercises; they like them; but the problems set to them must be within their powers, and must be as little mechanical as possible. If they are taught so that their work is more often right than wrong, all is well; but the current school-training, content with a pass-mark of 33 per cent., thereby implies that it expects its pupils to be wrong twice as often as they are right. The right way to teach is not now my subject; but there is a right way, and that way leads the average boy to enjoy his work and to make progress, keeps his self-respect for him, and enables him to learn when the guiding hand is removed. Now scholarships are beyond the reach of the average boy; and in schools which are chiefly pre-occupied with scholarships the average boy is sacrificed, whilst the clever boys, all but those happy few whom nothing can spoil, are spoilt. Think of it; the clever boy may have begun his scholarship cram at seven, for I have seen scholarships advertised by preparatory schools for boys under nine; he will, at least, have to be crammed well before the age of thirteen, and the cram goes on for six years more; lastly comes the university, the same tale over again. Can we wonder that men are worked out at the end of it, and practically cease to learn even if they become schoolmasters? Many a one, indeed, is worked out before, and, after winning a fine scholarship, comes to grief in the Tripos or Mods. As once a pupil said to me, a clever man from a certain school then at the zenith of its fame as a scholarship-winner, "I don't care to work; we had such a sickener at school."

To return now for a moment to the university scholarships, a change for the worse has come over them since the colleges joined into groups. The marking has become so mechanical that it is impossible to pick out the promising man who has not

been well trained, or the man who develops late. When the colleges examined separately, the examiners saw all their men's papers, and could form a good idea of their capacity, which was sometimes supplemented by private information. Now, a man may have one bit of one paper to look over, and a hundred candidates, most of whom he cannot estimate except by his scrap of work. It is needless to add that there is no kind of *viva voce* test. Everything goes by marks, and many a good man is ruled out, many a man apparently good is taken who afterwards proves to have been crammed. There are certain schools which have a notoriety in this matter; so that, taught by experience, the examiners look askance at all their men, and, I believe, even feel tempted to discount their marks. Things must be bad when an examiner would lay profane hands on the Holy Ark!

If my reasoning is correct, the scholarship system is morally bad for all concerned—tutors, schoolmasters, parents, and boys, and for the boys both morally and intellectually. And for this result an enormous sum of money is paid every year. The universities are poor—there is no money to be had for anything but natural science, and all the lecturers are badly paid. Fellowships are often down to half their value; there is hardly a living in university work, except for a frugal bachelor. But the scholarships have to be kept up to their full value, whatever happens to the staff, or the library, or the buildings. Few scholarships, few pensioners; and if numbers drop, the college cannot pay its way. The extravagance in schools is even worse. The only attempt made to get statistics here was made for the Headmasters' Conference fourteen or fifteen years ago. It was then calculated that the forty schools named in the *Public Schools Year Book* were spending £100,000 a year, and that in the thirteen years before there had been an increase of £13,000. (R.C. i. 173, *note.*) Since that date there must have been a large increase, and the number of schools which offer scholarships is far more than forty. But if half that sum of £100,000 were divided amongst those forty schools, and applied to the purpose of improving the staff and plant, we might see a vast improvement in the intelligence of Englishmen before long. If the money were even applied to increasing the meagre salaries of the masters, the effect would be far-reaching; it is largely the miserable wage which keeps the most capable men out of the teaching profession, and which yearly drives out men who can ill be spared.

But, it will be asked, is there any remedy? There is a simple remedy, but it needs loyal co-operation. University scholarship funds, in so far as they were bequeathed for alms to the needy,

can be restricted to those who are in need ; what money is given by the colleges over and above these, the colleges may apply to other purposes, such as keeping up their fellowships or encouraging research. Let the money and the examinations be kept quite distinct. Impose as strict a test as you will on candidates for alms, bestow upon the successful what titles and honours you will—a special gown, a key to the fellows' garden ; but if they want money, let them send in a request for it, with a confidential statement of the parents' means and liabilities, to the college authorities, or to a board of trustees, or to the Master, and let the request be allowed or granted without appeal. There is no real difficulty about this ; it is done now for sizarships in many colleges, it is done by applicants for Goldsmiths' or Grocers' exhibitions, it is done even by scholars who need more than they have. No doubt it is disagreeable to ask for money, but it is still more disagreeable not to have it ; and if a man values his petty pride more than a good education, let him do without. So far from hurting a man's pride, the alms of dead and gone benefactors are generally received with real gratitude by those who have need ; a gratitude which even in these days sometimes leads to a substantial return if prosperity comes afterwards. But this is not the feeling of those who receive scholarship money and need it not.

The question of the schools is more complicated. In the universities, the evils of the system are generally admitted, but this is not true of the schools. There we have a great mass of prejudice to get over, and the risk of a fall in numbers which would damage the school in many ways. The universities must lead the way, when it is likely that the schools may follow suit ; then a more intelligent view of education has to be inculcated, and the schools to be convinced that reforms are called for. In the schools much pioneer work has to be done ; but I believe that they would gain in every way by the removal of the present unhealthy competition, and the death of the commercial ideal, and I hope that it is possible to appeal to reason. The universities can, however, act independently without disarranging the schools in any way; and there is no need for them to sit still and twirl their thumbs before an admitted abuse.

W. H. D. Rouse.

MISSING CHAPTERS IN "THE GARDEN THAT I LOVE"

SOME kindly and rather too partial persons have been pleased to say that not only the writing of books concerning gardens, but the growing affection for them, owes somewhat to "The Garden that I Love," which, rather to my surprise, first saw the light, I find, twelve years ago. I am so little of an author, though so much of a gardener in a small way, that I fear the expression of such a belief gives one a certain amount of pleasure, since even the most unambitious persons have, in their hearts, the foible of self-complacency as much as the most renowned and the most soaring. But this weakness, which I frankly avow, receives its corrective from Lamia's irony and the Poet's chastening sense. "That you were first in the field," she says, "in what I believe I once ventured to describe as horticultural literature, I think I once heard you say in a moment of self-pluming, which I have noticed is common to neglected writers. But even the vanity of authorship cannot disguise from you that, though you may have learnt something since then, you were rather a novice in horticulture when you first wrote on the subject, and that, in all which makes the true expert, you have been utterly outstripped since by some of your successors, who have towered high above your diminutive shoulders. Moreover, if I am to sit in the judgment-seat, and administer equity all round, you would cut a sorry figure among the writers of Garden Books, strictly so-called, had it not been for the verses interspersed through your work, and which I—yes, I—procured for you, and which the writers, whom you would like to think your successors, have considerately abstained from imitating."

I always listen to Lamia's chastening humour, even when indulged at my expense, with unqualified pleasure, for, in truth, I am infatuated enough to like listening to anything she says, or watching anything she does; and more followed, to the same

effect. But, conscious that there should be, as in all things, a limit to what has been well called the Literature of Egotism, I will desist from reproducing more of the sort on that subject.

The Poet's observations on the matter amounted in substance to pretty much the same thing as Lamia's gossamer persiflage. "Priority?" he asks, "what is Priority? Somebody must speak first, in this reserved English world; and then everybody's tongue gradually gets loosened. We are all indebted to some one, indeed to many another. We have heard much, in our time, of self-made men; but I venture to say there can be no such thing, now that there have been on the earth so many generations of mankind, as a self-made man. Forgive me if I once again plead for what I know I have more than once called the Parent Past. No man nowadays can possibly be only himself, since there is in him no little of his father and mother, grandfathers and grandmothers, great-great-grandfathers and their wives, to say nothing of one's spiritual godfathers and godmothers, the Hebrew Prophets, Saint Luke, Saint Paul, Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, Virgil, Dante, Chaucer, Shakespeare, and the rest, who were, so to speak, at the font of our christening, and have given us much more than a silver mug and spoon, or to vary the metaphor, were our foster-parents almost from the first, and helped us from their capacious springs of life and health to grow in grace and strength. Let no one pique himself on originality, for in truth there is no such thing, save of the wrong sort, which perhaps abounds overmuch in these novelty-demanding days, but, rather, humbly render thanks if he have been able to make a slight contribution towards the Present and the Future, in return for all he has inherited from the Past."

Veronica listened intently, for she likes her poet best in these equitable moments, having a cordial distaste for anything approaching to self-laudation. "May I endorse, dear," she adds, "every word of what you have been saying? Even Coriolanus must have been wrong when he exclaimed, 'Alone, I did it!'"

Is not the foregoing just? Books, all books, all good books at least, like all good gardens, owe much to people who did not actually create them. People living and dead, things past and present, all are contributories to that diminutive stream, oneself; a reflection which is essentially consoling, since it associates one with the sum of things, and prevents one from living in barren isolation. It has the further advantage of confirming the Poet's favourite admonition, "Repress your

antipathies, cultivate your sympathies." I have found that piece of advice very helpful in regard to gardens, though one must not be so excessively tolerant as not to allow that there are some bad, very bad, even insufferably bad gardens; and these are, for the most part, gardens on which money has been lavishly expended. We were all very much gratified once on hearing from an amiable lady, we all being absent, that she had asked a high dignitary of the Church who paid the garden that we love the compliment of coming to see it, what it was that made its charm, and that he replied, "Obviously, Mind." I think he might have added, "and Heart." I understand him to have meant that somebody's thoughts, somebody's root-principles in Art, and taste in colour, had co-operated in its creation, and still presided over its existence. But, without the adjunct of heart, or Love, all the Mind in the world is powerless to produce the result that attracts and enthralls. Not only one must take pains with a thing, one must take pleasure in it as well. Bad gardens are either mindless, or heartless, or both. I am not talking of flowers, even the finest flowers. That demands but little thinking, and no loving whatever. There is no more difficulty in having splendid-looking rose-blooms, or huge carnations, than in growing giant beetroot or colossal potatoes. But that is not gardening. Mindful, magical gardening is quite another matter.

And now for a somewhat hazardous avowal. No prize-craving specimens have ever been sent by us to a Flower Show, either national or local. But we say among ourselves that if any one will offer a prize for the most satisfying garden, week after week and month after month, from, say, St. Valentine's Day to the close of Saint Luke's summer, the garden that we love will enter for the competition, and take its chance. We do not mean that it will be adjudged the Prize, but that the conditions are such as the lovers of gardens, as distinct from mere growers of flowers, though of course good gardening includes and embraces these, can cheerfully accept and abide by. I know nothing more misleading to the novice in gardening than Horticultural Shows, whether held at Holland House, in the Temple Gardens, or in any less famous spot. He will see there the most astonishingly perfect flowers, but will not know how much careful coddling they have undergone, what merciless disbudding, in many instances, there has been, and how many secondary blooms have been sacrificed in order to produce a prize-securing effect at one given moment. The flowers themselves are lovely to look at; but neither the means employed, nor the end

attained, is gardening; nor will they enable any one to have a garden rightly so-called.

The above opinion elicited from the Poet one of his philosophic reflections: "I suppose," he said, "perfection, like other good things, is to be attained only at a price, and the price is the sacrificing of something less perfect, for which, withal, perhaps on account of our own imperfection, we cannot help craving."

"Does not the same thing, as you yourself have more than once explained," asked Lamia, "hold good of Literature, alike in verse and prose? As regards what people still seem, in the abstract, to regard as the finest flower of Literature, namely Poetry, there are the two schools of opinion, two camps of taste and preference, the one insisting on the most painstaking execution possible, and the absence of anything like blot or blemish, the other inclining to a broader treatment and less finished style; or say, the artistically wrought detail of Tennyson, and the negligent grandeur of Byron. For more than a generation the former has been in favour with the majority of readers, though perhaps there are some signs of that preference declining."

Whenever Lamia talks seriously, Veronica only too willingly contributes to the conversation, and so observed, when Lamia ceased, "Would it not be interesting to inquire what these recurring oscillations of taste and preference depend on? In respect of what Lamia has been suggesting, I am disposed to suspect that the explanation is to be sought in the circumstance whether the age happens to be mainly masculine or predominantly feminine in character, whether it be a stormy, seething, and tumultuous time, or one of comparatively placid airs and unruffled waters. Byron is as masculine in his writings as a poet well can be; for, in addition to his own tempestuous character, he lived in a time of electric skies, stormful flashes, and incessant thunder-peals. With what instantaneous sincerity, with what masculine recklessness, he gave expression to both! Quotation will best illustrate one's meaning:

> 'Could I embody and unbosom now
> That which is most within me, could I wreak
> My thoughts upon expression, and thus throw
> Soul, heart, mind, passions, feelings, strong or weak,
> All that I would have sought, and all I seek,
> Bear, know, feel, and yet breathe, into one word,
> And that one word were lightning, I would speak.'

In the same longing to identify and incorporate himself with

stress and tumult, he exclaims, when describing the thunder-storm in the Alps at night,

> Let me be
> A sharer in thy fierce and far delight,
> A portion of the tempest and of thee!'

There one has the whole man, or, rather the whole Poet, unveiled. He seeks for one word, one concentrated aspect and operation of Nature, in which to embody and wherein to mirror himself; and he finds it in the word, Lightning. Again, how he discloses himself, and reflects the period in which he lived and wrote, with its furibund tides and clashing waves, when he writes,

> 'Once more upon the waters! Yet once more!
> And the waves bound beneath me as a steed
> That knows its rider! Welcome to their roar!
> Swift to their guidance, wheresoe'er they lead!'

They rejoice him all the more as the freshening sea makes them a terror; and he exultingly says of the ocean,

> 'I am, as it were, a child of thee.'

How could such a Poet concern himself overmuch to ask if this flashing wave of thought was kempt and curled to its very fringe and spray, or if that hurricane of feeling was as measured and musical as a cadence of Mozart."

I thought it was very praiseworthy in Veronica to express herself thus, for her own taste in literature, and above all in poetry, inclines to the greatest finish, and is averse to the hit-or-miss style of some writers; and I could see it gave the Poet pleasure to hear what she had just been saying.

"I can imagine," he observed, "nothing more true than what Veronica has just been urging. But I should like to add a word in favour of a theory of my own, such as it is, that, though probably no writer can wholly escape the influence of the age in which he happens to live, I doubt if that influence will be of much help or advantage to him unless it be in harmony with his own temperament. The more he yields to it, unless it be in harmony with him, the more he sacrifices of himself; and to be oneself, in writing as in anything else, is to give one the best chance, not of popularity, but of doing the best work, and the best sort of work, for which one is by nature endowed. The Man does not necessarily chime with the Hour. But, in Byron's case, the Man and the Hour met to perfection. The age in which he lived was very like himself in most respects, and he resembled in essentials the age in which

he lived. You may be born out of your own time; and, in that case, you may, if weak and yielding, be reduced to silence, or, if strong and with abundant power of resistance, have to wait for the chance of some future age being more in agreement with you. Macaulay says that Byron would have been a popular writer in any age. I venture to doubt that. Had he been born so as to arrive at manhood, say, about the time of the first Reform Bill, and the heyday of his life been from that date onward to the Great Exhibition of 1851, he would necessarily either have remained himself, on which supposition he would have been out of tune with the time, and therefore by no possibility popular, or he would have striven to divest himself of a portion of his own genius, whereby he would have suffered a serious loss of power, and fallen, as the phrase is, between two stools. Being impenitently combative, he would have chafed against his time, which would have disliked his impetuosity, and turned away from his negligent grandeur, since uncongenial to its own preferences. As it was, he was born and wrote in the very nick of time, while, during the same period, Wordsworth and Keats, with temperaments and genius the very opposite of his, had to wait for recognition till there supervened a more quietistic and less tumultuous epoch. Byron resembles Vesuvius in eruption at night, flashing fire through volumes of smoke, while one hears as a sad soft accompaniment the undertone sobbing of the sea in the Bay below. Hence his fitfulness, his inequality, his frequent faults of style and expression, hence the instantaneous magnificence of his best passages. Then the language, as he says of the sea in the passage Veronica has cited, seems to know its rider. He is incorporated with it, as he is with the hills when he declares of the mountains, not that he feels them, but that with him, they "are a feeling." Hence he shares with them their sublimity, but, likewise, and not infrequently, their ruggedness, their inequality, their repulsiveness. But, at his very best, he is flawless, without blot or blemish. Is not *The Isles of Greece* the finest lyric in the language? I remember, when we were all in Rome together, being in the Capitoline Museum one day and turning to the pages of the Guide Book for verification of something about which I was in doubt, and coming on two stanzas of his, tolerably familiar to one, but which I thereupon read afresh. Pausing at the end of the first stanza, which was rather slovenly, I said to myself 'So-and-so' (having in my mind his only successor that has rivalled him in popularity during life-

time) 'would not have been satisfied to have written like that. Then I read on, and, at the end of the second stanza, felt forced to add, 'But he could not have written *that*'; so instantaneous, direct, and overpowering was it."

"It is perhaps presumptuous in me," said Lamia modestly, "to add anything to what you and Veronica, between you, have been saying. But is not something still wanted to state the whole truth, something that I suspect was in the mind of both, though neither has given utterance to it? There is no difficulty in surmising who 'So-and-so' is, who was Byron's successor in contemporaneous popularity, who the delightful poet and consummate artist to whom you referred. He likewise had the good fortune not to be born out of his own time, but in it absolutely, and to be all through the meridian of his poetic activity one with it? A second time as far as poets are concerned, the Hour and the Man met and co-operated. But what a different Hour and what a different Man! Like the thunderstorm described in *Vivien* as 'moaning into other lands,' Byron's thunder-notes had rolled away; and there were instead, 'languid pulses of the oar,' 'the long gray fields at night,' 'the glimmering dawn,' 'the lime a summer home of murmurous wings,' 'bowery hollows crowned with summer sea,' 'O death in life, the days that are no more, and such passages as

> 'The steer forgot to graze,
> And, where the hedge-row cuts the pathway, stood,
> Leaning his horns into the neighbour field,
> And lowing to his fellows. From the woods
> Came voices of the well-contented doves.'

Such are the thousand and one exquisite touches, the magical lines, the passages brief but all-sufficing, that enchanted a generation, and can never fail to delight lovers of perfect poetic Art. And what was the central and best period of his productivity? It began in 1832, and culminated, in the opinion of most, about thirty years later, a long time for a poet to be at his best; and, with the exception of the miscarriage of the revolutionary attempts of 1848, not to be followed by real new birth till the Commune of 1871, the thirty years after 1832 were years of 'peace, retrenchment, and reform,' the gradual abolition of abuses, and optimistic horoscopes of the pacific, harmonious, refined Future of Mankind. Hence, in accordance with the theory advanced by Veronica, the Hour helped the Man, and the Man was the artistic mirror of the Hour. Have I," she added, drawing closer to the Poet, "been talking nonsense, and

only travestying what Veronica and you have been saying? If so, forgive me."

"Dear Lamia," he said, "I have been listening to you with unqualified approval. You have rounded off our conference, and by exhausting it have brought it to a harmonious conclusion."

I thought to myself that if I ventured to add to the literature of egotism by extolling the Garden that I Love in the same "harmonious" manner in which our mutual-admiration-society had been seconding each other's views about poetry, Lamia would have gone round it until she had found some abominable flaw, some flower that had failed, some combination of colour that had only partially succeeded, and made me smart for my self-complacency.

But surely she would find it difficult to discover flaws at this moment. I have never been able to reconcile myself quite to rose-beds pure and simple, with nothing to decorate the inter-spaces. Accordingly I persuaded the Poet to put, in a newly planted rose-bed that has done, this very first year, excellently well, and will continue to flower during the rest of the year till very severe frost comes, since they are all tea roses, groups of *longiflorum* lilies, now in all the snowy splendour of their long large bells and healthy green leaves; and the effect is most pleasing. I ought to add that the bed has a wide border of lilac-coloured violas, which take their catalogue name, I believe, from some nurseryman, but which we call Quaker Pet, by reason of their subdued lilac hues. Among the rose-beds there are Speciosum lilies, and in yet others the gorgeous *lilium Japonicum*. The method can be applied with equal success, indeed perhaps with still more, to beds of certain China roses. With one of these given up to *Laurette Messimy*, I have, flowering among them, annual marguerite carnations, and the combination has elicited much admiration. Not far from it is another China rose-bed dappled, so to speak, with *Salvia Farinacea*, whose flowers, to the eye of the uninstructed, look for all the world like lavender.

Apropos of lavender, of which Lamia is particularly fond, I have a little story to tell which I will set down here, since the telling of it to some of our garden visitors has seemed to interest them. Several years ago I was at Stratford-on-Avon, then still more or less left to its primitive quiet and unpretentiousness; the house in which Shakespeare is reputed to have been born, looking then much more credibly such than what this age calls "improvements" have made it look. Yet more surrendered to the kindly nursing of Time and untouched by the tidying, smartening-up tastes of to-day, was Anne Hathaway's cottage at Shotover, which exercised

over me a peculiar spell, drawing me back to it afternoon after afternoon. I suppose I was influenced by the feeling that the young Shakespeare had been in its garden many a time and oft, by moonlight, in starlight, at all hours of the day and night, and equally so in the ingle-nook of its cottage hearth. The wrinkled old dame who then lived there believed herself to be, and probably was, a collateral descendant of Anne Hathaway; and she got so accustomed to my daily visits that we became close friends, and used to sit together, with her nut-brown hand in mine, and let our talk ramble backward in a dear, ignorant, semi-imaginative sort of way; and once we had tea together, which pleased her vastly and me no less. She seemed to feel real regret when I told her I was leaving Stratford on the morrow; so, before we parted, she led me into the cottage garden, as rustic as herself, plucked a large bunch of lavender twigs, and, as she gave them to me, said

> If you plant out these in May,
> They will grow both night and day.

Sure enough, May it was; but, though I was leaving Stratford, I was not going home for some days yet. So I kept the lavender-twigs moist in my sponge-bag; and from these, for the kindly old lady's rhyming saw came true, is descended all the lavender that Lamia loves so. I had the honour—for, as you may suppose, such indeed I deemed it—of giving some cuttings of it to Tennyson for his garden at Aldworth; and, later on, I gave of it to the most gifted actress of our time, who has appeared in every leading female part of humour, majesty, and playfulness in Shakespeare's dramas, to the delectation of us all. Do you wonder if we always call our lavender "Anne Hathaway's Lavender"? It is now nearly in full bloom; and I noticed to-day the white butterflies flitting over and among it, almost as thick as fireflies among the ripening corn of a Tuscan *podere*.

Midsummer-Day.—I believe I have said somewhere that among all the princely personages of the garden, the Rose, the Rose is queen. But now, in the very heart of June, I feel that neither I, nor any one, has written of the Rose as it deserves. The Poet is continually admonishing me not to indulge in the prevailing sin of exaggeration and excessive emphasis in style. But what language, what music, could overmuch extol the beauty, the splendour, the homeliness, the pride, the humility, the fragrance, the independence, the accommodating temper, the clambering, rambling, creeping vagrancy of the Rose? At this

moment the world seems one vast rose-garden. Veronica, who sparingly breaks into pæans of enthusiasm, deeming it better, in that terrible conscience of hers, to temper our exuberant admiration with measured eulogies, returns again and again, to the beds bordered by the subdued lilac loveliness of Quaker Maid violas, but for the rest dedicated to the roses, from snowy white to dazzling scarlet, got from France last November, and now in their virgin bloom. But the Poet prefers bushes of Maiden's-Blush, where they keep company with long unfettered trailers of single, double, and semi-double briars, soaring, curving, falling, sweeping the ground, breathing and blooming in their own heedless, Bohemian way. I need scarcely add that where the Poet is, there too is Lamia; and Lamia introduces the feminine note into the colour and perfume of this secluded spot by proclaiming that the Rose and Love are one; at the same time asking him,

"Are they not?"

"Yes, Lamia," he answers gallantly, "Love and the Rose are one; and you are one with both."

Never did I see two such persons for thinking, feeling, and saying the same thing, at the same moment, in the same manner. "Happy, happy, happy pair!" I am forced to exclaim, in the language of Dryden's *Ode in Honour of St. Cecilia's Day*. None will deny that Lamia is fair; and assuredly, in respect of his tender affection for her, the Poet is the bravest of the brave. I wish I had half his courage.

But the Rose. Was not that my theme? And here am I, diverted from it by Lamia and her unaccountable attractiveness. What is there the Rose cannot, and will not do? It will cover the Palaces of Kings, and just as gladly embroider the porches of the lowly. It is as happy in the untrimmed hedge as in the well-ordered garden. It can look after itself, and needs no more help than the cloud or the wave. Yet it tolerates interference with no loss of temper, and with its habitual smile. The Rose is queen, but is a countrymaid likewise. It belongs to no class, but is at home with all. Of all love-gifts it is the most expressive and the most seductive. Is not the well-known Rose of Magdeburg one of the most touching incidents in history? What a low fellow, deep down, with the soul of an Italian postilion, was Napoleon, to be so unchivalrous—yes, brutally disingenuous, to the lovely Queen of Prussia! Roses welcome our birth, are sponsors at the baptismal font, bridesmaids at our nuptials, mourners and white-robed petitioners to heaven at our interment. They hold their full Court only in summer, but they reign during

three of the seasons of the year, and are not always absent from their kingdom during the fourth. And how they vary in character! some being retiringly shy, some self-possessed and dauntless, some attractively modest, while others seem proud of and almost flaunt their beauty. There are roses that seem to think they are the plain ones of the family, and seek to hide themselves and escape attention. But, as Veronica remarked yesterday, the nearer that garden roses approximate to the wild eglantine, the more they charm. Some of the new Ramblers—Blush Rambler, for instance—make you stop and look at them just as children do. But I must not excite jealousy among them by naming some and being silent about others. Besides, have you not remarked there are roses that, like human beings, look their best at one age, their least well at another? The handsome youth sometimes expands into a man you do not turn to look at, and another, unnoticeable in the meridian of his life, becomes picturesque-looking in his decline. It is the same with Roses; save that, like women, they are never altogether plain at any age, if one lingers on their looks, and only has eyes wherewith to see.

Lamia, who has read the foregoing, and says nothing in contradiction of it, and who has access to all the Poet's MSS., shows me the following Sonnet as in some degree bearing on the above theme, and says that perhaps it will, for some readers, render my fresh instalment of "horticultural literature" more tolerable. So, obedient to her wishes, I append it. I ask her when she thinks it was written, and she answers characteristically, but perhaps not untruly, "Probably some ten or fifteen years hence."

In this resplendent Autumn of your days
You seem yet lovelier even than in Spring,
More musical in voice, more young in gaze,
More dear, more richly dowered in everything.
Now in your promise lurks no veering vow,
Nor in your tearful tenderness caprice;
Blossom and fruit together deck you now,
And Love abides, companioned by Peace.
O keep then as you are, nor let Time cast
One shadow on the dial of your days,
Nor wintry rime nor desolating blast
That beauty rob where nothing yet decays.
But should that last petition be denied,
You still will find me, reverent, at your side.

One would naturally expect peace to reign, uninterrupted in a Garden, if anywhere. The very word suggests tranquillity, retirement, aloofness from contending passions, even from

conflicting emotions, and, above all, from the heats of controversy, and, doubtless, what the name suggests, the garden itself corresponds with, to the casual unconcerned visitor, who, coming to it from the paving-stones of Pall Mall, or the ballroom floors of Mayfair, exclaims, "There!" seats himself among its invisible perfumes, lets his eye wander over its rainbow colours, or saunters among its summer roses or its autumnal lilies. But, be yourself the owner, nay more, the conceiver and guardian of the Garden, you will indeed be the favoured of Heaven, with not even the "critic on the hearth" to dispute your sway, if the demon of disagreement do not find his way into your earthly paradise. Indeed, if you be a person of many minds and many moods, varying winds of doctrine will from time to time disturb your peace, and rival theories of horticulture, as of writing, will invade your serenity.

"How very irregular," says Veronica, "the things in this bed are looking!"

"I did not want them," I reply, "to be quite regular, but they will be regular enough when they have all attained their full growth."

"And pray," strikes in Lamia, "pray, when will that be? I observe that the Golden Year is always coming, but never comes. Will it arrive just as the early October frosts wither all your posies? At present I see the grossest irregularities in this supposed respectable enclosure. Not that, personally, I have the slightest objection to irregularity, for I am not going to cast stones from my own glass-house; but, as you sometimes say, let us look facts frankly in the face, and manfully—of course, manfully—confess that this is at present a rag-bag of a bed, with no apparent design in it, and luxuriating in conspicuous disorder."

The Poet smiles, and, as usual, strives to make us all "harmonious" once more.

"Are you not," he says, "returning to the point we discussed a short time ago in regard to Poetry? In gardens, as in literature, there may be too solicitous finish, or too much carelessness; and in an age that inclines perhaps overmuch to the former in verse, one may reasonably expect to find the same bias in gardening. Should we not have a care lest, in both cases, craft should take the place of true Art?"

"And this garden?" says Lamia, stealing close to him, and with voice, smile, and intonation, leaving him, or any one for that matter, no choice but to reply assentingly: "What, in literature, does the garden that we love resemble?"

"Would it be, Lamia, think you, *As You Like it?*"

She clapped her hands. "O, yes; and you shall be the Duke, if I may be——" She paused, as if suddenly embarrassed.

"What you are," said the Poet, exchanging sweet words with her, as usual, "a compound of Rosalind and Celia."

"Am I to be nothing in this literary fantasy of a garden?" I pleaded.

"You!" exclaimed Lamia. "Obviously, you are Jaques, moralising and 'full of matter'; the well-known 'fool i' the forest.'"

"And Veronica?"

"Veronica is the intelligent audience, dealing out justice to us, 'merely players,' yet at the same time reminding me of a line traditionally attributed to the author of *As You Like It*, though not to be found in any of his works:

We are all both actors and spectators too.

"And attributed to him," said the Poet, "I doubt not, correctly; for he, more than any other man that ever lived, is master of apt, illustrative expression, by which we recognise him at once."

Thus we fleet away the time, in the garden that we love, contributing nothing to the wealth or excitement, but, I am generously assured, occasionally to the delectation of the time, and feeling that this life of ours, exempt from public haunt, is more sweet than that of painted pomp, and quite as profitable to ourselves and others as more elaborate modes of existence.

THE AUTHOR OF "THE GARDEN THAT I LOVE."

MARKSMANSHIP IN SCHOOLS

A SIMPLE SOLUTION

THE wide interest which this subject is at present creating, and the fact that I have had recent experience in converting young men who had never fired a rifle into marksmen, may be a sufficient reason for bringing this matter to the notice of readers of the *National Review*. The gradual evolution of the idea of national self-defence has been developing through several centuries, but has made surprising progress during the last forty years in republican France, in autocratic Germany, and in "heaven-born" Japan. Throughout Europe the paid professional soldier has been replaced by the trained citizen, but for various reasons, which need not be here gone into, public opinion in Great Britain still opposes any form of universal service, and denies that it is a citizen's duty to defend his home in the last resort. Nevertheless, despite this "inalienable right of every free-born Briton to refuse to lift a hand in defence of his country," an uneasy feeling prevails in many quarters, and those who insist that the people should prepare for a possible conflict with a coalition of Powers, are at least given a patient hearing. A few statesmen have admitted that we need some military system capable of expansion outside the Regular Army and Volunteers, and some have suggested that an organisation might be instituted to raise, equip, and train emergency troops on the outbreak of war. But no responsible official has yet had the courage to proclaim that none of these schemes can produce an adequate result without some form of compulsion.

The nation's modest supply of military ardour in peace-time is annually absorbed into the existing forces, Army, Militia, and Volunteers, yet the difficulty of maintaining their diminutive establishments by voluntary enlistment is freely admitted. All sorts of makeshifts have been proposed, all sorts of schemes are in the air. But in view of the fact that the patriotic fervour created by the South African War did not even produce

civilian rifle clubs throughout the land, it seems improbable that the adult males of this country will submit to any form of compulsion in the matter of military training or shooting.

But with schoolboys the case is different. They receive a free education at the expense of the State, in return for which they may fairly be compelled to learn the use of a rifle. This principle once admitted, the question arises as to the best method of carrying it out, and of utilising the previous experience of other countries in this direction. To ask schoolmasters to include rifle-shooting in their curriculum is not a new idea. In France, in 1893, practical instruction in rifle-shooting was added to the preliminary military exercises already taught in the primary State schools to boys of ten years of age and upwards.

For this purpose a simple manual of instruction was written, and a miniature reproduction of the French service arm, firing a cheap low-power cartridge, was approved by a Government Commission. In Holland, Belgium, Italy, Portugal and Switzerland, encouragement in various forms has been afforded to schoolboys, including free ammunition, the loan of rifles and access to existing ranges on Sundays and holidays. The result has been as successful as local circumstances would permit but it cannot be denied that, though the intentions of the authorities were excellent, the methods adopted, added to the difficulty and expense of transporting the boys to the ranges, rendered the experiment to some extent abortive. Meanwhile the popularity of rifle-shooting amongst boys of all countries is beyond controversy.

In England, nothing was done until Lord Roberts, by his able and persistent advocacy, persuaded a few schools to attempt the introduction of marksmanship into their curriculum, but the pioneers of the movement are much hindered, as in the rest of Europe, by the difficulty of acquiring ranges, rifles and ammunition.

The cheapest miniature ammunition costs something and the total quantity required to ensure an appreciable measure of success runs into a good deal of money. Each boy must shoot off at least 300 cartridges a year, so that to train 1,000,000 boys throughout the country would require 300,000,000 rounds, at an annual cost of £120,000. Nor is the mere price of the cartridge by any means the only difficulty to be overcome. I have put up two open-air miniature ranges on the cheapest and simplest scale and my experience is that, excluding the cost of the ground (35 yards long by 12 yards wide) such ranges cannot be erected and equipped

for less than £80, with due regard to the safety of the public and of the occupants of the school. A range of this kind permits four rifles to be fired at the same time, a less number being insufficient for a school of any size, as long hours cannot be devoted to rifle practice. Thus the cartridge, which until recently has been an absolute necessity in all rifle-shooting and in every system of instruction, is the main cause of danger, difficulty and expense.

But an American, Mr. H. H. Cummings, has overcome these drawbacks by a most ingenious device which dispenses with cartridges altogether.

I should not dare to write so unhesitatingly about this invention, were it not that I have had it in daily use under my own supervision for a year and a half, during which it has been worked for eight hours a day on an average, and has trained 600 men to shoot very much better than they would otherwise have done. These results are confirmed by official figures and my object in mentioning them is to induce the managers of our primary schools to adopt Mr. Cummings' device for their boys.

After all, the function of the bullet on a miniature range for instructional exercises is merely to indicate the correctness or otherwise of the pupil's aim and pull-off. There is no intent to kill, injure or maim. As a means of diagnosing the firer's errors a cartridge is by no means free from defects, inasmuch as many of the faults which occur in directing a misplaced bullet are invisible to the most observant and painstaking instructor, whilst others are due to the inaccuracy of the cartridge itself.

But in the invention referred to, known as the Sub-target Rifle, the office of the cartridge is performed by a sensitive pointer which traces on a diminutive paper target (called the Sub-target) every motion of the rifle whilst it is in the act of being aimed by the pupil at an ordinary target. When he pulls the trigger, the pointer, actuated by electricity, instantaneously punches a small hole in the Sub-target and thus indicates the exact spot where a bullet would have struck the real target aimed at by the pupil. The act of reloading readjusts the whole machine for the next shot. Thus, from the moment the firer takes the rifle into his hand until he finally releases the trigger, each movement is distinctly reproduced by the pointer, and any fault which might influence the flight of a bullet is plainly visible. The process is quite simple and easy, yet there is no range, no bullet, no noise, no danger.

Blank ammunition may occasionally be fired by beginners in order to accustom them to the sound of exploding powder, but even this is not essential, for I have known recruits, who

had never fired a rifle, but had been thoroughly trained on the Sub-target, go straight to a real range and make better scores than soldiers of several years' service.

Any rifle can be adapted to the Sub-target machine, from the full-sized service arm to a reduced replica of it or a toy-gun suited to the strength of undeveloped youth. Its weight is entirely borne by the firer, whether standing, kneeling or lying down and thus the practice is as useful to the winner of a King's Prize at Bisley as it is to a juvenile novice. It can be carried out on any school premises, with a shed to protect the machine from the weather, and is as useful in winter as in summer if artificial light be provided on dark afternoons. In fact, a Sub-target rifle can be set up and fired in any well lighted room thirty-five feet long by twenty feet wide. Nor is it an uninteresting exercise either to expert rifle shots or exuberant schoolboys. Competitions, similar in all respects to rifle matches at varying ranges and at disappearing targets, can be held and great emulation engendered.

Introduced into England about two years ago after considerable successes in the United States and Canada where it was adopted by the Government, it has been thoroughly tested by many of our Cavalry regiments, Infantry battalions and Yeomanry squadrons, as well as by several public schools.

The cost of upkeep and repairs only amounts to a few shillings a year for dry batteries and targets, and the durability of the machine appears to be undoubted. The original price (£50) is considerably less than that of a miniature range, being roughly equivalent to that of a piano, of which thousands are to be found throughout this country. The qualifications demanded of our schoolmasters have not hitherto included the art of imparting marksmanship, but in no school would it be difficult to persuade a young master to exchange an hour a day of arithmetic or dictation for a spell at the Sub-target rifle, nor is it improbable that many of them would excel as musketry instructors after a few lessons in coaching from a competent rifle shot. We have three Sub-target rifles in the battalion under my command and attribute our great improvement in marksmanship this year mainly to them. Surely the experience so far gained fully warrants the experiment of introducing the Sub-target rifle into County Council schools?

F. I. Maxse.

HOW TO CHOOSE A COLLEGE AT OXFORD

THIS is the season of the year at which proud parents tell their friends that the young hopeful is just going up to such and such a College, and are informed in reply that the choice of that particular college was a great mistake. Such kind admonitions almost invariably come too late to be of any use, but at the same time, the choice of an Oxford College must always be a subject of interest, both to those who have been at Oxford, and to those who are determined that their sons shall be better educated than themselves.

Which is the best College at Oxford? The question is not an easy one to answer, unless we already know what test the questioner wishes us to apply. Is he an old "blue" who wishes to see his son a prominent athlete? Is he a scholar who desires his son to be steeped in the humanities? Does he wish to see him started on the road to commercial success, or is he a parvenu who covets for his son that which he himself lacks, the "indescribable something" which Oxford is supposed to confer, and to which I will honestly endeavour not to allude again?

From the point of view of the would-be athlete, it really does not very much matter what College he chooses. Any one who has shown promise at cricket or football at his public school can rely with confidence on receiving a chance of proving his ability, while the would-be oarsman, even if he comes from a school which knows no river, is always welcomed as a possible recruit for the "Torpid." I venture to doubt whether parents do, to any great extent, allow athletic considerations to weigh in the balance. They all wish their sons to go to a college where the tone is good, and a very large number hope for a certain amount of culture.

If we are to judge by success in the schools, the palm must certainly be awarded to Balliol. Year after year this College achieves results which are as a general rule always satisfactory

and often brilliant. It is no part of my purpose to inquire into causes; I have to deal with effects, but the continued success of Balliol must at all events raise grave doubts in the minds of those dreamy enthusiasts who love to ascribe culture and even learning to the humanising influence of architectural beauty. The counterpart of Balliol among the smaller colleges is Corpus, a foundation which always contrives to hold its own in the schools with richer and more populous rivals, and whose members may be held up to an admiring, though not perhaps altogether envious world, as patterns of the strenuous life.

It must not be supposed that Balliol and Corpus are the only colleges capable of turning out good scholars. Far from it; but it must be admitted that their level of scholarship is extremely high. At the same time, any youth who really wishes to work can always rely on receiving adequate tuition either within the walls of his own college, or at the hands of some tutor selected by his own college authorities, provided, that is to say, that he confines his ambition to the beaten track, and does not allow it to soar towards Sanskrit, or towards the Honour School of Modern Languages.

The last-named institution is a very recent addition to the University curriculum. It received its shape from the same sacrilegious hands that were seeking to abolish compulsory Greek, and was hailed as a great concession to the utilitarian spirit of the age. Previously a candidate for a pass degree, having to pass three "groups," might select French and German as two of his subjects, but could not pass in Modern Languages alone, and had to choose some other subject for his third group. There also existed the Taylorian scholarships of £25, two being awarded annually, one for French or German alternately, and the other for Italian, Spanish or Russian. A candidate for one of these scholarships was required to know a good deal of the philology of his language, besides being proficient in its practical use, and it has even been known to happen that, two candidates being of absolutely equal merit, one being superior in the philology, and the other in the practical use of the language, the scholarship has been awarded to the former, presumably to console him for having spent a disproportionate amount of time over an almost totally useless acquirement. These scholarships have recently been abolished, we may suppose because the Honour School of Modern Languages is expected to fulfil their functions. Now there is something to be said for the view that a candidate for a scholarship in (*e.g.*) French ought to display some knowledge of the history and development of the language,

and of its ancient literature. So far the Taylorian scholarships were good. But now their place has been taken by the Honour School of Modern Languages; and what is the result? This school, announced with a flourish of trumpets as a great concession to the spirit of the age, is so arranged that candidates are not merely required to show some knowledge of a modern language, but to swamp themselves as well in a mass of ancient philology and literature which cannot by any possibility be of the least use to them in after life. What can be the use of making with one hand a concession to the wishes of the Utilitarians, and with the other hand overwhelming that concession with such a mass of obsolete conditions that its usefulness is absolutely destroyed?

It is too early as yet to discuss the actual results achieved by the Honour School of Modern Languages, but he would be a bold man who should expect his college to provide him with adequate tuition for it. It is even true to say that any undergraduate is lucky who finds among his college tutors one capable of piloting him through the French and German groups previously alluded to. In one college, an undergraduate, whom we will call A, desired to go in for both groups, French and German, and was referred to a don of his college, a Mr. B, whose ubiquitous erudition enabled him to instruct the young not only in French and German, but in Logic and Divinity as well. One of the set books in the French group is de Tocqueville's *l'Ancien régime et la Révolution*, which, dealing as it does with old feudal customs, contains a large number of highly technical terms. A consulted Mr. B as to the meaning of some of these. Mr. B was quite unable to answer a single question, and at last burst out: "Look here, you didn't come here to give me a *viva voce* examination!" Shortly afterwards, A set to work on his German books, one of which was Goethe's autobiography, *Wahrheit und Dichtung*. Going to Mr B. he announced that he had begun on this work, and added: "Isn't it a delightful book?" "Oh, is it?" was the reply: "What is it all about?" The natural upshot was that A had to spend a good deal of money in employing the services of private coaches, and only succeeded with great difficulty in securing from his reluctant college a wholly disproportionate reduction in his tuition fees. It is only fair to state that this particular college has recently appointed a properly qualified modern language tutor, and it shall for that reason remain anonymous, but the parent who desires to see his son proficient in modern languages would do well not to trust to the facilities offered for such study by particular colleges,

as in most cases that branch of learning has been utterly neglected by them. At the same time, it must, in fairness, be admitted that the opportunities for the study of French which are afforded by the Taylor Institution could hardly be improved upon.

Perhaps, however, in the large majority of cases, a parent who asks: "Which is the best college at Oxford?" means: "Where would my son fall in with the most desirable companions?" *i.e.*, it is probably the social aspect (in the best sense of the words) which is uppermost in the parental mind.

To dilate upon the distinctive features of each college would not be an easy task, the less so as several colleges do not appear to possess any distinctive features at all; but, it is, perhaps, possible to outline some of the characteristics of the more prominent foundations. Many otherwise amiable and worthy men divide Oxford colleges into two classes, Christ Church and others, but without wishing to disparage the creation of Cardinal Wolsey we may be permitted to dissent from this view. Numerically "The House" undoubtedly stands first. In every way it occupies a high place with conspicuous and we may add, conscious success. As is well-known, it was in former days the chief abode of the "tufts," and although these august creatures are no longer officially distinguished from their humbler fellow undergraduates, it is still true to say that Christ Church is the chief resort of the aristocracy. This is, in many ways, good for Christ Church, and not bad for the aristocracy, but a less pleasant feature is that the presence of this same aristocracy attracts to the House an entirely undesirable element of Greeks and Hebrews. Now every one at Oxford is glad to welcome foreigners of all kinds, but it is not easy to extend a very hearty welcome to the sons of cosmopolitan financiers who patronise Oxford's most celebrated foundation for the sole purpose of rubbing shoulders with the aristocracy. At the same time, the chief reproach which modern Oxford levels against the House is that, being so large, it naturally tends to dissolve into sets, so that no Christ Church man is bound to come into intimate contact with "the Ghetto" unless he wishes.

If there are Parthians and Greeks at the House, all the world knows that there are Medes and Ethiopians at Balliol, but they are readily assimilated, and now form a recognised feature of the College, without in any way constituting a separate set. They absorb Oxford culture, and take their part in Oxford life, and their presence helps to bring home the problems of Empire to their fellow undergraduates of Balliol, many of whom, it must

be confessed, are still sad Little Englanders. But every impartial man must admit that the average Balliol man is intellectually superior to the average man of any other college. Apart from actual academic distinction, Balliol men do appear far more capable of following and appreciating current events, and of taking an intelligent interest in things at large than their less fortunate fellows elsewhere. Each college probably has its cultivated set, but, to an outsider at all events, it seems as if what is commonly called culture is far more generally diffused in Balliol than anywhere else. There the uncultivated appear to be in a minority. Could as much be said of any other college ?

Any one who desires to spend his time at Oxford amongst pleasant companions could hardly do better than New College. It must not be inferred from this that "book-learning" is neglected by William of Wykeham's successors. By no means. Was not one of the rising hopes of the Tory party, shortly before being returned to Parliament for his native county, dismissed from New College, and forced to seek the unquestioning hospitality of Marcon's Hall, owing to his having failed to pass one of those tiresome examinations ? All the same, the typical New College man is invariably pleasant, but rarely, if ever, strenuous. He seems to have caught some of the charm which distinguishes the members of another Wykehamist foundation, who are commonly sent out upon the world endowed with a certain ornamental futility which is infinitely attractive, but which seldom leads to any great results. The average New College man is not intolerant of learning, but he is possibly more prone to admire it in others than to seek it for himself, just as the average Englishman, who loudly demands a more martial spirit among his neighbours, is popularly supposed to be ready to pay enormous sums of money in order to avoid personal military service.

To say that Magdalen is the most beautiful college in Oxford appears a truism to Magdalen men, and an untruth to members of some other foundations ; but, avoiding odious comparisons, we may admit that the architectural glories of this famous college are hardly surpassed in the whole University. Moreover, of late years Magdalen has enjoyed a considerable measure of prestige on other grounds as well. Its continuous success on the river has been dazzling to itself and monotonous to its rivals, and its alumni regard themselves as the salt, if not of the earth, at all events of the University. A new arrival at Magdalen will probably find himself taken up and made free of everything, if

possible, even more readily than anywhere else, and it is a tradition of the college that sets should be unknown. Now that is admirable in theory, but, unfortunately, in practice it tends to produce a dead level. At Magdalen, as at New College, the average man is very pleasant; he is even occasionally hearty, but he is sadly uniform, and, to a dispassionate observer, there appears to exist in Magdalen a spirit of rigid conventionality which, though it doubtless provides salutary discipline for would-be eccentrics, would seem to involve a certain repression of the individuality which may seem excessive. These very pleasant people have a certain intolerance of their own, which tends to produce a fixed type, which is undoubtedly a good type, but perhaps scarcely as perfect as it appears to the eyes of its own representatives.

It is recorded of a certain Eton master, educated at Oxford, that, finding himself in a room with several members of the Lyttelton family and hearing one of that family say: "So-and-So was at Trinity," he innocently asked: "Do you mean Trinity, or Trinity, Cambridge?" I should hesitate to go as far as this enthusiastic Oxonian, but Trinity, Oxford, is a college to which parents may well turn their attention. It contains a large number of undergraduates from the best public schools. It is not too big and not too small, while if some Trinity men have recently achieved an uncomfortable prominence by their devotion to nocturnal athletics, as a compensation, the college is the proud possessor of a certain element of muscular Christianity. On one occasion the writer was actually asked by a father which was the best college for a youth with a political bent. It is permissible to believe that parent to have been unique; but in case there should be others, we may mention that Balliol appears temporarily to have abdicated its high position at the Union. In the last two or three years Christ Church, Trinity, Corpus, Magdalen, and New College have been well represented both at the Union and in the political clubs, while now the control of the two Conservative clubs (the Canning and the Chatham) has passed from Magdalen to University. But embryo politicians are hereby warned that to be a keen politician is at many colleges considered not quite respectable, while it is the fashion among many who ought to know better to consider the Union far beneath their notice.

There is one more college which I must mention before concluding. University has of late years given several eminent men to the service of the State, and it still holds a deservedly high place at Oxford. If the majority of its members can

hardly be described as intellectual, they are, at all events, good fellows, and that, in the eyes of many people, is worth much uncouth pedantry.

But, in conclusion, I will reiterate to the readers of the *National Review* the advice which I have so frequently given in private with absolute impartiality. If your son is a clever boy, send him to Balliol. That is where he will learn to make the best use of his wits. Even if he does not appear clever, still send him to Balliol, as that is where any latent abilities which he may possess will be best drawn out. But if you cannot, or will not, or do not send him to Balliol, why then send him to New College, Christ Church, Magdalen, Trinity, or University, and he will have every chance of spending two or three, or even four, completely happy years. By sending him to one of these colleges you will have done your share. The rest remains in his own hands, and if he leaves Oxford with any feeling of discontent against his own college, then you may safely conclude that it is in all probability his own fault.

A Recent Graduate
(Not of Balliol).

AMERICAN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, *Sept.* 13, 1906.

IN the United States, unlike in England, polling at a general election begins and ends on the same day, with the exception of three States. These three States are Oregon, which elects its Congressmen in June ; Vermont, which elects early in September; and Maine, which elects a few days later. As a rule, there is not much interest in these elections, as they give little indication of the general trend of political sentiment. Oregon is a Western State of minor political importance, and for some years past has elected Republicans to Congress. Both Vermont and Maine are "sure" Republican States and can be safely relied on to return Republicans. Whatever interest has attached to these elections in the recent past has been technical rather than practical ; a question of mathematics rather than anything else ; an opportunity for the professional political manager to calculate percentages and discover whether the "normal" vote has increased or decreased.

But this year the country has watched the fight in Maine with absorbing interest. I have already told your readers that this year for the first time in the history of American politics organised Labour, fired by the example set by English Labour, has gone into politics and has determined to make a test of its strength. It will be recalled that the American Federation of Labour, which has 2,000,000 men inscribed on its rolls, in the Spring laid before the President, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House what it termed "a bill of grievances" and made specific demands for the more rigid enforcement of laws designed for the protection of Labour and the immediate enactment of laws to which Labour had given its approval. The deputation of working men, headed by Mr. Samuel Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labour, which presented this "bill of grievances" was respectfully but not over enthusiastically received by the President, the

President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House. The President promised an inquiry into the causes complained of; the President of the Senate was judicially non-committal in his reply; and Mr. Cannon, the Speaker of the House, somewhat bluntly, if perhaps undiplomatically, intimated that because Gompers and his colleagues were working men, they were not entitled to any special laws or preferences that were not granted to other American citizens, and that their charge of hostility to Labour because of the refusal of the Republican majority to enact certain laws had no foundation in fact. Naturally the deputation retired in an angry frame of mind, and a few days later Gompers, in his official capacity, issued a statement in which he said that Labour would rely on its own class to obtain the justice which was denied it. That was the beginning of the participation of organised Labour, as a body, in politics.

Heretofore Labour as a unit has steered clear of politics. Somewhat paradoxical, it was always believed by Labour leaders that Labour could exercise a greater influence on politicians by abstaining from direct participation in politics than it could by becoming a solidified political force. The argument employed was that the moment the attempt was made to unify labour politically the individual political preferences of men would clash, and the Democratic working man would fight the Republican working man with even more bitterness than he fought his employer, and instead of the solidarity of Labour being opposed to the solidarity of capital Labour would become disintegrated and be at the mercy of the compact ranks of its opponents. Moreover—it is not a nice thing to say, but then the truth is not always pleasant—working men feared themselves more than they feared their avowed enemies. They feared that by sinking individual preferences and accepting a political faith for the common good they would be putting too great power in the hands of a few of their leaders, a power so great that few men would be able to withstand the temptation, and there would be no guarantee that their leaders would not betray them. On the other hand, Labour could always exert its power by being the unknown factor in the political equation, a sort of vague, nebulous, mystic, avenging force ready to be loosed if it be provoked. "The Labour Vote" was an element that the politician carefully considered in all his calculations; the fear of Labour exercised a dominating influence. What effect legislation would have on Labour was one of the first questions the politician always asked himself; and the mere suggestion from a man in the ranks of Labour supposedly empowered to speak

with authority that Labour would resent it was quite enough to make the politicion yield his convictions or deny his connection with the obnoxious measure.

Probably Labour would have gone on in the old way if it had not been for the success of the Labour Party in Great Britain at the last election. I mention merely as a curious fact that sociologists may ponder over at their leisure that American trade unionism has been affected practically not at all by the teachings of French, or German, or Italian reformers or writers, but all its impulses have been derived from England. During the last few years I have made a somewhat close study of trade unionism in England and the United States, and the conclusion I have reached, which I believe is sustained by trade unionists on both sides of the Atlantic, is that the trade union of America, in its methods and principles, is a quarter of a century behind the English union, due to many causes, but perhaps due principally to the superior age of the English union and its homogeneity. So-called "advanced Labour legislation," which has been enacted in England as the result of agitation by working men, has almost without exception originated in England and been taken up in America; so seldom has the operation been reversed that one may say America has taught the English working man nothing, while the American working man owes everything to his English *confrére*.

The incursion of English Labour in politics is a case in point. At once the traditions of American Labour were swept away. What Englishmen had done Americans could do. England had again led the way; America would follow. There was this difference, however, in the methods of the two peoples. In England the Labour candidates were only concerned in the defeat of their opponents to secure the legislation of their own class. In America the working man had not progressed so far as to attempt the creation of a distinct Labour Party in Congress, which would be the natural and logical thing to do, but he would support candidates for Congress, irrespective of party, whom he approved and endeavour to defeat those of whom he disapproved. Practically the result was the same, but it emphasised the difference between the English and the American character, especially in their political methods. The English are more direct. The American has been steeped in the maze of political circumlocution. England long ago would have thrown away, if she had ever used it, that ridiculous piece of machinery, the electoral college. Americans cling to it because it is one of those beautiful "checks and balances" that

theoretically fill them with admiration, although as practical people they laugh at its absurdity.

The American Federation of Labour went into the movement with vigour and intelligence. It began its operations by addressing letters to the Congressional candidates, putting certain categorical questions and demanding specific answers. Those men whose replies were deemed unsatisfactory were promptly blacklisted, and preparations began to defeat them. Labour had long looked upon Representative Littlefield, of the Second Maine district, as its arch enemy. Mr. Littlefield is a man of great ability and high courage. He had refused to be bullied by Labour or to be frightened by its threats ; he had antagonised certain measures as a matter of honest conviction ; he had made it quite plain that he would not purchase his seat at the price of self-respect. Mr. Gompers announced that Mr. Littlefield must be defeated at all costs as an example to all the other defiant candidates for Congress.

Two years ago Mr. Littlefield was elected to Congress by a majority of 5500, which made it obvious that only a political revolution could transform that sweeping majority into a minority. When to this it is added that Maine has year after year given Republican presidential candidates, and Republican governors, and Republican Congressmen heavy majorities, and that Mr. Littlefield enjoys the confidence of the Republicans of his district, who are proud of his courage and his intellect, it did not seem that he stood in great danger of defeat. Mr. Gompers, however, was not dismayed. He sent his agents into Maine to organise the working men, he announced through the Press that Mr. Littlefield assuredly would be defeated, and in the last ten days before election he went to Maine, and day and night addressed gatherings, urging working men for their own preservation to teach the enemies of labour a lesson by defeating Littlefield. At the beginning that gentleman and his friends were cynically contemptuous. They were full of confidence. Gompers was openly laughed at, but as the campaign progressed their air of easy confidence deserted them. It became apparent even to the outsider that if Littlefield was not to be defeated he at least was in danger, and the Republican managers took alarm. If Littlefield went to defeat, if Gompers won the most signal political victory of years, other Republican candidates who had been marked by Labour would also be destroyed, which would in all probability mean the loss of Republican control in the House of Representatives and the loss of the next presidency. This danger must be averted at all hazards. The Republican

political managers sent some of their most influential speakers in the State, and gave to the election as much importance almost as if the fate of the presidency hinged on the vote of the district. In no sense is the President involved in the outcome, yet Mr. Taft, the Secretary of War, in a notable speech urged that Mr. Littlefield must be returned as the President was the real issue, and Littlefield's defeat would be tantamount to expressing want of confidence in the President. The dragging in of Mr. Roosevelt's name shows how frightened the Republicans were. Mr. Roosevelt is the greatest asset the Republican party has, and the Republicans, believing that they were in danger, were forced to use all their available resources to save themselves.

The election was held last Monday, and while actually a Republican victory, it was, in fact, a still greater Democratic victory. Mr. Littlefield's majority of nearly six thousand is whittled down to a little more than one thousand, and the majority of the Republican candidate for governor is reduced from 25,000, the normal, to 8000. Even more ominous to the Republicans, is the fact that Mr. Littlefield was defeated by the votes of the cities but was saved by the farmers, the rural majority off-setting his urban minorities. If this is indicative of the trend of sentiment throughout the country, it presages a heavy loss to the Republicans in the general election in November, as in the important States, in New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio and Indiana the cities contain the bulk of the voting population, and the cities, as a general rule, are Democratic, and even a slight increase of the Democratic vote would swamp the Republican rural vote. The New York *Times* in its comment on the election says:

> Mr. Littlefield is elected to the House of Representatives by so small a margin that as a gauge of the influence brought against him the result must be taken as practically a defeat. This we deeply regret, for reasons we have frequently taken occasion to explain. It is a triumph of class feeling. Though it will be a source of disappointment to the President, that gentleman cannot, we think, escape some responsibility for it. Much that he has done and said has served indirectly, and directly too, to encourage the feeling that the existing organisation of business and industry is inimical to the interest of the working man. The distinctions he has himself made and the reservations he has had in mind have totally failed to impress the minds of the class most concerned, the leaders of trade unions. Even if Mr. Littlefield is not "kept at home," in the phrase of the President, his narrow escape of defeat in so strong a Republican district will tend greatly to strengthen the hands of Mr. Gompers' new party.

It is only proper to add, however, that the Maine election was not fought on national issues exclusively. Apart from the fight

made by Labour on Mr. Littlefield, the situation was complicated by purely domestic State questions, notably whether a new prohibition law should be submitted to the people. Still the fact remains that the Republicans have encountered their first important defeat, and Labour has won its first important victory. The result will be greatly to encourage Mr. Gompers and his associates, to convince them that they have not miscalculated their strength, and to make them more resolved than ever to carry on the campaign with determination against the other Republican candidates, who are only one degree less objectionable to them than Mr. Littlefield.

In the August issue of this *Review*, I said that "if to-day we were living two years hence, that is to say, if this were July 1908, instead of July 1906, and if conditions were then what they are now, it would not be a difficult matter to name the two Presidential candidates. Mr. Bryan would be the democratic candidate and Mr. Roosevelt the Republican candidate." There was ample justification for the statement at the time; there is equal justification for now saying that Mr. Bryan's chances have decreased 50 per cent. When I wrote in July I regarded Mr. Bryan as not only practically certain of receiving the nomination, but I considered that circumstances were more favourable to his election than any man who might be nominated by the Republicans, Mr. Roosevelt alone excepted. Now I think that almost any Republican can defeat him, assuming of course that the temper of the public is the same two years hence as it is to-day.

For this change Mr. Bryan is alone responsible, and has only himself to thank that the growing esteem in which the public held him has been so rudely destroyed. Mr. Bryan's speech, made in New York when he returned from Europe in the closing days of last month, has again convinced the country that it is still the Bryan of old who would be their President; that in nothing has he changed; that although his friends tried to fit him in the livery of Conservatism, in heart and spirit he is as radical as of yore; still as dangerous to society as when he was the protagonist in what was the tragedy or farce of free silver, according to the point of view. Mr. Bryan's home-coming was longed for and eagerly awaited by Democrats; he was to be their Moses as well as their Joshua, their prophet and leader and captain; under his banner they were to fight the good fight, and in the promised land of power find the reward for their steadfast adherence to the true faith.

By a single speech Mr. Bryan has ruined all these hopes. His advocacy of the Government ownership of railways is considered as radical and as dangerous as his belief in free silver, and has arrayed against him all the Conservative forces. It is quite immaterial that what Mr. Bryan recommends may not be so dangerous as people think it is, or that it will bring about the reforms that Mr. Bryan is certain will follow, the public, especially the thinking public with a stake in the country, is not prepared to entertain the suggestion at this time, and therefore Mr. Bryan by championing what is neither popular nor understood, which the public does not demand and dreads, has again convinced the public that he is an unsafe and unwise leader, a man unfitted to be entrusted with the responsibilities of high office.

It is a great pity for many reasons. I have always believed in Mr. Bryan, and his courage and honesty, and I feel sure that he would make a most admirable President. It is a bad thing for popular government when there is no healthy opposition, when the party in power is so contemptuous of its opponents that it can be indifferent to its attacks. For the last ten years there has been no opposition worthy of the name, and in that time innumerable crimes have been committed in the name of honesty. A change of Government, or if not that at least a fighting, vigorous, much to be feared opposition, would do the country no harm, and might, perhaps, do it a great deal of good. But Mr. Bryan apparently has made that impossible. He might have united all wings of the Democracy. His past would have insured him the support of the Radicals, the old free silver worshippers, who would have followed him anywhere and to anything simply because he was Bryan ; his acquiescence in what, for the sake of a better word, may be termed Conservatism, would have insured him the support of men who fear the tendencies of the last few years and the dangerous extremes to which they may go unless they are checked. Republicans as well as Democrats were waiting to enlist under Mr. Bryan's banner, but first they were anxious to know under what flag they would serve. And Mr. Bryan unfurled the Jolly Rodger.

This is not hyperbole. To a great many men there seems little difference between Government ownership and piracy. It is confiscation, the taking of property under duress ; the encouragement to the have nots to take from the haves, a doctrine all too dangerous to receive the slightest encouragement from any man who has even a trifle. And it is all so unnecessary. There are

real issues, vital issues, that Mr. Bryan might have championed, which demand settlement. He has again thrown away his opportunity. The New York *World* utters the restrained words of truth and common sense when it says :

Will Mr. Bryan never be able to see what an obstacle his own political vagaries have presented for the past ten years to any effective movement against plutocratic politics ?

In 1896 he and his free silver friends made it necessary for hundreds of thousands of American citizens, who would otherwise not have done so, to vote the Republican ticket as a choice of evils. The sixteen to one propaganda delivered the Republican party over to Hannaism and inaugurated a new era of corrupt corporation government. It convinced corporations that the McKinley victory of 1896 had given him a licence to do anything they pleased. It started the whole country on a political and financial debauch. . . .

But how will it be if Mr. Bryan clings to his policy of government railroads and the Democratic party persists in nominating him ? We shall have another 1896 campaign in kind if not in degree. All the opponents of State Socialism, semi-Socialism, and Socialism, will vote against Mr. Bryan as the opponents of free silver did in 1896, and the corporations will again take the fullest advantage of the political upheaval.

Mr. Bryan honestly thinks he is fighting plutocracy. The fact is, that his economic fallacies have done more to promote plutocratic government in the United States within the last decade than any other single agency.

The New York *Times*, the most influential of the independent papers, in the same vein says :

Mr. Bryan will never be President of the United States ; it is very doubtful, it is growing every day more doubtful, whether he will be nominated by the Democrats in 1908. If he gets any nomination at all it is more likely to come to him from some rump of Radicalism than from the old organisation. He is about the most disuniting leader the party ever had. He has a veritable genius for discord, division, faction, dispersion, and defeat. He was clay in the hands of the silver potters in 1896, but in 1900 he had developed the nominating spirit, and he dominated the St. Louis Convention, forcing the fatal doctrine of free silver into the platform against the protest of the party. . . . Before his recent return from Europe the Democratic party seemed to be getting itself into condition again. He put a stop to all that. His public ownership speech was like a bomb exploded in the vitals of the Democracy. It rent and mangled it, and the dissevered members and fragments have not even yet all fallen to the ground.

These criticisms, which are typical of hundreds of others, are all the more striking when compared with the attitude of the Press toward Mr. Bryan only a few months ago. He was then complimented for his "Conservatism," and discussed as the leader of the forces of order against Radicalism, against the very man who at the time of his election was to save society from the menace of Bryanism. Mr. Roosevelt holds the Republican party in his hands and the nomination is his for the asking.

Mr. Hearst threatens the Democratic nomination. Mr. Roosevelt was too Radical and Mr. Hearst was too Socialistic. Mr. Bryan was to be the happy mean between Roosevelt and Hearst; the only man to defeat Hearst and save the Democratic party from annihilation; the only man formidable enough to make even Mr. Roosevelt doubt whether his popularity was great enough to submit it to the test of opposing him.

Mr. Bryan has waved the magician's wand. He has done for Mr. Roosevelt and for Mr. Hearst what neither could have done for himself. Mr. Roosevelt need have no fears. No Conservative Republican or Democrat would hesitate one moment if required to choose between the President and Mr. Bryan, and by comparison Mr. Roosevelt is Conservatism personified. On the other hand, if Mr. Bryan hopes to appeal to the extreme Socialists he is simply playing second fiddle to Mr. Hearst, who has preached more forcibly the dogma that Mr. Bryan now accepts. If the Democratic Party, or any considerable section of it, intends to make Socialism its battle-cry, Hearst is a stronger, certainly a more logical, candidate than Bryan.

No man ever more wantonly or more courageously sacrificed a golden opportunity. Which is it, folly or courage? That is the interesting psychological question not easily to be determined. Facing the storm he had raised, knowing that to persist in his course was to lose the support of men without whose support success is impossible, Mr. Bryan a few days after his first speech, was courageous enough to affirm his moral creed in these words:

> A few months ago it looked as if I might be asked to be your candidate, but I was assured by reading the editorials of your papers this morning that some of those who were for me then will not force it on me now. . . . I tell you, gentlemen, that I would rather have the approval of my own conscience than the approval of all the people in the United States. Every man must act in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience.
>
> I do not care what the politicians think. If I know what the people want to-day I know what the politicians want to-morrow. I know the politicians to be the most timid of men, and that they always want to do what the people want them to do. And I say now, gentlemen, that if the politicians do not agree to my course it worries me little; the people I want to convince are the voters of this country, and not the politicians, who pretend to dictate to those voters, while in reality they truckle to them.

The man is either so pedantically honest or so obstinately intolerant of opposition—and again I say that the public would try to fathom his motives—that he has found it necessary publicly to rebuke in the most scathing terms a Democrat of great

prominence because he objected to his methods. Speaking at a public banquet at Chicago, Mr. Bryan said of this man, Mr. Sullivan, one of the leaders of the Illinois Democracy :

What is the objection to Mr. Sullivan ? He is a high official in a franchise-holding corporation, which is constantly seeking favours at the hands of the Government. He is familiar with all the methods employed by such corporations to gain from local and State Governments special favours and privileges.

I hold that no man who is officially connected with a corporation that is seeking privileges ought to act as a member of a political organisation, because he cannot represent his corporation and the people at the same time. I am opposed to allowing a man situated as he is to use the public treasury to pay the debts that he owes to those who help his corporation to take advantage of the public, and therefore I insist that the fight should be commenced to-day to prevent his re-election to the National Committee.

I do not regard it as a compliment to be endorsed for the Presidency by a Convention which endorsed Mr. Sullivan. I told them in advance that I did not want an endorsement under such circumstances, and I repudiate it. If my nomination for any office depended upon that endorsement, I would not accept it.

Do you ask me whether a candidate can advance his chance for election by repudiating Mr. Sullivan and the State Committee which he controls, or which, at least, sympathises with him ? I cannot answer, but I deny that any candidate has a right to make his election depend upon expediency. I express the opinion, however, that the man who opposes Mr. Sullivan boldly will be stronger with the people than the man who either endorses him or is silent.

If Mr. Bryan were more adroit and less honest or less self-centred, had he listened to the advice of his friends and yielded his judgment, he could have thrown the ranks of the enemy into confusion instead of having thrown his own into a state of panic. Had he boldly declared himself in favour of a moderate and judicious revision of the tariff, insisted upon the proper regulation of the trusts and the enforcement of the laws, recommended sanity and moderation in all things, but in legislation especially ; referred in general terms to the "first principles of Jefferson," and affirmed his undying faith in the Republic, Mr. Bryan would have disarmed Mr. Roosevelt and drawn Mr. Hearst's fangs. But now !—now Mr. Bryan is floundering in the morass of his advanced ideas, submerged by his eloquence and wondering why he sinks deeper with every step while his opponents stand on firm ground and watch him with amusement rather than with anxiety. Mr. Bryan may be the nominee of the Democratic Party, but no one believes that he will come any nearer being elected two years hence than he was when he attempted and failed ten years ago.

The events of the last few weeks have given Mr. Roosevelt a tremendous boom. He has only to sit tight and he has the game

in his hands, as he holds all the cards. If he will consent to have the nomination he can have it without a struggle: there is no other Republican bold enough or stupid enough to attempt to contest with him; and his election, if the election were to be held now, would be assured. Two years hence may witness a change, but it is not likely.

Only a few months ago any reference to the President again being a candidate was resented by his friends as an insult, as it impugned the President's good faith and questioned his sincerity when, on the night of election, he declared that under no circumstances would he again be a candidate. Now the question may be discussed without offence. Last week in a speech in Maine Mr. Cannon, the Speaker of the House, himself a "receptive" candidate for the presidency, told his audience that "stranger things might happen than Roosevelt's being President until 1912," and the statement was received with uproarious applause. The New York *Sun*, which has for Mr. Roosevelt only a lukewarm affection, and has always fiercely resented any suggestion of his candidacy as an insult in view of his renunciation of further ambition, only a few days ago felt impelled to make this significant declaration:

That Mr. Roosevelt will be a candidate (in spite of all our convictions to the contrary) appears now to be of the widest popular acceptance. If one may believe in the assertions in the public prints; if one may trust in the utterances boldly and confidently attributed to Mr. Roosevelt himself; if one may put one's confidence in the expression that is everywhere current of the public temperament and the public desire, then Mr. Roosevelt is assuredly now, and inevitably will be at the critical moment, the popular candidate. We are called upon to dismiss Mr. Roosevelt's formal and direct disavowal made on election night of further pretence or consent to another term. Many reasons are alleged for this; mostly reasons which are sophisticated and devious. One reason alone has weight with us, and that is, that it is the prerogative of genius to control its own motives, assured that whatsoever its decision it will enjoy the approbation of the multitude.

Make no mistake. The logarithm of Mr. Roosevelt's career resides in the definition of a genius.

Let no one be deluded with the idea that Mr. Roosevelt's dominance is on the wane, that his star is in declension. He is far yet from his apogee, and is to-day a more potential force with the people of the country, Republicans and Democrats alike, than any other day hitherto. There is no one else in their minds, not one; no Taft, no Root, no Cannon—no one at all in all that vast ineffectual procession.

No Bryan? Alas! Mr. Bryan is not even a wholesome distraction.

From the days when Charles Dickens visited this land of the brave and the free even until the present day, it has been accepted as an axiom by Europeans that the American is a braggart and takes pride in boasting that his country is greater, richer, more

powerful, larger than any other country, and this amiable habit has led most Europeans, whose knowledge of the American character is superficial, really to believe that Americans brag and bluster simply because like little children they love to hear themselves talk. But this does an injustice to the American character. The American believes in himself, and he has superb confidence in his manifest destiny. He thinks in large numbers, in billions of dollars and millions of people and thousands of acres; the very immensity of his continent, its limitless resources and its almost ungrasped possibilities, possibilities so great that not even the most luxuriant imagination is fanciful, has given the American a mind perhaps more imaginative, more quickly responsive to emotional oratory, than that of any other people; and, this is worth remembering, for the time being, so long as the spell lasts, both orator and audience believe in what they say and hear.

Here is the peroration of a speech delivered by Senator Beveridge during the Maine campaign before the usual mixed American audience, farmers, working men, shopkeepers, professional men. To English ears it sounds ridiculous, it is gasconade so absurd that one fails to understand how a prominent public man should be guilty of anything so childish, but the newspapers do not regard it as extraordinary, and I am sure the audience—and I speak with a long experience of American audiences—sat there spellbound, drinking in every word, thrilling in every emotion, believing all that they heard, and glorying in the thought that they were the chosen people. Hear Mr. Beveridge:

> The glorious American people, torch-bearers of Liberty; this American Republic, hope of the world; this American land, so nobly placed, so rich in all that ministers to human use and happiness; that people will not be corrupted by their prosperity, because their prosperity will be honest and pure; that Republic will not decay, because its Government will be kept close to that people; that land will not be spoiled and rifled by crazed efforts for hasty wealth, but made richer by intelligent industry and care. Development, not exploitation; progress, not decadence; while even brighter shines the light of the true freedom that men call "equity before the law," onward and upward, carried by the American millions as they press forward in the strength and joy of righteous living, passing by the gods of gold and leaving behind them the false worship of the broken idols of the market-place—a market cleansed, set in order, and regenerated. So shall American civilisation be made immortal and American institutions a blessing to mankind.

A. MAURICE LOW.

MODERN ENGLISH SPELLING

THE question as to the possibility of reforming English spelling has again been recently brought to the notice of the British public, and has been generally received, as might have been expected, with strong expressions of dislike. It may, however, be fairly remarked that most of those writers who have expressed such dislike have contented themselves mainly with the use of violent and somewhat intemperate language, instead of fairly examining the question on its merits. The one unfailing argument, to which most of them appeal, is a consideration of the look or appearance of a new spelling; but this, rightly considered, is a mere encouragement of popular prejudice, and not a very creditable one for a writer to use if he thinks he really has a strong case.

The present position of things is, of course, that a certain system of spelling, largely but not wholly uniform—for entire uniformity as to every point has always been, and will always remain, impossible—has for many years been accepted as the standard one. It is full of singular anomalies, the result of which is that it has to be acquired by the eye only, at a great expenditure of time and trouble. Each word has its own symbol, from which no one must deviate, however much that symbol misrepresents the sound of the word. The result is, at the same time, convenient, precisely because it is generally accepted, but for no other reason.

So great, indeed, is this practical convenience that any proposal to disturb it is apt to excite general alarm and anger; and those who are thus alarmed are a little too ready with arguments which seem to them unanswerable, for the sole reason that they cannot answer them themselves. Most of our writers know nothing whatever of the history of our spelling, and say things which can only be described as wild, without any suspicion of the ludicrous nature of their utterances in the eyes of the not very numerous scholars who happen to have studied the subject for many years. Some, for example, are so hardy as

to say that any changes would destroy our knowledge of etymology—an assertion which is glaringly contradicted by the hopelessly false spelling (from an etymological point of view) of a considerable number of our words ; and no etymologist who values his reputation would care to support so dubious a contention. Others call the modern spelling a natural development, and, therefore, a thing to be cherished ; in ignorant defiance of the fact that our spelling has been frequently disturbed and most unnaturally perverted by pedants, especially by those of the sixteenth century, whose special aim was, frequently, to insinuate false etymologies to please themselves, or to disguise true etymologies which they did not happen to know.

But an Englishman may always expect to be heard if he appeals to the sense of fairness which resides in his fellows ; and it is for this reason that I venture to call attention to a few but important facts.

The chief one is that our language has a long, varied, and instructive history ; one so vast and intricate that, as I have found in my own case, one life is hardly sufficient for the purpose of fully understanding it. And it is constantly forgotten that the whole of this history ought to be studied from a phonetic point of view. That is to say, it is the spoken language alone that is the true standard, and that, rightly considered, alone matters ; for the written language is only an imperfect representation of it, and not unfrequently introduces perversions that would not otherwise have arisen. It is a very common error to regard the written form as being the true one ; some even attribute to it an almost sacred existence, and for that reason they deprecate any change in it, however sensible. The spoken language has been developed, on the whole, naturally and regularly (of course, not always without mistakes), and is a living and growing thing ; but the written language fails, at least at present, to exhibit its growth and its many changes.

This was not the case at the first. Phonetic spelling, *i.e.*, a careful representation in writing of the spoken sounds, is no new thing, nor has it now been thought of for the first time. We have a large number of manuscripts, from about the year 700 onwards, which exhibit spellings of words of all kinds and in at least three main dialects. In all of these the principle of imitating the sound is obvious, and the more intelligent scribes really wrote etymologically, *i.e.*, truly, precisely because they did not attempt to etymologise. It is indeed extremely fortunate that they had no theories to support. The spelling at the first followed Latin models, from the year 700 till about 1200 or later.

After this it so happened that the Norman, who discovered the incapacity of the uneducated Englishman for learning French and had the sense to perceive that bilingualism was a nuisance, made up his mind that, with his larger brain, he was himself capable of learning English, and actually performed this great feat. But he could not detach himself from his own habits of spelling; and hence it came to pass that he actually respelt the whole language upon French principles, which did not always coincide with those that had been adopted previously. And to this day this habit has prevailed, in spite of the reaction in the sixteenth century, when not only Latin, but Greek, came under pedantic revision. To give an easy example, we may notice that the Norman adopted the French *e* in the place of the Latin *æ* and *œ*; and this is why we have such spellings as *demon*, *enigma*, *phenomenon*, *cemetery*, *solecism*, and the rest. The principle should, of course, have been adhered to; but the meddlesomeness of the new learning reintroduced the very symbols which the French spelling had rejected, and insisted upon such forms as *aphæresis* and *cœnobite*. The stupidity of such pedantry is apparent, for now neither the old rule nor the new one prevails; many people write *primeval* who hesitate as to *medieval*. The schoolboy (not the best judge) inclines to *mediæval* as being the more "learned" form; and his master (who commonly knows no more about the history of spelling than the boy does) is likely to applaud him. Hence, for such a simple matter, we have two distinct and absolutely conflicting rules, productive of that very chaos which, to the English speller by the eye, appeals as exhibiting the height of wisdom.

It so happened that, in the fifteenth century, writers were becoming much more numerous and far more careless. Many were amateurs rather than professional scribes. And it was just at this time that printing was invented, which did so much to fix and stereotype the spelling, and to retard its free development. The result has, of course, been that the spelling was too slow in changing, fell behind in the race, and became ever more and more unphonetic and chaotic. It is not, as most of us suppose, a thing to be thankful for, but rather one to be lamented.

Some of our spellings, which cannot and must never (in the opinion of many) be improved, are singularly contradictory. From the verb *to cede*, we have the derivatives *accede*, *concede*, *intercede*, *precede*, *recede*, and *secede*, all spelt according to the Old French model. But we have also *exceed*, *proceed*, and *succeed*, and we may well ask why? Old books show us that

the long *e* which prevails in these words was sometimes written double, to show its length; hence *exceede* was written beside *excede*, to denote that it rhymed with *reed*, and came at last to be preferred. The next step was to drop the now useless final *e*, which gave us *exceed*. That is to say, the spellings *exceed*, *proceed*, and *succeed* arose from a desire to show the sound more exactly. If all the other derivatives had been similarly altered no harm would have been done; the mistake made was in the mending of some only and not the rest. Or they might very well have been all let alone. The ludicrous aspect of the case is the reverence which we show for such inconsistent forms. It is now agreed that we must spell one set one way, and the other set the other; and that anything else is sacrilege.

Very few people realise the extreme lateness of the idea that the same spelling must be adhered to throughout the same book. It is really no earlier than 1700; for previously to that date varieties of spelling, such as *he* and *hee* upon the same page, can usually be found. In fact, our spelling was reasonably phonetic (upon Latin models) from about 700 to 1200, and still phonetic (but upon French models) from 1200 to 1500. It remained the same, but with much interference on the part of teachers of Latin and Greek, till 1600 and later. After that, it ceased to have vitality and became a mere instrument for the use of printers; so that many serious changes of sound no longer received due recognition, and we are now very much behind the age. The chief rule for modern spelling is, in fact, that we should, in the main, employ the vowel-sounds that were prevalent in the time of Shakespeare; and this rule is of no use at all to the mass of us, because such sounds are precisely what most of us are wholly unacquainted with. That this subject is known and appreciated in Germany, where the history of English is of far greater account than it is here, is apparent from the fact that Professor Viëtor, of Marburg, has just published two books upon the subject, named respectively *A Shakespeare Phonology* and *A Shakespeare Reader*.

The difference between modern English spelling and that of the First Folio is, in fact, trivial. If we examine the famous speech by Jacques, on the "Seven Ages of Man," the chief points are these: We have rightly dropped the wholly useless final *e* in *schoole*, *snaile*, *mistresse*, *sodaine* (now *sudden*, phonetically), *quicke*, *moderne*, *leane*, *pantaloone*, *shrunke*, *shanke*, and *againe*; at the same time dropping the *e* in *playes* and *armes*, and the *ge* in *bigge*. We have rightly altered final *ll* into *l* in an unstressed syllable; as in *satchell*, *wofull*, *quarrell*, *formall*, *youthfull*. Other words

which we have altered are *meere, meerely, historie, trebble.* The only striking changes are, in fact, in the modern *jealous* for *Ielous*, and *honour* for *honor*. Of course the form *honour* is not really modern, as it is common in Chaucer; but we see at the same time from this example that *honor* is far older than the ignorant are wont to suppose. There is only *one* really important variation, viz., that Shakespeare has *sixt* for *sixth*. Doubtless he so pronounced it; for he was credited with having written the three parts of *Henry the Sixt*, and he certainly wrote *The Life of Henry the Fift*, as the old edition has it. And it is worthy of notice that *fifta* and *siexta* are the Anglo-Saxon forms.

It is amusing to find that some seriously quote the well-known speech of Holofernes against the "rackers of orthography" (*Love's Labour's Lost*, v. 1. 24) as if it were seriously meant. As Professor Viëtor well remarks (*Phonology*, p. 69): "The pronunciation *cauf, hauf* [meaning *kaaf, haaf*] was probably Shakespeare's own, as in the case of *debt, doubt*, and *abhominable*, where the etymological, or pseudo-etymological, *b* and *h* were doubtless pronounced only by pedants of Holofernes's type." That is just the point; the pedants succeeded in introducing *b* into Chaucer's *dette* and *doute* in the spelling, but they could get nobody to sound it. They wanted to make people sound the *l* in *calf* and *half* (as if they rhymed with Balfe), but the Normans had successfully destroyed the sound of *l* in *lf* and *lk* some centuries previously. And they actually tried to thrust an *h* into *abhominable*, because they had an idea that it was derived from *homo*, and meant "that which is foreign to man." Surely Shakespeare did well in making Holofernes ridiculous. We are all rackers of orthography now, and ignore the *b* in *debt*, the *g* in *reign*, the *n* in *solemn*, the *gh* in *through*, and so on, without a moment's hesitation or compunction.

One very curious point about English spelling is that it contains many examples of reform; so that reform, instead of being modern, is quite an old thing, and (what is more to the point) has several times received complete acceptance. I will take one case only, viz., the introduction into the written language of the symbol *oa*.

I assume that many readers are wholly innocent of any knowledge of the origins of our symbols. Ask the average man why he uses the symbol *ou* in spelling *house*, and, if he is honest, he will usually confess that he does not know. I do not here write for the information of those who happen to know what *oa* means.

The story is this. The scribes of Chaucer's time had no way

of distinguishing between the long open *o* (our *oa* in *broad*) and the long close *o* (our *oa* in *road*, nearly). At that date, they wrote *rood* to express these two distinct sounds. The former was pronounced *rawd* (with *aw* as in *awe*), and the latter was pronounced nearly as our *road* or *rode;* only the *oa* was sounded purely, without any tendency, as in modern English, to an after-sound of *u*. This want of distinction between two widely different sounds was rightly felt to be a serious drawback; so that, early in the sixteenth century, the symbol *oa* was deliberately invented for the express purpose of representing the former sound. The result was, of course, that the form *road* denoted the sound *rawd*, and the form *rood* denoted the sound *road*. At a later period, both of these sounds descended in the musical scale, until, at last, the forms *road* and *rood* had the modern familiar sounds. The former always meant a highway, and the latter a crucifix. The same is true of all words having *oa*, with the sole exception of the word *broad*, in which the influence of the preceding *r*, fortified by the preceding *b*, has actually preserved the old Chaucerian sound. It will be observed that *oa* is likewise preceded by *r*, fortified by *g*, in the word *groat*, in which the sound of the *oa* varies. As the New English Dictionary well notes—"the pronunciation of *groat* with the *oa* in *broad* is recognised by many dictionaries, but is now old-fashioned." No doubt the word *broad* may come to rhyme with *road* some day, but not soon; the spelling only influences the pronunciation in the case of somewhat unusual or difficult words, and its real power in this direction is very slight. The principle remains, that the spoken speech is the master, and the spelling the too frequently incompetent servant.

The whole history of our spelling abounds with problems, some of which require for their solution a considerable amount of time and patience. Of such problems just a few may be mentioned, in order to give some notion of their character. We might, for instance, inquire into the history of the symbol *ea*, so as to understand the original difference between *sea* and *see*, now pronounced alike; why *house* is spelt with *ou*, but *town* with *ow:* how the symbols *ogh*, *ugh*, and *ough* came to be confused under the common form *ough;* how the symbol *ow* in the verb to *know* is of totally different origin from the *ow* in *now*, and to this day denotes a different sound; what is the meaning of the silent *k* in *knee*, of *g* in *gnat*, and of *w* in *write;* why *marine* does not rhyme with *shine*, nor *go* with *do*, nor *wan* with *ran*, nor *way* with *quay:* why *sylvan* is misspelt with a *y;* and so on. In close connexion with the subject, the student may do well

to study the Roman pronunciation of Latin; the pronunciation of Old Icelandic (to explain words of Norse origin); of Norman or Anglo-French; of the Old French of Paris, of Normandy, and of Provence; the spelling and pronunciation of the fourteenth century; the spelling of Caxton, which has so greatly influenced our printing; the wonderful preservation of many old sounds and words in our dialects, as shown in the remarkable work entitled the English Dialect Grammar, by Professor Wright; and the vast wealth of spellings, all of them highly instructive, exhibited in the great collection of texts published by the English Text Society. Here indeed is somewhat to interest the Englishman who is proud of his native language, who recognises its supreme value as a vehicle for human thought and an instrument of human progress. For indeed it is of marvellous grasp and greatness, possessing at once a Teutonic strength and a Romance flexibility. Its triumphant abolition of substantival genders and the simplicity of its syntax render it the easiest language in the world to learn in the true manner, that is to say, by ear; the difficulties only appear when we begin to write it down. Even with all its drawbacks it is spreading fast and far; and we may all combine in desiring its increased adoption. At present most of us are too incurious as to the true history and meaning of the spellings which we use. The very great labour of learning, by sheer memory of the look of the written word, and without any real regard as to the sound intended, the spelling of every word which we desire to employ usually proves so exhausting as to deaden all desire for understanding how it all came about. And no facilities for learning this exist, except in a few modern books that are by no means generally known. It is somewhat sad to think that our teachers of spelling are not at all expected to know anything of the matter, although, if they did, they might easily explain such rules as exist, and might considerably lighten and shorten a very heavy task by recognising and explaining some of the leading principles on which the forms of the written words are based. The sad result is that, as a rule, even the most highly educated amongst us cannot tell, even in the simplest cases, why they spell words as they do. How came *stone* to rhyme with *moan*?

WALTER W. SKEAT.

TO HENRY NEWBOLT

(ON THE FLY-LEAF OF A *HISTORY OF NEW ZEALAND*)

POET, whose verse in lines that glow
Shall tell lads yet to come
Of Hawke's dread swoop upon the foe,
Or rattle of Drake's drum ;
Bard of that bright sea-glory's roll,
Where battle-splendours play,
What can this bring to touch thy soul,
This land of mere To-day ?

Our conquest of the wilderness,
Our march to plant or spoil,
Is labour's trudge in working-dress,
—Rough, slow, prosaic toil.
Little of grandeur, fire or tears
Here prompts the muse's pen,
In deeds of scarce a hundred years,
Plain work of common men.

Scarce have we turned the first brief page
Whereon our tale began :
A single hour of Europe's age
Stretches beyond our span :
So swiftly-built our structure stands
Its rise a dream appears,
—But slow they toiled with building hands,
Our sires, the pioneers.

Yet are New Zealand's sons the seed
Of rovers of the deep :
Sparks of old fire may stir the breed
To rouse from gain or sleep.

The spell that summoned Drake to sea
Still by the race was felt
When our young riders sought with glee
The marksmen of the Veldt.

Their fathers voyaged oceans three,
Four thousand leagues of foam,
Seeking their cities yet to be,
Their wild sea-prison'd home.
Blithely they planned the large design
And flung the gage to Fate
In hazard of a venture fine,
The founding of a State.

Sundered, a hemisphere away,
Distant, an empire's length,
Resistless, friendly myriads lay,
Great England's shattering strength.
But here, strange hills and silent shore
Shut in the lonely few,
And o'er dark ridge and torrent's roar
The very stars were new.

Through gorge and flood, 'neath gale and sun,
They forced their trackless way,
Meeting in fight hard-fought, hard-won,
Brown warriors brave as they.
Through storms they jested, rode or slept ;
They fought with brightened eye ;
Baffled or conquering they kept
A stoic levity.

And then,—the narrow days ; the numb
And slack, discouraged mood,
And coarse monotony, and dumb
Entombing solitude ;
The weary, spirit-deadening pace
Of lean, resultless years,
These were their foes—more fell to face
Than soul-awakening fears.

'Twas theirs to stake, whoe'er might win ;
To grasp, whoe'er might keep ;
To build that we might enter in,
To sow that we might reap ;
To hold a faith in men unborn
And years they might not see,
When thrusting up through tare and thorn
Should rise their stately tree.

Strong few, of solitary thought
And visionary ray !
Brave common many, who yet wrought,
Enduring for their day !
Passing, they saw their race abide,
And now we know them great,
Whose hands took plain and mountain-side
And graved thereon a State.

W. P. Reeves.

RUSSIA FROM WITHIN

(By Our Special Commissioner)

Russia is now passing through one of those brief periods of relative repose during which peoples in revolution are wont to draw breath and cast a hasty glance over the space already traversed. The force of the first fierce impetus is well nigh spent, disappointment tinges hope, fatigue slackens effort, wasteful delays and irksome defeats damp revolutionary fervour and the oscillating nation, half contented with its first success, is swinging back from anarchism towards monarchy, order and law. In a word, it is one of those decisive moments when the destinies of a people seem to hang trembling in the balance, and a slight touch would send either scale definitely downward. Among the Russian people the old emotions, strivings, traditions, are not dead but smouldering in the ashes of consumed hopes and might yet be converted into the motive power of constructive action. The conservatism of the masses is still capable of responding to the right kind of voice, could it but make itself heard. But, on the other hand, in the breasts of that same people the human beast, hitherto lulled by Christianity or cowed by the Tsardom, has been awakened and unchained, and is ready to work havoc in the empire whenever a strong man arises and gives the word of command. But it still looks, and probably is, easier to keep order than to revolutionise the whole nation.

Anyhow, a politician of moderate intellectual powers, one who had but barely a claim to be termed a statesman, might —unless all tokens are uncommonly deceptive—bring about the triumph either of the monarchy or the democracy. Certainly the chances appear to be nearly evenly balanced. The projected insurrection in September, for which elaborate preparations had been made at home and abroad, was crushed in the embryo, the general strike was reduced to an empty threat by the hungry wives and famishing children of the

workmen, the general paralysis which the reign of revolutionary terror was expected to produce in the administration, was staved off by dint of dogged perseverance bordering upon heroism ; and despite the crimes of hideous ferocity which are daily committed in Poland, the Baltic Provinces and the Caucasus, the stream of Russian life now flows more or less smoothly in its ordinary channel. Stolypin's name was a serious pledge to the Russian nation that the liberties conceded a twelvemonth ago will not be subverted, the programme issued by his cabinet made that assurance doubly sure, and the edge of the popular passion is dulled considerably.

People are consequently modifying their attitude towards the Tsar and the traditions and aspirations which are focused in his cause. Their hostility is less sharp. Their eagerness to continue the fray is not nearly so keen as it was, while their willingness to wait and see what course the crown will take when left to itself is perceptibly growing. All they now want is a little encouragement—a peg to hang fresh hopes on. On the one hand, give the monarch a spokesman who can gauge the temper of his people, opportunely humour it, and playing on the chord of passion or reason, can strike the keynote of the time ; and on the other hand, give the masses a trusted guide—that same imperial spokesman—able to discern and assimilate the master ideas of the new movement and to inoculate with these the transfigured ancient *régime*, and the palsied Tsardom might rise again and render unto the Tsar what is the Tsar's, and to the people what should of right belong to the people, in its present phase of development. In a word, Imperial Russia, as it is to-day, may be likened to a child's whipping-top which, having struck a stone, is wobbling and about to fall. A single stroke of the whip at the right moment in the right place would set it spinning anew, as fast as ever, whereas that same stroke at the wrong moment or in the wrong place will knock it motionless. Analogously the monarchy and the dynasty are tottering to their fall, and they will perhaps be definitely saved or ruined within the next six months by two men of the Tsar's own choice. In all probability the months that have yet to elapse between this and the elections will decide the fate of Russia for generations.

Now the two men chosen by Nicholas II. with or without the keen consciousness that he was appointing them to play the part of the Parcæ to his people, his dynasty, and his own person are Piotr Arkadyevich Stolypin and Vladimir Nikolayevich Kokofftseff, the former as Premier, the latter as Minister of Finances—the one as pilot to the ship of State, the other as

engineer and stoker. They had barely six months in which to counteract the effects of two years' disorders, with the help of a disaffected crew and by means of broken steering-gear. And of those six months one is already gone. Their tasks consequently are Herculean, while their resources are Lilliputian. They have to arrange for the maintenance of public order, for the introduction of costly reforms in the army, the navy, the civil service, the expenditure of large sums for educating the population and satisfying the reasonable demands of the peasantry for more land ; in a word, they must effect the rapid transfiguration of the whole political framework of the country under most adverse conditions. And there is a certain piquancy in the fact that much of their work will be Penelopean, will consist in undoing in a Liberal Cabinet the threads which they themselves industriously wove in a reactionary one.

In order to estimate the chances which the rejuvenated Russian Empire, as they conceive it, has of coming into existence, one cannot do better than consider the character of its would-be founder and the qualifications which he brings to his task.

M. Stolypin enjoys a personal reputation of which any public man in Russia might well be proud. With him word and thought are known to stand in a certain fixed relation to each other, both emanating from motives which are regarded by his friends and acquaintances as above suspicion. He is a sincere lover of fair play, eschews base actions, and is withal tolerant enough to take men as he finds them and to make the best of very bad bargains. In a word, he belongs to the highest type of gentleman produced by Russian civilisation. The son of a chivalrous general and of a clever lady, Stolypin was brought up in the traditions of the old school of the Russian nobility. His mother was a Gorchakoff, whose widespread reputation for *ezprit* was by no means usurped. A princess not only in the social, but also in the intellectual, sphere, her double title unhappily died with herself. If intellect were hereditary, and will-power were identical with honesty, the present Premier would indeed be the man to lead his people to the promised land. But inscrutable nature endowed him with other estimable gifts. At school he was distinguished by modesty and application among his fellows, of whom many were clever and most lazy. Mediocre gifts, good conduct in its bureaucratic sense, and a happy easy-going disposition were calculated to attract the benevolent attention of his superiors, and P. A. Stolypin has uniformly enjoyed the friendship and protection of the most Conservative administrators of the old *régime*.

Thus it was by appointment, not by election, that he became Marshal of the Nobility in Kovno and later Governor of the Province of Grodno.

To the Premier's personal friends it appears a good omen that he invariably stood well with the champions of autocracy. He was a favourite even of the most reactionary among them all. They promoted him over the heads of his seniors, suspended traditions and usages in his behalf, and, so to say, pitchforked him into high places. For example, when the Province of Saratoff was greatly disturbed, disorders were of daily occurrence, and the redoubtable Plehve cast around him for an energetic man to administer it; his choice fell upon M. Stolypin, who, though lacking the bureaucratic qualifications for the post, was none the less appointed. Rumour affirms that the credit of discovering M. Stolypin belongs not to Plehve himself but to an ardent Conservative named Rogovich, whose own abilities and attainments M. Stolypin now in turn rates so high that he has nominated him to the Most Holy Synod as the reactionary adjoint to the Liberal Ober-Procuror. Poison and antidote. However this may be, M. Stolypin did good work in Saratoff, and deserved to achieve even much better results than actually attended his efforts. For he visited the disturbed districts in person, blithely running serious risks, and once rescuing a police agent from the fury of the crowd by boldly accepting responsibility for all his subordinates' acts. Witte's heart warmed to this latter-day bureaucrat, and it was the first Russian Premier who, when endeavouring to rid his Cabinet of the compromising personality of Durnovo in the Home Office, suggested Stolypin's name to the Tsar. It was not, however, until the reactionary Goremykin succeeded Witte that M. Stolypin was made Home Secretary. During his tenure of this office his relations with the retrogressive Prime Minister were excellent, while his attitude towards the progressive Duma was correct, and, at the same time, he won the confidence of the Emperor by courteous or courtly ways which, engrafted upon him by his father, have grown to be second nature to him. How he could associate himself with such reactionary ministers as Goremykin, Stishinsky, and Shikhmatoff, endorse their views, and uphold their policy on the very eve of reversing that policy himself, is a question which is seldom asked in Russia. The psychological process which it implies puzzles no one there.

M. Stolypin is eminently possessed of some of what I should term the mechanical qualifications for the premiership—qualities which in humdrum times would enable him to discharge the duties of the post satisfactorily. Thus he is an

early riser, a hard worker, a conscientious public servant; indeed, his sensitive conscientiousness sometimes borders on scrupulosity. For example, having become answerable to the Tsar for every measure proposed by the Cabinet, he accepts the entire responsibility for them all. Even the ideas and schemes which come to him from without he assimilates and fathers in the same offhand way. And this habit, or, at any rate, its consequences, are sometimes resented and often misinterpreted by enterprising men desirous of getting credit for their ideas. The number of friends who thus influence the Premier is strictly limited, but their influence is great because his confidence is entire. To what these advisers propose M. Stolypin listens patiently, and doubtless critically. He then ponders over the scheme, assimilates it, finally lays it before the Tsar in the form of his own Bill. And of the original author there is no mention anywhere. M. Stolypin doubtless holds that the author conceived only the idea, whereas he himself elaborated the project and must therefore take the whole responsibility for it. Whatever the explanation, the habit is profoundly disliked by those bureaucrats who look to their inventiveness for promotion, and would fain extend the rights of property to the output of the intellect. Neither Witte nor Plehve was wont thus to absorb the happy expedients of others in the product of their own brains. They felt bound to distinguish the originator of every project which they accepted, and to speak of him as the author even to the Emperor. M. Stolypin never does this, and some of his friends perhaps unwisely adduce the habit as a fresh claim to admiration.

Taken together with this curious disregard for the rights of authorship in ideas, M. Stolypin's implicit faith in foreign puffs has given his adversaries ground for scathing criticism. Like those who cry Lord, Lord, and fancy they will enter the kingdom of heaven without more ado, he appears to think that the goodwill of a dozen foreign pressmen would suffice to help him over the enormous obstacles that beset his path in Russia. Hence interviews without end proclaim to the world the various excellences of a programme, which being jejune and stale, ought never to have been dished up anew. What is wanted now are deeds, whereas the Government continue to offer the nation paper black with printers' ink. M. Stolypin's accession to power was signalised by invitations, tactfully and tactlessly made, to foreign correspondents to come and see the members of the new Cabinet for themselves as though their policy might be inferred from their gestures and looks. And then out of a couple of programmatical loaves and fishes an attempt was

made to feed millions of curious. It was an unworthy expedient. M. Stolypin, whose brother is a respected journalist, does well to honour the Press with his confidence, but he should not forget that a statesman's first duty is to keep his own counsel and not to wear his heart on his sleeve for daws to peck at.

M. Stolypin's appointment to the post of Premier, Russian patriots say, was an excellent move on the part of the Crown, but only as a makeshift. It was an excellent sedative, nothing more. The Parliamentary Opposition feigned to believe that the charter of October 1905 was about to be revoked and absolute Government reinstated. They pointed significantly to the reactionary men of the Goremykin Cabinet and to the absence of all reform. The Crown met the false charge by placing the authority in the hands of an official whose whole force lay in his transparent honesty and moral fearlessness. And the move was successful. People argued that if Stolypin promised the maintenance of representative institutions the charges against the Crown must be groundless. They felt that he would give no advice to the Tsar but such as he deemed really sound, and they held that even that was much. Much, but not all. Witte, too, had often tendered excellent advice, but it was not followed. Now what if the Crown turns a deaf ear to Stolypin's counsels, as it did to those of Count Witte, asked the Radical tempter? In that case, everybody answered, M. Stolypin will resign. He will not remain a single day in office after the Tsar has rejected his advice. This moral courage, this hardy independence, which the popular voice ascribes to the Russian Premier, constitutes his principal merit in the eyes of the population. And nobody doubts that this estimate of his character is correct. Devoid of that quality he would sink to the level of a mere bureaucrat, who in the presence of Majesty was false to his liberalism as is the needle to the pole when magnets are near.

E pur si muove! Hero-worship is ever based upon exaggerations. The truth would seem to be that M. Stolypin's liberalism is of recent date and his disregard of the monarchs goodwill is wholly non-existent. People forget that he is an honest bureaucrat endowed with uncommon courage, and that his first duty is to his lawful monarch, not to liberal doctrines. A simple test case yields *primâ facie* evidence which cannot be slighted. Why did Stolypin concur in Goremykin's programme, accept a place in his Cabinet, and defend a policy of which his own is largely the negation? Why even now does he tolerate in his Cabinet the presence of colleagues whose political

principles disagree with his, whose aims run counter to those which he pursues, and whose methods he must by virtue of his character condemn? Why does he allow the energy of some of his colleagues to be wasted in efforts to trip up not the revolutionists but the friends of the monarchy who are no less sincere than themselves because they happen to be competitors? Loyalty to his Emperor obliged him to do so. And that was exactly how Count Witte explained his stay in office despite the Tsar's refusal to sanction measures which the Premier deemed indispensable. But it is not the answer which Fabricius would have given to a Roman King had Rome been a kingdom in his days. Moreover, it is permissible to reason from the past and present to the future. In coming emergencies patriotic observers affirm M. Stolypin is capable of remaining in office, as Count Witte did, after the Emperor has disregarded his urgent advice. That conclusion appears fair enough from the premises. And if so, it follows that the change from Count Witte or M. Goremykin to M. Stolypin was but a change from six to half a dozen.

And therein lies the weak point of the new Premier from the liberal point of view. His one presumed strong point does not exist. He is not capable of presenting an ultimatum to the Tsar and saying, "This do for the weal of the nation, or I shall go."

Again, even from the dynastic angle of vision, M. Stolypin's utility is exceedingly problematical. In order to save the monarchy in Russia, what is now wanted above all is a man not only of clear vision but of versatile craft, which in a troublous epoch like the present would enable him to discern the cardinal issues, to devise the most inspiriting war-cries, to choose the most advantageous battle-ground. The Premier should be ready to act decisively at a moment which, though it might seem trivial to most, is felt by him to be really decisive, and he should be capable of striking out, if necessary, a course that is pathless to a goal that is far distant. That M. Stolypin is endowed with any of these characteristics of a statesman no competent person acquainted with the man or his public acts has ever ventured to assert. He lacks utterly strength of will while appearing to the superficial to possess it. This simulacrum of will-power is the result of the Minister's uniformity of conduct in a country where conduct is usually fitful and emotional, combined with the way in which he emphasises his ego. Incapable of baseness, the ethical character of his actions is uniform. Courage, too, he undoubtedly has, but it is passive, or, say, fortitude in a high degree, but of that other active courage which ventures

far afield in pursuit of remote ends he has hitherto given no proof.

His insight, judged in the light of his public acts, seems equally at fault. He surveys a set of acts, and in accordance with these he endeavours to adjust his policy. Yet not all of these facts are of the same value ; some are cardinal and unchangeable, others secondary and liable to modification. To classify them all as homogeneous and equally significant—the mistake into which he has frequently fallen—constitutes a danger alike to the dynasty and the country. If excellent intentions and the ingenuousness of a *Candide* could make a statesman, M. Stolypin would well deserve the name. He vigilantly watches the waves of tendency sweeping onward, and strives to turn the vessel's head to meet their impact, and failing this he tries to keep the boat from capsizing, but he does not conquer them and compel them to help them in his forward course. He lacks the gift of creatively combining facts that are far apart, of conceiving grandiose designs, of shaping effective human instruments from the *fruits secs* of society, and of scoring those splendid triumphs which are the milestones of universal history.

When critics point their finger of scorn at the fissures and breaches in the old political fabric, and when brigands attempt to enter in by them and attack the throne, the Premier is willing to set about repairing them. At a pinch he can patch and tinker to some purpose, but to recast seems wholly beyond him. He is honest and moderate in all things, daring in none. So devoid is he of vices and passions that one is pleased to learn that at least one weakness enters into his moral equipment —the amiable kind of vanity which might be aptly termed egocentricity.

That valuable gift of appreciation of human character, without which even a clever politician is like Polyphemus with his eye out, is wanting to M. Stolypin in a degree which is truly exceptional. The appointments he has made, including that of the adjoint Procuror to the Holy Synod, are deplorable. His judgment is warped by an ingrained tendency to think well of everybody. He has no eye not only for such ethical differences as have to be divined from slender indications, but for great moral contrasts when embodied in men. Nestor and Thersites, Peter and Ananias, are contemplated through the medium of the same beautifying glass. Hence, rarely suspecting evil, he is slow to take preventive measures against it, and half-hearted in repressing crime. Even when calamities confront him, his optimism belittles their extent and magnifies his means of coping

with them. From mercenary subordinates he expects heroic self-denial, and even now relies upon this imaginary quality for the political success of his government. His own most praiseworthy fortitude under a terrible ordeal extorted the admiration even of his political adversaries—personal enemies he has none. But he is a rare exception. And to assume, as he does, that the tag-rag and bobtail of the bureaucracy will, when occasion calls for it, display similar heroism is a mistake which, generous in an individual, is baleful in a political leader. Yet the plain and disquieting truth, as dispassionate Russians apprehend it, is that M. Stolypin's policy is grounded largely upon that postulate, which does credit to his heart. The victory which he anticipates over the revolution will be won, if at all, he has told the nation, by a bureaucracy animated by a spirit of selfless devotion to the Tsar. That or nothing is the groundwork upon which the new Russian Premier is basing public order. When Russian officialdom comes up to M. Stolypin's present estimate of it, human life will be fairly safe in Russia and property more or less respected. Until then, he hopefully asks his countrymen—as General Kuropatkin did—to display patience and patience and patience. There is something peculiarly pathetic in this touching reliance upon a quality which is purely imaginary. One is reminded of the temper of the bureaucracy before the war, of the self-confidence with which the campaign was undertaken, and of the victorious army which was to annihilate the Japanese but which never appeared. Will the phalanx of selfless bureaucrats on which M. Stolypin puts his trust ever appear ?

Already the salient results of this easy-going faith are alarming calm observers. What they may yet become when the revolution waxes stronger one trembles to imagine. Even now Russia is being ruled by half a dozen secret governments, each of which enjoys more authority than the Government of the Tsar, and each of which is connived at by the Tsar's liveried servants, M. Stolypin's selfless bureaucrats. Officials of all ranks are receiving pay from the Treasury and doing work for the anarchists, some being moved by a combination of the instinct of self-preservation and the impulse of idealism. In the army and navy there are many men who work strenuously for the ruin of both ; in the post and telegraph department the anti-monarchists are numerous and formidable ; in the church there are priests and even prelates who have joined the spiritual army against which they had hitherto been fighting ; in the Home Office, aye, in the very centre of the Home Office, the revolution has its scouts and spies ; in a word, the

reed upon which the monarchy is leaning is broken and sharp. Happily the monarch himself seems to be well guarded. But is anybody well protected in Russia? Even now, while M. Stolypin is uttering sweet discourses about the ethical responsibilities of officials, *there are enterprising individuals who have access to the police, know their every move in advance, and pass on the information to those whom it most closely concerns. And of these individuals at least one has occasional access to the palace.* The tricks which are thus daily played upon the police are most ludicrous; unfortunately their consequencs are sometimes most tragical. Of all this M. Stolypin is unaware; otherwise he would end it summarily. His most experienced detectives have no suspicion of it. Indeed it would appear wildly incredible were a true account published of some of the adventures of these human antennæ put forth by anarchism in the capitals. It makes one rub one's eyes in astonishment at the swift and emphatic contradictions which the new head of the Cabinet gives to all reports that he intends to reorganise the police.

While the Premier is thus trusting to the sense of duty of the bureaucracy the insurgents put their faith in violence. Bombs and revolvers enforce the decrees of their committees whenever they are not implicitly obeyed. In the Caucasus, in Poland, in Livland, Kurland, Esthland, heavy taxes are levied, Draconian laws are promulgated, cruel death sentences are passed and executed regularly and effectually by the rebels. In the Province of Kutais the labour population is taxed irksomely for the work of "liberation."

> The landowners who cannot afford to pay the sum demanded by the Revolutionary Committee flee to the chief provincial town and sometimes into space. . . . The revolutionary brigand, Apraxion Merkviladze, withstands the onslaught of the legitimate armed force. Welcomed by his "sympathisers," Merkviladze has become a legendary hero whom it is impossible to arrest. Many of the inhabitants of Kutais affirm that the "liberationists" who attacked the peaceful population in order to seize arms remained inviolable. Numbers of them stayed on in the service of the State, continuing, as before, to receive their very respectable salary from the Treasury.
>
> Why have not the assassins of Colonel Khodetsky, of Grekoff, the superintendent of the ecclesiastical school of Kuznetsoff, and others received condign punishment? Did they disappear in the waves? Nowise. They are sauntering about quite leisurely, well aware that nobody will dare to touch them even with his finger.*

For conscientious bureaucrats conduct of that kind is surprising; yet it seems to have escaped the notice of the easy-going Premier and his assistants, just as the tricks of the clever

* *Novove Vremya*, September 4.

anarchists have who hoodwink the police and hobnob with the palace officials. Our informant then goes on :

The extent to which the inviolability of the person of such scoundrels is guaranteed, appears from the following fact: "The murderer of Squire Melman and of several Cossacks and watchmen—a fellow named Khartveshvilli—when despatching one of his victims was himself wounded in the neck. Well, he had himself cared for very comfortably in his own home. He was visited there by his friends and acquaintances. Everybody spoke of it all quite openly. *And yet the local administration did not feel called upon to apprehend him.*"

It is upon that type of official that M. Stolypin and his colleagues are making the destinies of the Empire dependent.

The Tsar cannot be informed of these matters, which the Premier's agents must know, and still less of those other more dangerous doings which even his detectives do not suspect. Here is a pithy statement of what goes on now in Kakhetie, a part of the Province of Tiflis: "A band of brigands has subjected to itself not only the terrorised population but also the administration." In Voronesh, the centre, so to say, of the Empire, the Vice-Governor, while relied upon by the Premier and the Tsar, was in communication with men who openly opposed the Tsar. In Odessa a large number of well-to-do inhabitants get letters from revolutionary committees demanding large sums of money under pain of death. The amount of these "subscriptions" may be gauged from the circumstance that one wealthy gentleman was ordered to pay half a million roubles. The journal which makes known the fact adds: "If many people subscribe it would hardly be fair to condemn them. Among the rich there are old, feeble, and also pusillanimous and timid." *

How life and property are protected on M. Stolypin's lines in the Baltic Provinces may be reasonably inferred from the following narrative, because it is typical :

In the Riga district armed men appear in a wayside inn, present an order of the secret government, furnished with the seal of the Social Democratic Committee, which ordains that the business of the inn shall cease immediately and that a fine of 200 roubles be paid. After many solicitations they accept 100 roubles and authorise business for one month longer, but at the expiry of that term the order is to be carried out without fail. In that same district four individuals enter the grounds of a farmer, and call for his money and his fire-arms, and having received fourteen roubles depart. A few minutes later, however, they return and kill the farmer on the spot. Then they pass on to the school building, shatter the windows, force the doors, demand admittance, and are let in by the schoolmaster's wife. She receives them quaking with

* *Novoye Vremya*, August 7.

fear. The bandits tell husband and wife to turn their backs and raise their hands up. Then they shoot the pair dead. When the neighbours came upon the scene they found two lifeless bodies lying in a pool of gore and surrounded by a number of orphan children of whom the eldest was but eleven.

In the same district armed men called upon the farmer Kikura, and questioned him as to why he had not obeyed the order to pay in three hundred roubles to the revolutionary funds. Kikura besought them to give him a little time. He had, he explained, only 139 roubles in hand to which they were welcome, and he handed that sum over. The ruffians took the money and killed Kikura then and there. Judging by the numerous cases of this kind they have trained the inhabitants to fulfil their commands without question, and it is a matter of common knowledge that many are at greater pains to pay the revolutionary taxes than those of the State. In the same district a proscription list is being handed around containing the names of thirty inhabitants condemned to death, one of whom, M. Aven, has already been shot, but by mistake—for in the list of the condemned it is his brother's name, not his, that appears.*

The revolutionists are silent about heroism, idealism, selfless devotion and other civic virtues. They leave the work of phrase-weaving to carpet-liberals and hopeful ministers. The bomb and the Browning are quite good enough for them. And their work gets done satisfactorily. Taxes are levied—heavy taxes too—uncomplainingly. Disobedience is punished ruthlessly. Capital punishment, however, is not abolished, nor is there any talk of an amnesty. And if an occasional mistake is made, and the wrong persons butchered, it is atoned for by the chronic good intention of the executioners. On the other hand, the Tsar's taxes are withheld ; even well-to-do landowners offer lame excuses in lieu of roubles and kopecks. The Tsar's servants are shot down like grouse and generally nobody is brought to judgment. Even when the assassins are strutting about the highways and byways or holding *levées* in their own homes while their wounds are healing, the local authorities on whose ethical instincts M. Stolypin relies, regard them as inviolable. By a curious freak of ironical fate, the bureaucracy which hitherto sinned by shamelessly abusing force, is now perishing because it hesitates to use it. A judicious blend of force against the anarchist element and reforms for the rest of the population would, many Russians hold, change the face of Russia and the fortunes of the dynasty before the Duma meets. But M. Stolypin and his colleagues hesitate, discourse sweetly, and rely upon sentiment to bring about a change which would be miraculous. And thus the valuable breathing-space granted to the monarchy may pass unutilised.

* *Novoye Vremya*, September 11.

This neglect of an opportunity which is rare if not unique may mean a national calamity to Russia—where a peasant republic is the end pursued. It may also connote a dire misfortune to the rest of Europe, where, for generations to come, the vicissitudes of the Slav upheaval will keep going a constant undercurrent of violent striving among the growing democracies. The Tsardom has signally failed in all its attempts at defence and offence in which force alone was useless. That was to be expected. Against fate neither men nor measures may prevail. But where force is still decisive failure spells the condemnation of the minister who had the wielding of it. It was the Tsar's advisers, not the decrees of Fate, that, operating during the past two years, rendered a constitution indispensable. Russia might have gone on for another quarter of a century without it had it not been for the mistaken policy to which the Emperor was persuaded to give his sanction. In like manner to-day an intelligent and strong Premier, a man with an iron hand in a velvet glove, with a clear head and a clean conscience, might found a stable government on the groundwork supplied by the October Charter without any of the new-fangled doctrines that have been recently tagged on to it. But the only effective means are the introduction of real reforms without delay and the application of ruthless force against pitiless human butchers. And the term after which this feat may no longer be feasible expires in five months. *Caveant consules*, is the cry of the alarmed Russian patriot.

To-day the Tsar can use force because the army is still faithful and the bulk of the people is still law-abiding, order-loving. But these good dispositions are largely the result of *vis inertiæ*. After the dissolution of another Duma they may have entirely vanished. Already a section of the police and the troops is disaffected. But the core is sound. When this too is gnawed through by the worm of disloyalty, as it soon may be, the Tsardom will find itself among the lost causes and the Democratic Republic will be ready for embodiment. This misfortune could be hindered by the peasants, who furnish the new army recruits. If the Government wins over the rural population it will remain in possession of the force which secures victory. But this is an arduous task, calling for a campaign of suasive propaganda as well as a series of relief measures. And of the need of these the Government seems but semi-conscious. The revolutionists' cause is well served by self-denying emissaries who inculcate their welcome gospel on the credulous farmers. The *mooshik* has been told by these to abstain from electing

representatives to the agrarian commissions appointed by the Cabinet, and in numerous cases he has obeyed. When enjoined not to vote for moderate candidates to the Duma, but to return extremists, it is to be feared that he will also comply with this request. And then what will be the result not merely to the Cabinet, which is but a means to an end, but to the cause of Russia, which is at present identical with that of the Monarchy? Failure may merge in a national calamity. And it is for this reason that Russian patriots, while energetically supporting M. Stolypin's Cabinet, regard the Premier and his team, in spite of their excellent intentions, as a serious danger to the dynasty, the monarchy, and the national weal.

With such a Fabian plan of campaign as was floating in M. Stolypin's mind he ought, one would think, never to have allowed the Crown to act upon the advice which, judging by the policy of the last three months, he himself originated, approved, or assented to. For example, when Minister of the Interior he must have known full well that the Cabinet, of which he was the most distinguished member, intended to break with the Duma. For there was no other alternative. He was further aware that it behoved the Government above all things to have a just quarrel, and on an issue which it could frankly submit to the nation and make known to the world. That was a vital point and an average politician must have realised it. Why, then, when the critical hour struck which brought the Government its opportunity did he not insist on its being seized and utilised? That was the day on which the Duma refused to vote the smallest credit necessary and sufficient to relieve the famine-stricken peasantry. The deputies allotted fifteen instead of seventy-five million roubles, an economy which if observed would have caused the deaths of some millions of the peasants, whose cause they professed to have at heart. That was the moment to join issue, to dissolve the Parliament and say to the nation: "These men whom you sent or allowed to be sent hither as your representatives are so unpatriotic that they are sacrificing millions of lives in order to inflict a pinprick upon the Government. Their protestations of love and solicitude for you and the likes of you are hollow. They are using you as stepping-stones to power, and care little whether your bodies, on which they tread, are living or dead. We are sending them back to you to deal with."

Had M. Stolypin and his colleagues spoken thus, the prospects of the cause of monarchy and order would be more hopeful to-day than they actually are, and much else would be different in the condition of Russia. No statesman would

have allowed his Imperial master to run the risks to which the neglect of that opportunity has since exposed the Crown.

Again, when the Duma was dissolved, why did the Premier act as though he lacked the courage of his convictions? Why did he curry favour with the very men whose words and acts he and his colleagues had so severely condemned? The army of deputies was disbanded because the Government held that their programme was wildly impracticable, and that they misrepresented the nation. Yet M. Stolypin's first act on taking over the duties of Premier implied the very opposite. For he strove to persuade some of those oppositional deputies, whose programme was equally wild, to join the Cabinet, in order to impart to it some rays of the halo which surrounded the "representatives of the nation." This is one of those naïve mistakes which not only a statesman but even an average politician would sedulously avoid. And those *pas de clerc* are only the most striking and fateful of a whole sequel of acts tending to defeat the ends which the Premier had in view. Here it is impossible even to enumerate them. His choice of fellow workers whenever a place fell vacant and his silent consent to work together with colleagues, some of whom are openly bringing each other into contempt, goes far to lessen one's surprise at the verdict of sagacious Russians that it would be hard to find in the highest ranks of the bureaucracy a Premier more dangerous to the monarchy and the nation than this honest official, animated by the very best intentions towards both, to whom the Tsar has entrusted the fortunes of his house and the welfare of his people.

M. Stolypin is a truly noble Russian who richly deserves to be judged by what he would do rather than by what he actually achieves or is likely to achieve. Nobody doubts that he would willingly lay down his life for his country and his sovereign; and the example of heroic fortitude which he recently set warrants even the most despondent of Russians to hope better things for their sorely tried fatherland. But precisely because of his admirable personal qualities, his influence upon the Crown and the nation appears to unbiased Russians to be fraught with disaster to both. To the Crown, because he may all the more easily persuade the monarch to fritter away in petty palliatives the precious respite bestowed by fate, which might well be used to reconcile people and sovereign and bring together a practical Duma. And on the nation his political influence appears not less baleful, because with all his sterling qualities M. Stolypin is sadly deficient in the stern moral fibre which distinguishes a genuine people's patriot from

an easy-going courtier who sees everything, including his own amiable weakness, through the roseate medium of optimism. While this judgment leaves the high personal character of the minister unaffected, it detracts enormously from his political usefulness, and supplies strong grounds why the Russian people who desire to rally round the Tsar's minister must look upon him with misgivings. For that reason it ought to be substantiated more fully than it has been in the first part of this article. The following facts hitherto unpublished and unknown to the Russian Press will doubtless suffice.*

Among the few purveyors of political ideas and schemes from whom the Premier regularly draws the raw material of his law-projects is his adjoint, M. Kryshanoffsky. This gentleman recently laid before M. Stolypin a plan for the revival of the Tsar's popularity by means of a great money sacrifice to be made by the Imperial family. The peasants, he said, want land, and we want the peasants' confidence and co-operation. Let the Tsar distribute, to those peasants who really need more land certain portions of the apanages † whence the Imperial family draws the funds requisite for the support of its members.

M. Stolypin assimilated this idea, worked it up into a definite scheme, and laid it before the Tsar with such ethico-political condiments as his own suasive oratory and transparent honesty naturally provided. The lands in question, he said, must be given gratis. No money accounts whatever must arise between Tsar and people. His Majesty should bestow the lands freely, generously, and the peasantry would pay him back a hundred-fold in gratitude. The result would be most satisfactory. Among other things, enthusiasm for the Imperial house would be revived among the masses. Emulation would be aroused among the landlord classes, who would imitate the good

* I vouch for the accuracy of the data given in the following pages.

† It is from the apanages that the members of the Imperial family draw their financial resources in accordance with the regulations issued in 1797 by Tsar Paul. Under John IV. there were "forty cities, villages, and wards" allotted for the purpose. At present the members of the Imperial family receive their annual allowance in cash, and not in kind. When the apanages were first created they produced less than £200,000 sterling a year, whereas ten years ago they amounted to £2,000,000. Besides the yearly allowance given to each member entitled to one, the apanages form the source of all expenses for travelling, for the maintenance of palaces, &c. In 1801 only five members of the Imperial family were entitled to allowances from the apanages, and the amount expended was about £350,000; in 1896 there were forty-six members of the reigning house receiving allowances, and the total sum laid out was about £520,000.

example set by the august occupant of the throne; the agrarian problem, and with it the whole political and social problem, would enter upon a phase which, no longer acute, would afford time and means for the reunion of Tsar and people.

For this daring project, whatever its genesis, M. Stolypin is responsible. He made it his own. He believed in its necessity and efficacy. He generously suppressed the name of the author. It was indispensable to the weal of the nation, and for that reason, alone he advocated it. Now, for the same reason, one would think, he ought to have insisted upon its adoption or else withdrawn from the responsible post of Minister. One thing or the other. That was his *rôle*. Yet the Tsar refused to sanction the scheme, and for reasons the conclusive force of which most dispassionate outsiders will probably recognise. But M. Stolypin, who withstood the arguments put forward by Baron Friederickx and others, could not withstand the influence of the Court. Like Galileo he bowed to the decision of his superiors, and mentally, it may be, ejaculating a *pur si muove* he agreed to dispense with the indispensable specific for his country's ills.*

The amiable weakness of which that incident offers an illustration will surely endear the good-natured Premier to the general run of easy-going Russians, but it seems eminently calculated to deprive him of the confidence of the millions. M. Stolypin's main strength lay in the believe that if his advice to the Crown were not accepted he would retire. And this belief is now shattered. Moveover, he strongly advised his

* The powerful arguments on which Baron Friederickx and his friends relied were chiefly two. In the first place, the apanages, they urged, are the property whence the Imperial family draws its sustenance, nothing whatever being contributed by the Treasury for the support of the Emperor or the members of his house. Now while it would be quite feasible in theory to commute these posessions into an annual grant, in practice the scheme would be impossible to-day. For it would need the sanction of the Duma, and in the present temper of the nation it would be folly for the Tsar to throw himself and family on the generosity of its representatives. In the second place, the Premier's proposal is a flagrant violation of the principle publicly laid down by the Emperor himself, that private property in the Empire is inviolable. For it would involve the expropriation of lands belonging not only to himself but also to others who might reasonably feel discontented. And to that extent it would run counter to the policy promulgated by the Tsar. And not only to that extent. The Emperor would be also putting strong pressure upon his courtiers and his loyal subjects among the landlord class to follow his example. They would feel morally bound in degrees, varying with their attachment to the throne and their devotion to their country, to do as the monarch had done.

sovereign to make a financial sacrifice which would have severely harmed the dynasty without impressing the people. It would have put the Imperial house in the power of the coming Duma and aroused the passions of the peasantry against the landowners. It was just the final touch which would have sufficed to send the revolutionary scale downward and to break the monarchy. But it would be highly unjust to blame M. Stolypin, who acted according to his lights. Nobody is intellectually short-sighted or morally weak-willed by choice. And the Russian Premier, who has done his best under most trying conditions, deserves the hearty support of all the patriotic elements in the country. For the cause he represents is that of order, of law, of humanity. He is an honest administrator in a trothless environment ; he is politically little in a movement of elemental magnitude, a straw in the eddies of a seething maelstrom. Truly he is well worthy of genuine sympathy.

And still more deserving of sympathy is the Russian Monarchy with which, during this its brief period of grace, fate seems to be dealing as it dealt with the captive mouse in the fable. Caught in a casket and seemingly condemned to death by starvation, the little rodent ended by discovering several places through which it might gnaw its way. All of them were safe but the one it chose. For having gnawed its way through that and jumped through the aperture, it landed in the maw of a hungry snake that was impatiently waiting on the other side.

BRITISH PATENT LAWS AND THEIR RELATION TO INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT

I

THE bearing which the granting of Patent monopolies in Great Britain to non-resident foreigners has upon industrial development and upon opportunities of employment at home is attracting an increasing share of attention. Its national importance cannot be denied. It is one of the root causes of our comparative manufacturing decline. Chambers of Commerce in this country have long ago recognised the magnitude of the evil, and by dint of passing unanimous resolutions in their various meetings and annual conferences, asking for the assimilation of British Patent Law, so far as regards compulsory working, to that in force in the larger European countries, have at length succeeded in obtaining an admission from the President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Lloyd-George, that "something ought to be done."

The demand is in itself not only just, but is in accordance with our own historic precedents.

It is not made in the interest of a class but of the nation at large; it will be less unfair to both employers and employés in British industries, than the existing law; and it may help in attracting new industries, and in staying some of the loss and diversion of trade in established industries at present going on. Moreover, British traders seek to impose no disability on foreigners that they will not accept for themselves. The compulsory licence clause in the Act of 1902 has been proved by experience to be wholly ineffective to work any good by itself.

Over 20,000 British Patents have been granted within the past three years to foreigners, the relative proportions being: United Kingdom, 23,522; Colonial, 1342; Foreign, 20,729. Thousands of these Patents are never used or "worked" in this country at all. They act as a block to the inventive genius of

our own people, and check opportunties of employment ; at a time, too, when we have many thousands of unemployed skilled workmen, and over a million of paupers in the United Kingdom.

Apart from questions of nationality, we have been equally indiscriminate in the nature and character of the inventions around which we have thrown the protection of our laws. We granted, in the three years, 1903–4–5, to all classes 16,840 more Patents than Germany, for example, granted to its own subjects and the rest of the world combined. Many of these Patents were for inventions that would be considered unpatentable in Germany or America.

British Patents were granted originally because they brought in new industries and afforded employment for our population. But instead of foreign owned and foreign worked British Patents benefiting this country in this way, exactly the reverse has happened in many cases; for it can be shown that the granting of such monopolies has often acted injuriously to the welfare of the State, either by taking trade away or "holding up" and paralysing developments of home industries, in defiance of the very terms and conditions upon which even modern Patent grants are made by this country.

The warning given on his return from the Colonies, by the Prince of Wales, that the old country must "wake up if she intends to maintain her old position of pre-eminence" against foreign competitors*—and reinforced four months afterwards in a speech on technical education, in which he alluded to the aniline dye industry †—whilst it added a new stimulus to the efforts of those who were citing the decline of various trades as an argument for a revision of our Patent Laws, failed to effect an efficient remedy.

Through force of circumstances—Parliamentary exigencies—the advocates of "compulsory working" had to be content with only a partial measure of reform known as the "Patent Law Amendment Act" of 1902 ; and to accept the half-loaf of an ineffective compulsory licence.

Aniline Dye Industry.

Meantime German manufacturers of the aniline dyes, to which the Prince of Wales alluded, continue under the protection originally afforded them by the English Patents which they own, to charge English consumers of dye-stuffs high prices;

* Speech at Guildhall, December 5, 1901.

† Speech, March 19, 1902, at Opening of National Physical Laboratory, Teddington.

English manufacturers are deprived of work, and English workpeople are denied opportunities of employment ; national development is checked, and the prospects of recovering the industry are rendered more remote than ever. Incidentally many thousands—estimated by some at 200,000—of native workpeople in India, so far as the growing of indigo is concerned, have been thrown out of employment.

Yet English brains created the colour industry ; English enterprise developed it ; and English folly—legislative and judicial—has been the principal and initial cause of its decline.

At the recent Coal-Tar Colour Jubilee (July 27 last), Dr. C. Duisberg, of the Verein Deutscher Chemiker, and manager of one of the principal German colour works, said :

> He and his German colleagues were now the gardeners in the large and extensive garden laid out by William Henry Perkin fifty years ago . . . and they in Germany were now gathering the fruits from the large orchard, full of strong and mighty trees, which had grown up to full maturity within the past five decades from the then small and delicate plant—the young plant planted by him (Perkin) when he invented the first aniline dye mauve.

The decline of our colour industry was long foretold by Mr. Ivan Levinstein, a distinguished member of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and a leading chemical manufacturer of forty-one years' standing.

It is a deplorable example of national ineptitude and fatuity.

As far back as the year 1881, Mr. Levinstein brought the subject before the Chemical Society, and urged the "absolute necessity of insisting upon the working of Patents in this country, or the industry would be ruined."

In March 1902, he told the President of the Board of Trade we had in this country only 40,000,000 of people ; they had in Europe and America 440,000,000 Taking the inventive faculty of an American, German, Frenchman, or Belgian to be equal to ours, then we were handicapped to the extent of one English invention to eleven foreign inventions. With this overwhelming number of foreign patentees, are we to continue, he asked, granting British monopolies without getting a *quid pro quo ?*

In the year 1897 the Board of Trade was convinced of the public injury done to us by foreign patentees; for the late Sir Courtenay Boyle (then permanent Secretary), who in the absence of Mr. Ritchie had received a deputation, said :

> There were many instances—Mr. Levinstein had mentioned several—in which it was clear that the default of a patentee to work his Patent in the United Kingdom, and supply the requirements of the public, had been a public injury alike to the traders and industrial interests of this country.

In a rough estimate advanced in a discussion in April last, before the President of the Board of Trade—an estimate which was confirmed at the interview by Mr. Levinstein, and was based on inquiries amongst other experts — the loss occasioned to this country by the diversion of the aniline dye industry to Germany was placed at a sum variously computed at from five millions directly up to twenty millions sterling per annum indirectly; whilst Mr. Levinstein himself stated that the present "turnover" in Germany in those chemical industries alone amounted to a sum of seventy millions sterling per annum.

It is often alleged that we are losing our manufacturing supremacy because we are either too slow in "scrapping" old machinery, defective in our business arrangements, or backward in our technical education.

Mr. Levinstein has, however, shown* that the loss of the aniline dye trade is in no way owing to the superior technical knowledge of the Germans, but largely to our own defective Patent Laws, and to the absence of an uniform Patent Law in Germany until the year 1877.

All the technical education in the world is of little avail by itself either to create a new industry or to maintain an old one. A pertinent instance is supplied by the Coal-Tar colour industry itself. The *Times*, in a leading article (July 27, 1906), speaking on Sir William Henry Perkin's discovery, said:

> We hear a good deal to-day about technical instruction for everybody, and a great deal more from other quarters about the need for a University Education as the basis. Here was a boy who had little of the one, and none at all of the other, and who yet made a great scientific discovery, and successfully founded upon it an important industry before he was twenty years of age.

And Sir W. H. Perkin himself said his success was due to a great extent to the collaboration of his father and brother. The former assisted him with capital, and the latter helped him in his first small manufacturing operations before the works were commenced, and afterwards conducted the commercial part of the undertaking.

His father risked most of the capital he had accumulated by a life of great industry, in building and starting the works at Greenford Green. Without his father's capital, he said he would not have been able to start the new industry, as few

* Speeches: Presidential Address to Chemical Society, 1902; Associated Chambers of Commerce, March 1906; and Deputation to Mr. Lloyd-George, April 9, 1906.

would have been inclined to undertake the risks connected with the manufacture of such a new and untried product as the mauve dye then was.

It would to-day be still more risky than it was half a century ago ; for owing to the wealth and power of the great German manufacturing combinations, and the "start" which our Patent Laws, added to their highly advanced and scientific organisation, founded largely on the enormous profits of manufacture, during the time we were "held up," gave them, attempts would be made to "freeze out" a new inventor by undercutting him in price.

It is therefore not in our alleged lack of interest in technical training alone that we must seek for the cause of declining industries in Great Britain.

Nor is it fair to assume that our manufacturing and commercial classes are unalert, or unmindful of the advantages of technical education as a factor, but only one of the factors, in industrial progress.

Many instances could be cited, both of effort and expense, to show how much British manufacturers have done for technical education, and are doing, and how little our Governments have done.

The same can be said of their enterprise. British manufacturers are not always at fault ; but commercial considerations must take a leading place in their calculations, and amongst these considerations are such things as Patent monopolies.

Legislative and fiscal barriers, trusts and financial combinations, too, also play as great a part nowadays in world-trade as technical education, or questions of new machinery, or polyglot commercial travellers.

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that new applications of science to industry involve costly experiments which require capital, which will not be forthcoming in abundance if, as in Great Britain, industries are subjected to unfair competition by foreign manufacturers who are aided by favourable Patent laws, high tariffs, cartels, cheap labour, low export and freight charges, and governmental encouragement.

Capital is thus the pivotal factor, and capital is attracted only to those countries which afford most security to industrial development—the security of permanence and remunerativeness; and under this head I include Patents.

Incidentally, let me say that I have already called attention* to the steady diversion of industrial capital from these islands

* Letter in *Times*, April 22, 1905.

to other countries. I roughly placed it at £600,000,000 sterling. I deduced this from calculations of Mr. Chiozza Money, M.P., in his "Elements of the Fiscal Problem," in which he estimated that British investments in foreign countries and our Colonies, represent £2,000,000,000 sterling of capital sunk in railways, tramways, docks and harbours, in Government and municipal stocks, and in industrial undertakings, bringing into this country annual earnings of £90,000,000. Since then more British firms have opened factories on the Continent and in the United States.

I found also, on a recent visit to Norway, for example, that British paper-making firms and newspaper owners who formerly were content to purchase wood-pulp to be made into paper in Great Britain, are now purchasing large tracts of forest land in Scandinavia to obtain timber for wood-pulp, and are actually erecting works in Norway to make the paper itself.

There are thus many causes which combine to account for loss or diversion of manufacturing industries, and our defective Patent system is not the least potent of them.

The same defect in our Patent Law—the absence of a compulsory working clause—which is largely responsible for tbe diversion of the aniline dye trade, is equally responsible in varying degrees in many other staple industries—electrical, engineering, and so on—for loss and injury to British manufacturing trades.

A glance at one single industry, which a more reasonable Patent Law would have gained for us, will give some idea of the havoc wrought in the ranks of skilled labour by the absence of a compulsory working Patent Law. I allude to

The Telephone Industry.

Two groups of Patents controlled the telephone industry, viz., Bell's Patent of 1876 for the receiver, and Edison's Patents of 1877 for the transmitter. The English Patent rights under both came into the hands of the United Telephone Company, an English Company formed in 1880, which held all rights of the Patents for manufacturing and using. This Company never attempted to make a single telephone in this country, though they granted a limited licence to a small concern in the Farringdon Road, called the Consolidated Telephone Company, which ultimately failed ; and not 1 per cent. of the telephone material used by the United Telephone Company was ever made in London. Other electrical firms applied for licences, but all were refused, though one firm offered £5000 down and a substantial royalty.

The United Telephone Company fought many actions in the Courts, and stamped out every attempt at manufacture in this country. The telephones and accessories have been, and are still, mostly made by two foreign firms—the Eastern Electrical Company, of Chicago, and the L. M. Ericsson Company of Stockholm. During the existence of the Patents, the United Telephone Company, and their successors, the National Telephone Company, bought from these two foreign firms almost every particle of the instruments and apparatus which they used in English Telephone Exchanges.

The amount paid to foreign companies, prior to the lapse of the Patents in 1890, for apparatus which ought to, and could easily have been made in this country, is computed at £10,000,000 at least. Since the Patents lapsed various companies have tried to secure a footing in the manufacture, but with little encouragement from the British Government, and none at all from the National Telephone Company. This company and our own Government are still practically buying their telephones abroad. A practical electrical expert, Mr. G. Byng, Chairman and Managing Director of the General Electric Company in London, calculates that the total amount so spent since the beginning cannot be much under £30,000,000, and that the loss to Great Britain in wages has equalled half a million sterling per annum for the last quarter of a century.

Another well-known electrical manufacturer writes to me :

Ericsson's largest customer was our National Telephone Company, and I am informed that, when Mr. Chamberlain started his propaganda, the National Telephone Company, fearing that they might have to pay higher prices on account of the proposed tariff, joined hands with the Swedish Company, and incorporated the British L. M. Ericsson Manufacturing Company, Limited, who established works at Beeston, Nottingham. These works were soon completed, and I am informed that they now employ 700 to 800 hands in completing the manufacture of telephone apparatus: all the parts, I believe, are made in Sweden. Large additions are now being made to the works, and when these are completed, at least double the number of hands above mentioned will be employed. The National Telephone Company have, I believe, found most of the capital, and Mr. Gaine, general manager of the Telephone Company, is a director of both concerns. I am told that these mills would never have been started in this country if it had not been for the tariff agitation.

And if we wish to measure the loss of convenience and money to the general community in this country over this particular industry, we have only to contrast the cheapness and universality of the telephone facilities in Sweden and Norway with the conditions endured in Great Britain. The

smallest cottages in some of the remotest hamlets in the northern parts of Scandinavia are better and more cheaply supplied with efficient telephones than the best houses in Mayfair.

Other Injured Industries.

The hardships brought upon this country in cases like the aniline dye industry and the telephone industry are only a small part of the injury inflicted upon Great Britain by Patent monopolies granted to foreigners.

In the case of the aniline dye industry the British Patents owned by Germans could neither be bought by Englishmen, nor could a licence to manufacture in this country be compulsorily obtained through our Courts.

But an equally great injury to the nation is done even where Patents are bought from foreigners to enable inventions and processes to be worked in this country, because unnecessarily large sums have to be paid in order to acquire rights, owing to the absence of the power to impose compulsory working within fixed limits of time, and these heavy initial outlays severely handicap new industries.

An English company owning Patents in, say Germany and France, has, in order to avoid forfeiture after two or three years, either to find capital and put up works in those countries and manufacture its patented goods there, or offer its Patents for anything it can get. But a patentee, say, in Germany, France, or even in America, owning British Patents, can manufacture his patented goods abroad, and they can enter this country free from risk of legal forfeiture of the Patent under which they are made or payment of any Customs dues. Where the patented goods threaten an existing British industry, terms, often very onerous, are exacted for acquiring the Patents.

Under our Patent Laws an Englishman always works with one hand tied behind his back, and necessarily gets worsted in effecting a bargain.

The Motor Industry.

There is another class of Patents taken out by foreigners which is not worked in this country, of which the motor industry is an example. Motor cars and cycles protected by British Patents are extensively manufactured in France, Germany, and America, and imported into this country. The statistics of this trade show that in the last three years we imported cars and cycles of the aggregate value of over five and a half millions sterling—the increase in two years being over 30 per cent.

A Tool Industry.

There is a still further class of Patents which are used to deprive this country of work—viz., Patents taken out by foreigners, afterwards sold to Englishmen, and then, when found profitable, re-acquired, under threats, by the original vendors in order to form a trust.

Some years ago an English engineering firm bought certain American Patents with a view to establishing a pneumatic tool manufacturing industry in this country and ultimately building works. In the meantime they imported the patented goods from America, and when they found, after years of hard work, that the industry was a profitable one, they proceeded to expend capital in building works in Scotland. While the works were in process of erection the original American vendors made an amalgamation of all the American businesses in their line ; and, finding there was a growing market in Great Britain for the products of the industry, came over and offered to buy out the English company. The talk was not about monopolies or trusts, but simply about the prosaic fact that by producing on a large scale in America they could very considerably reduce the cost per article. My English friends said they were quite content with their bargain ; they were getting a good return upon their capital, and hoped to make it more when they could manufacture for themselves and employ British labour. The original vendors thereupon used threats, and said if the English owners would not sell back the Patents they would refuse further supplies of goods. As the Englishmen could not help themselves until their works were finished and equipped they reluctantly had to submit ; and they sold back to the American combine their Patents, also the works in Scotland, and the general control of the industry.

Engineering and Electrical Industries.

There are even stronger instances on record, showing that when we do get control, through purchase, of Patents owned by foreigners, Great Britain suffers. Let me give one or two concrete cases. One machine industry with which I am especially associated, and which I was the means of introducing into this country—the Linotype Composing Machine—had to spend £1,365,000 in the purchase of forty-five Patents, apart from some hundreds of others which they have taken out in the course of seventeen years. When the European rights of these parent Patents were originally offered for sale, no country outside Great Britain would buy them. Those foreigners who had behind them the privilege of the compulsory working clause

in their own Patent Acts said : "We have only to sit tight for a year or two and the Patents will fall into our hands for little or nothing," pretty much as ownership of a house falls to a lessor on the expiration of a lease. Taking Germany as one country in point, parties in that country agreed to manufacture under the Linotype Patents, without waiting for forfeiture, and to pay a small royalty consideration rather than fight the question of revocation.* The total amount which is being received from Germany in royalties, because they would not purchase the Patents, on the average of the last eight years, is less than £4000 per annum, whereas we British employers are taxed in perpetuity with interest on the purchase cost of these Patents, a sum equal, say at 5 per cent., to over £68,000 a year.

The second case is that of an English electrical manufacturing company which has spent nearly four millions of money in Patents, in land and in building and equipping extensive works at Old Trafford, near Manchester.† The English Company paid £750,000 for the British Patents in the first instance. The Pittsburg (parent) Company went to the Continent to sell their corresponding Patents. Their rights for France, Belgium, Spain, and Italy, in the three former of which there are "compulsory working" laws, were sold for £120,000. Thus those four countries bought the same rights for one-sixth the sum paid by the English Company.

Those two instances may be taken as illustrations of how new industries in this country are handicapped at their birth by high initial capital outlay, owing to the absence of the compulsory working power in British Patents.

There is a further class of hardships inflicted upon British manufacturers owing to the absence of a compulsory working clause—viz., the cases where Patents have virtually to be bought twice over. Certain English investors—of whom I was one—bought for about £80,000 a very important Patent.

* One of the Patents, however, was revoked for non-working within three years, in a suit tried in the German Courts.

† Incidentally this illustration is, outside of the Patent question, a good object-lesson to those who attribute declining manufactures to old machinery and old methods. This electrical industry is the newest and most up-to-date we have, yet foreign competition is keen to the point nearly of destruction of home industries. German manufacturers are able to obtain contracts in this country from municipalities and railway companies at prices which are wholly unremunerative to English firms, but which are possible to German firms, who have the entire control of their own markets, from the profits of which they can compete with English manufacturers, in order to weaken the power of English firms to compete against them in neutral markets.

They put up an experimental plant. Further improvements were made; further Patents were taken out by the original inventor, and then the people from whom the Patents were bought said, "This improvement is more than an improvement; it is a new process, and if you want it you will have to buy it from us and give us a further payment." If that difficulty is experienced in cases where Englishmen are able to buy an original Patent out and out, the difficulty is immeasurably enhanced where a compulsory licence is granted against the patentee's wishes, for the seller invariably refuses to give the English licensee either working drawings or any information to assist him in the manufacture of the article. He certainly will not give his latest experiences or the benefit of his latest improvements. The consequence is that by the time the English purchaser of a Patent, or a licensee, has floundered through his initial difficulties, he finds that the invention has entered upon an entirely new phase, and he has to scrap perhaps nearly the whole of his experimental work and machinery.

Patents and National Defence.

Convincing testimony of the necessity of working Patents in this country, in connection with the question of National Defence, was recently given by Mr. W. F. Reid, the introducer of the smokeless powder industry. Speaking as a member of the deputation from the Associated Chambers of Commerce to Mr. Lloyd-George, on April 9 last, he said :

We were entirely dependent at present on the foreigner for the supply of materials necessary to manufacture explosives. There was an extremely important invention now being worked out abroad for the manufacture of this most important material. It was being patented in this country, and if the Patent here became the monopoly of foreigners then we should be dependent upon foreigners even to a still greater extent than we were at present for the means of defending ourselves against our enemies. He referred to the manufacture of nitric acid in various forms. It was useless for us to say that the Government had the power to take over any invention which applied to the defence of the country. The Government would never do such a thing. He could give instances to show that the War Office would never dream of taking over Patents in their infancy. The Whitehead torpedo was invented by an Englishman. It was offered to our Government and refused, and our Government afterwards had to buy it from Austria and had to give an enhanced sum to the patentee. He (Mr. Reid) took the smokeless powder to our Government, as an Englishman should do; but they would not look at it. He then approached the French Government, and they took it up. Our Government then had to go to foreigners. If we did not insist upon foreigners working Patents of that kind in this country—he referred also to armour-plating and different weapons of defence—we should be exposing ourselves to a grave national danger. It was quite useless to have a Patent if the industry was not

established here, for otherwise when the time of stress came, we should not be able to produce the materials required to keep the enemy from our shores.

What is Meant by Compulsory Working.

It is, therefore, worth while, in view of prospective legislation, to try and make clear what is meant by this demand for the compulsory working of Patents in Great Britain.

First let me sum up the principal grievances of British inventors and manufacturers against the British Patent system.

These are: (*a*) That it gives to foreign inventors holding British Patents advantages in Great Britain which are denied to British inventors holding foreign Patents in countries outside Great Britain; (*b*) That British Patents are granted to anybody without adequate preliminary inquiry either as to the novelty * or originality or merit of the inventions, as in Germany or the United States; and (*c*) That the fees charged by Great Britain to inventors yield a large and increasing profit to the Patent Office, and cast a needless and burdensome cost on inventors.

The first grievance (*a*)—the one upon which the Chambers of Commerce have more particularly concentrated their efforts—is covered by the demand for "compulsory working."

England at one time granted no Patents to foreigners unless they came here to manufacture their patented articles—in other words, "worked" them. Englishmen in the past were able to manufacture and ship patented goods to European and other countries without fear of Patent Laws or hostile Customs duties in those countries. Germany, for example, had no Patent Law worth talking about until 1877—about the time when she also began to impose high tariffs on imports, which tariffs she continues to increase to our disadvantage.

The importance of compulsory working has become acute since the United States, Germany, and most other European countries have begun to put forth so much scientific and inventive effort and invade our country with their manufactures.

Compulsory working of Patents in Great Britain as a primary condition of their being granted existed as far back as the reign of Edward III. He granted letters of protection to various trades, "in consideration of the value of industry to the Realm."

It was not, however, until the reign of Elizabeth that the principles of a system of Patent Laws began to take form. Compulsory working or manufacture in this country as a

* This is outside the question of a search for prior patents (known as "anticipation") inaugurated by the Act of 1902.

condition precedent to the grant of a Patent was the principal feature.

Monopolies of this class inured to the good of the State, for before the end of Elizabeth's reign they had secured the establishment of several useful industries in Great Britain.

The continued misuse of the prerogative in granting hurtful monopolies at last resulted in the passing of the famous Statute of Monopolies in 1623 (21 James I., c. 3). This Act swept away all monopolies, with one exception—Patent monopolies—because it brought "NEW MANUFACTURES WITHIN THE REALM."

There is also a provision inserted in all Letters Patent for inventions up to this day for the determination of the grant if it appears to be "prejudicial or inconvenient" to His Majesty's "subjects in general"; or "that the said invention is not a new invention as to the public use and exercise thereof in the United Kingdom."

These obligations to work a Patent have fallen into desuetude. This was not of much moment when the American Colonies were in their infancy, and freely imported the manufactured articles which they required almost mainly from Great Britain; and European countries had little or no Patent Laws or Customs Tariffs to harass British traders. But the stress of present-day competition requires that our Government should breathe new life into those wholesome and honest provisions of the old Patent grants by carrying through Parliament a short Act to render them operative.

What this falling away from the letter and the spirit of the Patent Reservation Clause in the Statute of Monopolies has cost this country can never be gauged, but the sum, measured by the value of lost employment, must be fabulous.

When the Patent Law Amendment Bill was before Parliament in 1902 I summed up the case of the Chambers of Commerce in favour of compulsory working in words which are as true to-day as they were then :

> The absence of the power to compel the effective working of English patents, owned by foreigners, was a tremendous shackle on British industry, and a serious menace to its future prosperity.
>
> If the aim and spirit of the old Patent Laws was to encourage the establishment of new industries, he could only say that the tendency of recent legislation and practice had been to smother the whole Patent system under a mass of legal subtleties and contradictions.
>
> They asked for the restoration and recognition of the old principle, which was in truth the corner-stone of their Patent Law policy, viz., to grant Patents only to such new inventions as led to the introduction of new manufactures which gave employment to labour.

In the Meister Lucius Patents case nobody laid down this doctrine in more forcible language than Mr. Fletcher Moulton, a member of the Patent Committee upon whose report this Bill was founded. Mr. Moulton said the peculiarity which reigned dominant in English law was that the merit consisted in the introduction of a new trade into England, and when monopolies were condemned by the English Courts in the past, exception was made in favour of new inventions which gave employment to labour in this country. Compulsory licences would not meet their case.

If, for example, a German or American firm owning an English patent made goods in pursuance of such Patent, and shipped them to England, they thereby sufficiently complied with with what was termed the "reasonable requirements of the public," which meant the consumer, but in the meantime they might destroy or seriously cripple an existing analogous industry, and instead of giving more employment to British labour, absolutely result in giving less employment, whilst on the expiry of the patent itself a native industry might have been destroyed without a new British industry having been established to take its place. No labour moreover, would have been trained in this country to carry on that special industry.

The Compulsory Licence.

The compulsory licence was unknown in England until introduced by Section 22 of the Patents Act of 1883.

How utterly the compulsory licence has failed to induce manufacturers and business men generally to resort to it as a practicable, reliable, and ready means to acquire the right to work a Patent owned by a foreigner is shown by the fact that in twenty-two years—1884 to 1905, both inclusive, 258,906 Patents were granted—yet only fourteen petitions for compulsory licences were presented to the Board of Trade, and of these *only two* were granted, during a period which has been more fertile in invention and more progressive in commercial and industrial methods than any similar period in the history of the world.

The process of obtaining a compulsory licence in England is tedious, costly,* and, worse still, uncertain in its results, because the licence when obtained may be useless. A person who obtains a licence does not always succeed to the complete mature knowledge of the patentee. A licence may simply mean a right to work under a Patent without giving the licensee any assistance whatever ; whilst many a Patent does not accurately describe the invention as carried out three years afterwards.

* The law costs of the petitioner in one of the two successful petitions above mentioned (Meister Lucius—Imray's—Patents, Levinstein's petition) were over £4000. In Germany the entire costs of an action for the revocation of a patent rarely exceed £200.

Foreign Practice of Compulsory Working.

It is sometimes said that foreign countries do not strictly impose compulsory working, or rather that it is more honoured in the breach than in the observance. This is dangerously misleading. Germany, France, Austria, Belgium, and many other countries in Europe do exercise the power of insisting on the literal carrying out of the compulsory working clause within a fixed period. A notorious case, and one which I quoted in the House of Commons on the second reading of the Patent Bill of 1902, is that of Herr Gruson, a manufacturer of Magdeburg, in Germany, who obtained a Patent in France for making armoured trains. At the end of two years the public official in France intimated to him that his Patent was about to be revoked. The patentee pointed out in defence that he could not sell his Patent to anybody in France. The Government, he said, were the only people who used armoured trains, and he offered his Patent to them and they declined it. "Nevertheless," said the French authorities, "you made a large number of trains for the Roumanian Government. Why could they not have been made in this country?" He replied it would not have paid to have erected separate works in France. His French Patent was nevertheless revoked.

German Patent Law (Par. 11, sec. 2) provides, it is true, for the granting of licences; but the Germans do not seem much fonder of this cumbrous machine than we are, as only two or three applications for licences are made each year in Germany.

In Germany the interpretation of the compulsory working clause by the Patent Office and the Supreme Court of the Empire furnishes a splendid example of how Germany makes the Patent Law contribute to the prosperity of the nation as a whole, and every one knows how marvellously her manufactures have bounded upwards in the past twenty years. The clause in question was part of the "International German Patent Law" passed in May 1877, and was re-enacted without alteration in the "Patent Law Amendment Act" of April 1891. The decisions of their Courts leave no room for any doubt as to what the law means by saying a patentee must "work his invention in the country," and "to an adequate extent." These phrases are always interpreted by the German Courts to mean, in short, that the patentee shall do everything in Germany which he can do there.

A long series of successful actions for the revocation of Patents in Germany, on the ground of non-working, show that

the question considered by the Courts is whether the Commonwealth has suffered, or is likely to suffer, by the neglect of the patentee to work his Patent in the country. The law keeps the commonweal in view in compelling the working of the Patent in Germany.* The production must contribute to the advancement of inland commercial industry.† The articles protected by the Patent must be produced in the country.‡ The patentee cannot excuse himself from the legal obligation to work his Patent by the plea that there is no remunerative demand for the patented article.§ Only *bonâ-fide* efforts to work are of any avail; part of the work being done in Germany will not be regarded as working "to an adequate extent."‖ In no case is it admitted that the patentee can delay working till he has a certain prospect of a market to recoup him for his outlay.¶

As recently as April 1904, a Patent for stoppered bottles was revoked because, though the bottles had been made in Germany, the aluminium stoppers had been imported. One of the reasons given by the German Court for its decision is noteworthy. "*Because aluminium is cheap in Germany*, German industry as such has an interest in the Patent being worked in this country."**

Other Continental nations prefer to insist on the *working* of Patents within their respective countries; amongst them the following countries (the details vary, but the obligation to work remains): Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Hungary, Luxembourg, Roumania, Russia, Spain and Turkey.

These facts are admitted even by the few and diminishing number of interested opponents of compulsory working now left in this country; but they plead as a last flickering excuse that the "trend of Continental opinion" is towards relaxing the stringency of their respective compulsory working laws. That opinion is not shared by manufacturers or even by leading Patent Agents in practice on the Continent.

A leading Patent Agent in Berlin, for example, wrote to me in June 1902, that "it is not in any sense true that the Continent is gradually giving up compulsory working," and in June of this year he confirms and emphasises this statement, adding that Germany is increasingly in favour of compulsory working "in the interests of German industry."

* *Patentblatt* (the official organ of the Patent Office), May 11, 1887, p. 172.

† *Ibid.* January 9, 1889, p. 25.

‡ *Ibid.* January 9, 1889, p. 26. (This passage is printed in italics in the Judgment of the Court.)

§ *Patentblatt*, July 8, 1891, p. 345.

‖ *Ibid.* February 4, 1891, p. 55.

¶ *Ibid.* July 8, 1891, p. 348.

** *Patent, Muster, und Zeichenwesen*, October 19, 1904, p. 361.

Turning to one of our own Colonies—Canada—the Dominion has a compulsory working law. According to section 4 of the (Dominion) Patent Amendment Act of 1903, every Patent granted under the said Act shall, unless otherwise ordered by the Commissioner, as thereinafter provided, be null and void at the end of two years unless the Patentee shall by that time have established the manufacture of it in the country. But, by section 7, certain classes of Patents may be made subject to compulsory licences instead of being liable to be declared null and void under section 4. But there is a counterbalance in the shape of a Customs Tariff. Canada is now attracting a number of industries, founded on Patents, from the United States.

America, it is true, has not hitherto insisted upon the compulsory working of Patents, but in her case also a prohibitive Customs Tariff, in most cases, is sufficient in itself to compel foreign patentees or their licensees to work American Patents in the United States; and many English firms have established works there to escape Customs duties. But even America has endeavoured to amend her Patent Law in regard to drugs, medicinal preparations, and chemical medicines. The Mann Bill, which, according to the *Manchester Chamber of Commerce Monthly Record* for January 31, 1905, had then just passed the House of Representatives, proposed to enact, amongst other things, that if any person who holds an American Patent, in reference to the above-named articles, does not himself or his licensee manufacture the patented articles in the States within two years from date of application, and uninterruptedly continue the manufacture, he shall lose all rights and privileges granted under the Patent Law of the United States.

But even the United States do not seem likely to remain satisfied without a general compulsory working law. There is a growing agitation in favour of it. Three recent American newspapers (July 1906)—the *Baltimore Sun*, the *Iron Age*, and the *Inland Printer*—advocate that a "Patent not utilised within a certain time should become void"; and contend that the "progress of industry which the Patent Laws should assist is too often hampered."

A rather Utopian suggestion has been made that we might avoid the necessity for a compulsory working law in Great Britain, if we could induce Germany to agree to a Convention with us to reciprocally treat "working" in each other's country as "working" in both countries. And the example of the arrangement made between Germany and Switzerland is cited as a pattern. Unfortunately it is too late. Germany, as

shown in the case of the aniline dye industry, has become entrenched in too strong a position. She would lose virtually nothing by the exchange of facilities with us. But we should.

Germany entered into her Convention with Switzerland purely for her own benefit, and not with any idea of benefiting Switzerland. The effect of this Convention, as of that with Italy, is that Germany is released from working in either country, while neither Italy nor Switzerland has ever had any compulsory working law. Germany, moreover, threatens to revoke her Convention with Switzerland, unless the latter so alters her Patent Law as to make chemical and other processes patentable in Switzerland, as well as things which are representable by model.

Hitherto British law has been satisfied if the public are able to obtain the patented articles, though made abroad, regardless of the higher prices of the articles so made and imported, or whether their importation into Great Britain prejudicially affects an existing industry or deprives English workpeople of employment.

Sir Edward Fry, in a luminous note added to the Report of the Departmental Committee of 1900 on Patent Law Amendment, was against the compulsory licence, and preferred a compulsory working clause, of the kind now desired by the Associated Chambers of Commerce.

Indeed, the very words of the Report of the Departmental Committee of 1900 itself, speaking of the compulsory licence clauses in section 22 of the Patent Act, 1883, as being "needlessly complicated . . . and either inoperative or very difficult to enforce," admirably express the views of the commercial community regarding the conditions upon which compulsory licences under the Act of 1902 can be granted.

Notwithstanding this, a majority of the Committee declined to recommend the only obvious and effective remedy—the compulsory working of Patents in Great Britain, as recommended by several of the witnesses before the Committee.

It is believed that the majority of the Committee, as well as the framers of the Bill of 1902, were under the impression that the provisions of the International Convention of 1900 would be infringed if this country were to conform to the wishes of the Associated Chambers of Commerce by the introduction of a compulsory working clause. But the Convention itself (in Article 3 *bis*) provides for the forfeiture of the Patent in each country on account of failure to utilise it (*pour cause de non exploitation*) after the expiration of at least three years from date of the deposit of the application in the country concerned,

if the patentee cannot show reasonable cause for his inaction. The regrettable thing is that in the terms of reference to the Departmental Committee of 1900, the Board of Trade seemingly never considered this point at all, and consequently no evidence was taken concerning it, and no recommendations could be founded upon it. In my statement, however, before Mr. Lloyd-George in April last, I said that we did not seek to discriminate against foreigners, and were prepared to accept for ourselves the same conditions that we sought to impose upon foreign inventors—a point that the President was quick to seize, as a solution of a self-made difficulty.

Had manufacturers and others who knew something about the practical working of patented inventions been invited to give evidence before the Committee in 1900, they would certainly have offered this solution of the question.

Recent Action of the Chambers of Commerce.

Chambers of Commerce have, in resolutions passed at their meetings, never ceased to express their dissatisfaction with the Bill and Act of 1902; and at the annual conference of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, held in London in March last, the following resolution was proposed by Mr. Ivan Levinstein, seconded by myself, and *carried unanimously:*

That a deputation wait upon the President of the Board of Trade to sho w the necessity of further amending the Patent Law by legislation which would enforce in the United Kingdom the forfeiture of all British Patents for inventions which are worked without but not within the United Kingdom, after the lapse of three years from the date of application in the country of origin, unless the patentee can justify his inaction to the satisfaction of the Board of Trade.

As the outcome of this resolution* a deputation waited upon the President of the Board of Trade on April 9 last, representing great industrial interests, organised by the Associated Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom.

This deputation was non-political. It represented, as Sir William Holland, M.P., the introducer, said, upwards of a hundred Chambers of Commerce, and also embraced Members of Parliament of all shades of political thought—Liberal, Conservative, and Labour; manufacturers, merchants, inventors, managers of leading industrial, co-operative, and scientific undertakings, trade unionists, &c., and representing, as the introducer said, "scores of millions of capital and hundreds of thousands of workpeople."

"There are," he added, "staunch Free Traders here; and there are also enthusiastic Tariff Reformers; *but we all join*

* A similar resolution was passed at the Annual Conference in 1905.

hands on this question, because we think we see in the compulsory working of Patents a plan by which employment can be increased without penalising the consumer."

Mr. Levinstein and myself, as the mover and seconder respectively of the Associated Chambers' Resolution, were selected to open the case on their behalf.

Mr. F. Cawley, M.P.; Mr. G. D. Kelley, M.P.; Mr. Alderman Southern (of Manchester); Sir John Cockburn, and others, gave testimony to the urgent necessity of introducing legislation—Sir John Cockburn adding that Mr. Haldane (Secretary for War) was in entire agreement with the aims of the deputation.

At that interview I spoke of the Act of 1902, and of the Committee upon whose recommendation it was founded, in the following terms:

The Act of 1902 was founded on the report of a Departmental Committee which has never been recognised by the trading community in this country as a representative one. The Committee comprised many eminent lawyers and Treasury and other public officials, but few representatives of the manufacturing classes who knew anything about the working of Patents or the creation of Patents, and the great question which we are much moved by—that is, the economic question—the bread and butter aspect—was never gone into at all. In fact, the Lord Chief Justice, when examining an important witness, declared that the economic question was not very material to the inquiry. The majority recommended, as a half measure, compulsory licence, though confessedly ineffective. There were witnesses, however, like Mr. Cunliffe (Solicitor to the Board of Trade), and members on that Committee like Sir Edward Fry, Sir William Houldsworth, and Colonel Harding, of Leeds (the latter two being the only representatives of the commercial community), who are on our side to-day.

Mr. Lloyd-George's Reply to Deputation.

So important in their significance were the words of the President's reply, that I make no apology for quoting, verbatim, the material part of his speech :—

It is a great pleasure to me to meet this very important and exceedingly influential body on a matter which I agree is in itself one of urgent moment to the commerce and industry of this country. I remember having a chat with my friend Sir Joseph Lawrence upon it in the House of Commons when this Bill * was brought before the House. He was good enough then to explain the whole matter to me, and I must say I thought he made out the very strongest case. I think I was on the Committee † at the time, and it gave me very great pleasure to support him on that occasion. That is why I was very anxious to get from him and from others the defects in the present Patent Law according to their view of the matter. I agree that this is not a matter which has anything to do with Free Trade or Protection. I repudiate that suggestion altogether. After all, a Patent is a monopoly

* The "Patent Law Amendment Bill" of 1902.

† Grand Committee to whom the Bill of 1902 was referred after the second reading.

which is granted by the State. It is granted for adequate consideration, but at the same time I think the State is entitled to demand that adequate consideration shall be given. It is a very valuable asset which the community gives, but it gives it in return for something which it expects. It expects the burden of labour to be lightened, production to be increased, and there are several other things which induce the State to confer these monopolies. I think the State is entitled to say that if it is not getting its share of the bargain it must revoke the whole monopoly it has conferred. Therefore I put on one side altogether the suggestion that this has anything to do with the great Fiscal controversy. There are two other things which, to my mind, put it completely out of that category. One is the exceedingly important statement made by Sir Joseph Lawrence in the course of his speech that he, for his part, is not seeking to discriminate against foreigners. That is very important. It is important for two reasons. Undoubtedly the Convention would come in there, because under Article 2 of the Convention it is laid down that the subject citizens of each of the contracting States shall in all the other States of the Union as regards Patents enjoy the advantages that their respective laws now grant or shall hereafter grant. Therefore if we sought to discriminate against the foreigner it would undoubtedly put us outside the Convention. We have received so many benefits under that Convention that it would be a very gross blunder if we did anything that would put us outside the benefits of that Convention. But I think the suggestion made by Sir Joseph Lawrence that whatever is done to amend this Act must extend to native inventors as well as to foreign inventors, completely puts out of the question any idea that we are breaking up this International Convention. There is another point. As my friend Alderman Southern said, he is a Free Trader; I am a Free Trader. I do not consider that this is an infringement of the principles of Free Trade. My view of the suggested Fiscal Reform is—and probably Sir Joseph Lawrence would not accept it—that it would increase the cost to the consumer, and therefore limit production; whereas the effect of the amendment in the law in support of which you have come here to-day would be to cheapen production and therefore benefit the consumer. That is why I cannot agree that this is in any way an infringement of the principles of Free Trade. It is therefore purely a practical question how we are best to arrive at what we have all got in our minds.

After entering into a number of questions as to details to ascertain in what respect the compulsory licence clause of the Act of 1902 failed in practice, the President added:

I am accepting your principle; but in putting that principle into operation you must take very good care that you do not punish the British worker in trying to get at the foreign monopolist who is keeping these things out of the British market.

Sir JOSEPH LAWRENCE: Will you agree to meet a smaller Deputation on this and other points of detail?

The PRESIDENT; Yes.* I am afraid nothing can be done this year. I agree that something ought to be done, but we ought to proceed very cautiously, lest we punish the English inventor as well.†

JOSEPH LAWRENCE.

* This deputation is to wait upon him on October 18 next.

† From a shorthand report of the proceedings: Deputation to President of Board of Trade, April 9, 1906.

GREATER BRITAIN AND INDIA

CANADIAN AFFAIRS

1

WE have to face the certainty that the pending revision of the Canadian tariff, which will be based on the *data* collected by the Committee of Ministers last year, will diminish the effective value of the discrimination in several important lines in favour of the British manufacturer. The existing "flat," or all-round preference of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., has in some instances appreciably affected the position of the Canadian producer by restricting the natural expansion of his business. Under the new arrangement each class of manufactured import will be dealt with on the merits of the case, the percentage of Preference given being just enough (and not a fraction more) to make British competition a factor in preventing the profits of the Canadian producer (who is at present hampered by a shortage of skilled labour) from exceeding a certain limit and so making for the building up of petty Trusts. As long as the Canadian manufacturer believed that the Canadian farmer would receive some consideration for the gift of Preference he was content to preserve the *status quo*, setting off what might be called the present value of a future boon to his best customer against the occasional loss of business incurred by himself as a result of British competition. But there can be no doubt whatever that he has abandoned this hope for the time being. Even such Canadian politicians as Mr. Oliver, the Dominion Minister of Militia, who is a Western man, and knows what a British registration tax on foreign wheat would mean to the farmers of the three premier Provinces of the Dominion, seems to have come to the conclusion that the cause of Imperial Preference is lost in this country. But what is the reason for this change of opinion? Making every allowance for the inevitable application of the maxim *Beati possidentes* and the natural sympathy between the Liberals, who are enjoying the usufruct of the official flesh-pots in Canada and in the

United Kingdom, we must admit the *causa causans* of the change is the world-wide impression that the Unionist party is moribund; that there is not a spark of inspiration in its leadership; that we, as a party, cannot hope for a new lease of power until the time-limit—ten years more or less—of the Canadian "offer" has been exhausted. It would be unjust to blame the average Canadian, who cannot see below the surface of British political life, for thus despairing of the future of the Unionist party. The formulæ of Balfourism are still accepted by its leaders, despite the grim object-lessons of the General Election; one by one the members of the stop-gap Cabinet are being allowed to re-enter Parliament; the dead hand of the Front Bench still prevents re-organisation by the younger minds; and only the noise of voices—each *vox et præterea nihil*—wrangling over the past is heard in Canada and naturally disregarded by Canadians, with whom "let the dead bury their dead" is at all times the counsel of political salvation. Canadian Imperialists await with impatience the coming of a new leader, the heir-apparent to Mr. Chamberlain's influence, who will renew the party's intimate connection with the people by some such device as the "farmers' picnics" arranged by Sir John Macdonald, when the recapture of Ontario from his opponents seemed a forlorn hope. Let such a leader appear and take in hand the task of a drastic re-organisation, and the present disposition of the Canadian people to accept Messrs. Winston Churchill and Hamar Greenwood and the rest at their face-value will be promptly arrested. Meanwhile the growth of anti-Imperialist feeling and the gradual whittling-down of the Canadian Preference are part of the penalty which we, as a party, must pay for allowing Mr. Balfour and his friends to retain the control of our policy.

Though the majority of Canadians, because of their belief that the Unionist party has entered a period of lean leaderless years, comparable with that which came on Canadian Conservatism after the death of Sir John Thompson, are inclined to despair of the possibility of creating a bond of mutual preference with the Mother Country, they are very much alive to the necessity of finding fresh markets for the yearly increasing Western wheat crop. During his recent tour in the West over "a thousand miles of garden soil"—a phrase which will not be forgotten in the lands beyond the Great Lakes—Lord Grey warned the people of Prince Albert, the capital of Northern Saskatchewan, that the time was near at hand when Great Britain would not be able to consume the surplus produce of Western Canada, and urged them to secure control of the

Far Eastern market. But the wheat requirements of the Orient are not likely to increase so rapidly as the production of the Canadian North-West (even supposing the Western wheat-grower follows the Governor-General's advice and goes in for mixed farming); and the time must come when, in view of the growing competition of British India and Argentina, which will also send wheat into the Far Eastern market, the price even of "Manitoba No. 1 Hard" begins to decline as a warning that the world's demand is falling behind the supply. Then the cry for a British preference, or for the alternative—reciprocity with the United States—will be raised again, and the West, with as many members in the Dominion House of Commons as Quebec possesses, will not be denied a prompt solution of its new problem. Then, however, the manufacturing industries of the East should be infinitely more advanced than is the case at present, and the benefits accruing to the British manufacturer and his employees from any possible treaty with the Dominion would be obviously restricted. The nature of the *quid pro quo* offered by Canada would be changed—perhaps to a proposal to take over some part of the burden of Imperial Defence.

It must be remembered, however, that one-half—perhaps the better half—of the policy of Imperial Preference is already being carried out. In a very short time all the self-governing Colonies will be held together in a network of preferential arrangements which will become stronger and more coherent as time goes on, and the "younger nations" are added to the list of commercial great Powers. In the case of Canada the necessity of obtaining an economic dependency in the tropics —a necessity which, as Mr. Benjamin Kidd has shown, is one of the mainsprings of the expansion of the modern world-State—must sooner or later lead to much closer trade relations with the British West Indies. In the Maritime Provinces of the Dominion nearly all business men are convinced that the commercial union of Canada and the West Indies would be a great boon to either party to the arrangement, and is in point of fact the only practicable plan for counteracting the economic pull of the United States on the scattered islands which are the very *spolia opima* of our naval warfare with other colonising Empires. If Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island formed a single Province—there is a movement in favour of thus concentrating the influence of Canada-by-the-Sea—there can be little doubt that the Dominion Government would soon be compelled to take action in this all-important matter. As things are, the politicians of Quebec, Ontario, and the West hardly appreciate the strength of the desire for commercial

union with the West Indies. At Halifax, St. John, and other industrial foci of the fishing Provinces, Canada could supply the West Indies with nearly everything they import, and could hope to obtain a large extension of her trade (now valued at about $2,500,000, of which amount fish and food-stuffs form more than half) in this direction without injuring a single West Indian interest. On the other hand, only one-third of Canada's dutiable imports of tropical produce comes from the West Indies, which could easily provide her with the remaining two-thirds. The establishment of direct steamship service at frequent intervals of time, which would give Halifax, St. John, and Quebec the *entrepôt* trade now enjoyed by Boston and other American ports, is the final step towards the much-desired end of a close commercial *rapprochement* between the continental and the insular possessions of the Crown in the Western hemisphere. I hear that the Laurier Administration is seriously considering what can be done in this direction, and the argument that it would be a very useful piece of Empire-building (or re-building) is not likely to be overlooked by Canadian Liberals, who, whatever their faults may be, are not afraid of thinking and talking about the Empire even in the presence of Hamar Greenwood or any other Boanerges of parochialism.

2

It is possible that the policy of encouraging European immigration into Canada will be respected in the future, possibly as a result of the recent inquiry by the Minister of the Interior into the propaganda conducted on the Continent from the offices at Charing Cross, and possibly because there is a growing feeling in Quebec that the political consequence of that nation within a nation is endangered by the rapid and continuous increase of Western population, which in 1911, according to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's estimate, will have seventy-eight representatives in the Dominion House of Commons. *Le Nationaliste* surveys the future of the French-Canadian people in a remarkable article, from which the *Montreal Gazette* quotes the following excerpt:

> Let this increase continue till 1921, and we shall have in the West, not 2,000,000 of new comers, but 10,000,000. This fact is so evident that it needs no discussion; consequently, the French-Canadians will then have sixty-five members in the House of Commons out of six or seven hundred. In 1931, Canada having a population of 25,000,000 at least, it will be decided, in order not to have too numerous a Parliament, to reduce to twenty or thirty the members from the Province of Quebec. We would then have twenty or thirty representatives out of a House, say, of 400 members. This, therefore, is the result of a quarter of a century's policy of conciliation and compromise. We

believe we have as much patriotism as all the Siftons and Olivers in the world; but it is this policy of development now going on in the West which saddens us, and which threatens the near ruin of our nationality. We protest therefore against the exclusion of people of the French tongue from this development. We also protest against the fact that this policy of development is the starting-point of a vast conspiracy directed against our race, carried on with the ready or unready complicity of our Ministers and members speaking the French tongue. We have often heard it said that the French and Belgians do not emigrate; but the fact remains that last year 135,000 people left those two countries, and the greater number would have only been too glad to come where their tongue was spoken. Lord Durham once said that if you wish to Anglify the French-Canadians, go about it slowly; cover them with honours, dignities, and lucrative positions, and you can do whatever you please with them. Lord Durham, who was the Sifton of his time, was no fool, and they have certainly not forgotten his receipt in the conspiracy which is now being carried on. Let us now look into a source from which the funds are derived to carry on this anti-French policy. During the past five years the Government has spent $3,000,000 on immigration, and out of this sum the French-Canadians have furnished a third, or about $1,000,000. In other words, for this million they have given us 7000 out of a total of 580,000 immigrants. We give a third of the money, and we receive 1 per cent. of the immigrants. What supreme irony! It is with French-Canadian money that they work to ruin French-Canadian influence in the confederation.

Le Nationaliste is Mr. Bourassa's paper, and many persons who do not know how strong is the personal influence of Papineau's grandson among the *habitants* will be disposed to underestimate the effect of this and many other similar articles which have appeared of late in the French-Canadian Press. Mr. Bourassa is the modern Mercier, though his political power is still largely latent, and no Government which is in anyway dependent on French-Canadian votes can afford to ignore his eloquent appeals to racial prejudice. It will be found, I feel sure, that the reorganisation of the London Emigration Office will involve a restriction of the Continental propaganda to France and Belgium and the disappearance of the Canadian "soul-stealers"—as the emissaries of that office are styled in Germany and elsewhere—from other European countries. Another factor in a change of immigration policy is found in the antipathy felt by Mr. W. S. Fielding and other Ministers for the bringing-in of alien elements (*e.g.*, the people of Southern Europe) not easily absorbed and assimilated by the very inclusive society of Western Canada. But all this will not do much to prevent the gradual reduction of the French-Canadian vote to a position of comparative impotence. The difficulty is that the French-Canadian will not sever himself from his people in order to seek his fortune in the West. He is gregarious in his patriotism, and must do his colonising *en masse*, as in the case of his

conquest of the Eastern townships of Ontario, which was accomplished by a process of co-operative underliving, so to speak. "Decanting" is not a possible method of setting up a country in these days, or it might be possible to compel this patient unaspiring people—which is yet the ultimate guarantee against the absorption of the Dominion in the great Republic to the South—to take their share of the vast profits of developing the West. If Mr. Bourassa's protests help to prevent the swamping of the West by non-British, non-French elements introduced in order that emigration officials may "cut up easy money," he will have served not only Canada, but also the Empire, even though his motives are not beyond criticism and his arguments merely an outflow of Latin magniloquence.

3

The development of the "Middle North" of Canada proceeds apace, and the success of the Cobalt "mining camp" with its amazingly rich surface deposits seems already assured, though hardly enough development work has been done as yet to transform its many rich claims into mines for the serious consideration of the investor. But there is no reason in the nature of things why it should not take its place in the near future among the most famous of North American silver-producing districts. All the chief properties have paid well, from the grass down (in one case ore to the value of $1,100,000 has already been taken out and treated in American smelters), and the records of the Slocan and other well-known silver-mining camps in British Columbia have been far surpassed. But until the results of deep exploration are known it will be impossible to gauge the future prospects of Cobalt, though, in the preliminary stage of its exploitation as "a poor man's camp," whence large profits could be obtained with but small outlay on labour and machinery, it has been abnormally successful.

The little town of Cobalt, which now has a population of 2500, is situated on the Temaskaming and Northern Ontario Railway, in one of those regions full of beautiful lakes and forests, whither the Canadian of the large Eastern cities was in the habit of resorting in order to recover from the strain of business life—a strenuous affair in these days of Canada's "spectacular development"—by renewing his contact with the enforested wilderness out of which Ontario or "Upper Canada" was literally cut by the axes of his ancestors. A comfortable railway journey of fifteen hours from Toronto, the most English of Canadian cities, brings one to the little

mining town, which is described as follows by a visitor : " A little lake, a small railway station on its shore, and behind, on the rising and rocky ground, roughly constructed wooden houses, looking in many cases like huge packing-cases with a few holes cut in the sides, and between those a number of tents—but nowhere any sign of bustle or activity." This observant visitor, whose experiences have been published in *Canada*, was struck by the quietness of the Cobalt camp, which has no resemblance whatever to the mining settlements of the West, where the old Occidental saying " There's nobody holding you " is still a rule of life. The fact that the sale of liquor has been entirely prohibited accounts for the absence of the undesirable persons whom one meets in the stories of Bret Harte's disciples and less frequently in the *foci* of the actual American Silverado. There are no professional gamblers there, and neither poker nor euchre is practised by the rich claim-holders in their scant leisure-time. They prefer the more humane game of bridge, which they play with a scrupulous fairness not always met with in English houses. Even the " blind pig "—the illicit saloon, consisting often of a keg under a pine tree, which is met with in many of the lumbering districts of Northern Ontario—is non-existent in the vicinity of Cobalt. Since the camp is in the well-known transition stage (through which even the Rand passed in the Eighties), when the arrival of the masters of *la haute finance* is awaited and the company is beginning to take the place of the working capitalist of moderate means and no influence in the world's money markets, it is also " quiet " in the business sense for the time being. Naturally the claim-owners are not now sending ore to the United States in view of the building of a smelter at Hamilton, which will soon be completed. The probability is that by far the greater share of the profits of permanent development will go to the American capitalist and his following of investors. The same thing has happened in British Columbia, the financial capital of which is Spokane, rather than London. According to the modern Radical, mine-owners are expressly debarred from the rights of our common humanity, and the mere suggestion that Canadian mining offers a wide and profitable field in which the young Englishman might invest himself and his trifle of capital will be scouted as non-Christian by Puritanical persons. None the less I suggest this way out of genteel poverty to the able-bodied, able-minded young Englishman.

E. B. O.

SOUTH AFRICA

The New Constitution.

Attention ought to be called to the fact that the Letters Patent granting a new constitution to the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, a constitution described by Lord Elgin and Mr. Winston Churchill on July 31, have not been issued up to the time of going to press. The elections in South Africa are therefore being prepared for under singular circumstances, for no one exactly knows what the electoral conditions are. We know the main lines of the constitution and that they are drawn in favour of the Boers, but we do not know the text. This should not be forgotten, or that the Government have not published the Ridgeway Report, which would have too openly condemned their anti-British policy. The truth is that the regrettable numerical weakness of the Opposition in the House of Commons altogether blinds the members of the present Administration to the weight of Imperialist opinion in the country. Ministers think they need consider no one but their own followers and the Labour members. No doubt in time they will realise their mistake, but meanwhile serious attacks on British interests will be made in any outlying parts of our Empire which have the misfortune to be directly under Downing Street.

The Railway Rates.

Under an agreement which was published many months ago the Natal Government undertook to build and to maintain in the Orange River Colony's territory a line between Bethlehem and Kroonstadt. In return for this undertaking on the part of Natal the Central South African Railway, that is to say the joint railway system of the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal, agreed to give Natal "most favoured nation" treatment in regard to rates on this line. In the West, the Central South African Railway had already made the same arrangement with regard to the construction of the Klerksdorp, Fourteen Streams Railway. The two cases, one to the advantage of Cape Colony and one to the advantage of Natal, were precisely similar. The *Times* Johannesburg correspondent, telegraphing on September 13, gives a clear account of the present inter-colonial situation, and we quote at length from his telegram :

In June the Cape Government began a tremendous protest and very soon translated the protest into action by announcing that they would gran

rebates on traffic in the disputed area. This sudden move seems really to have spoilt their case, seeing that it absolutely violated their agreement with the other administrations. Moreover, it was made immediately after an appeal to Lord Selborne to act as mediator in the whole controversy. Nevertheless, Lord Selborne devoted the whole of July and August to an effort to effect an amicable arrangement either by way of conference or by submission of the case to arbitration. His efforts proved abortive owing to the refusal of the Cape Government to suspend their rebates meanwhile, and the High Commissioner has now yielded to an appeal from the authorities of the Central South African Railways to allow them to counteract these rebates by the imposition of countervailing rates on their own section of the line.

That is the present position of affairs. There is no question that the feeling here is unanimously opposed to the claims of the Cape Government, which are certainly weakened by the acrimonious and unfriendly tone which marks their correspondence. On the other hand, it is just and fair to remember that the committee of the Central South African Railways are in the fortunate position of being able to conduct their case in a spirit of pure reason, whereas any responsible Government is practically bound to propitiate public opinion in view of the elections. It is clear that feeling is running high at the Cape and that it is largely augmented by the popular and, apparently, quite erroneous idea that they have been checkmated by intervention on the part of the Imperial Government. I imagine that the result of Dr. Jameson's visit to England, which is connected primarily with this affair, will be that Lord Elgin will add his weight and influence to Lord Selborne's original suggestion of a conference or arbitration. That may be expected to be the ultimate end of this particular crisis, but there will be no end to similar crises so long as the carrying trade of the interior is divided between competing ports and railway systems. The correspondence on the subject of the Bethlehem-Kroonstad railway forms the strongest argument of recent times in favour of the unification at least of the railway administrations of South Africa.

It is one of the great misfortunes of South Africa, that since the departure of Lord Milner there has been no one of commanding personality to whom British South Africans could turn for help on a matter like this. He would have been listened to where no one else has a chance of being heard above the din of conflicting interests. The Cape Government, in this case, seem to have allowed themselves to be pushed into an untenable position by their supporters, and, being British and tenaciously anxious to keep the connection with the Mother Country, they are not likely to receive much help from the Home Government.

Englishmen in South Africa are like Englishmen in England, and therefore you have the unedifying spectacle, at a moment when the British ranks should everywhere be closed, of an intercolonial squabble which may seriously affect the political prospects of South Africa in general. It is particularly to be regretted that so able and patriotic a Colonist as Mr. Walton, the Cape Treasurer, should have, in public, made

anything in the nature of an attack upon Lord Selborne. Lord Selborne's position is a difficult one, and if we have not always seen eye to eye with him, if we have regretted his delusions about personalities in the Transvaal and his occasional tendency to try to make friends with our enemies instead of keeping friends with our friends, we have always recognised his high sense of duty and the devotion to Imperial ideals which keep him at an ungrateful task. He has to serve, and serve loyally, men who look upon patriotism as a crime ; he has to stand between the British in South Africa and the Home Government. By his promptitude and firmness he saved Chinese Labour, at any rate, temporarily, and anything which is tolerable in the new constitution we owe to the fact that certain members of the Home Government do not want him to resign. That being so, Britishers all over the sub-continent ought to stand by him and bear with any mistakes he may make. Would they prefer to exchange Lord Selborne for—say—Lord Courtney or any other pro-Boer who might be sent out by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman ? It is easy to preach, hard, if you are fighting with disloyalty in Cape Town, to practise forbearance. But the tendency among Englishmen for every man to be his own Prime Minister and lawgiver has great drawbacks when you are going into action against such homogeneous and resolute political foemen as the South African Dutchmen.

INDIA

(By Our Own Correspondent in India)

Mail of September 1.

Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the ex-Lieutenant Governor of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, sailed from India a week ago, the victim of one of the worst blunders made by Great Britain in this country since the time of the Mutiny. In ten months we have thus seen the resignation of one of the greatest Viceroys India had ever known, and of a Lieutenant-Governor whose conspicuous ability is not denied even by the severest of his critics. Whatever may be the rights or wrongs of the controversies which led to their disappearance, a system which produces the loss of two such able and devoted servants of India within a year is not working very happily. Mr. Morley said in introducing the Indian Budget that he had seen what was called the "sun-dried bureaucrat," and had found that what was meant by that phrase was "a man eminent for

experience, for knowledge, and for responsibility, faithfully and honourably discharged." The description exactly fits Sir Bampfylde Fuller, who has been so unwarrantably sacrificed to the malignancy of his opponents, by the desertion of those to whom he was most entitled to look for support. He was appointed to control the new province when it was created last October. He had to organise the new Administration, and naturally Old Bengal did not give him her best men. That is a fact to be remembered in considering the occasional mistakes that were made, though Sir Bampfylde Fuller is the last man to evade responsibility for the mistakes of subordinates. It was plain that he had a difficult task before him. The re-arrangement of Bengal had been furiously resented by the Nationalist party, which has its headquarters in Calcutta, and from the outset the Calcutta agitators showed they meant mischief. The new province contains a population of about thirty millions, of whom about 60 per cent. are Mahomedans, and about 35 per cent. are Hindus. The Mahomedan population, in the old united province, had been elbowed back from public office and the Government services by the preponderating Hindus. Though backward, they were eager for recognition, and their grievances were well founded. Very early in his new undertaking—perhaps too early—Sir Bampfylde Fuller intimated that he meant to give every opportunity to the Mahomedans for advancement, and to treat them with special consideration. That was enough for the Calcutta caucus, an entirely Hindu organisation. From that moment every expedient that malignancy could devise was utilised to compass his downfall.

Two salient features in the agitation against Sir Bampfylde Fuller have never been properly understood in England. The first is that in its primary inception he was, in spite of what has just been stated, to some extent only the accidental object of obloquy, by virtue of his office. It was thought that by discrediting him the Partition of Bengal would be discredited; and the addition of the element of Hindu jealousy of Mahomedans only meant more venom in the attack. The second, and far more important point, is that the agitation did not emanate from the new province at all. That is the most amazing feature of the whole business. The bulk of the people of the new province were not only delighted at the change, but have shown within the last week or two that they soon conceived a warm regard for Sir Bampfylde Fuller. Calcutta was the root-centre of the whole agitation. From Calcutta went forth the emissaries who stirred up trouble—always amongst

the Hindus—at various centres in the new province. It was the Calcutta native press that carried on the campaign of vilification. The gatherings of "protest" and "indignation" were invariably addressed by Babu agitators from Calcutta. Even at Barisal—though no one now seeks to defend all that happened there—the uproar began on the advent of a steamer-load of Calcutta delegates. There is nothing more certain than that if Eastern Bengal had been left alone, it would have remained almost from the outset as peaceful and as free from disturbance as Madras. It is difficult to convey any adequate idea of the calumnies and misrepresentations of the Calcutta native press during this period. In any other country such journalistic excesses would be impossible, because the ludicrous character of the exaggerations would be at once perceived; but here the fables are implicitly believed by multitudes. There was a partial crop failure in the new province, involving some temporary scarcity for two or three months over a distinctly limited area. The number of people really involved was comparatively so small that in any other province it would not have occasioned special remark; and relief works were at once instituted for them. Yet the Bengali press instantly proclaimed that millions were starving, and that Sir Bampfylde Fuller was wilfully leaving them to die. I recall actually reading in one paper a gruesome description of "a road strewn with living skeletons"—wholly an effort of the imagination. I sometimes wonder whether the *Daily News* and the other amiable journals in London, which gleefully print the cablegrams written and paid for by the Calcutta caucus, have any real conception of the way in which news is manufactured by their "esteemed communicants." I sometimes wonder whether those Members of Parliament who write out here, like some one did to the Cape, for a "stream of facts" with which to embarrass the Administration of India, realise how those facts are often compiled. To the Bengali reporter, for instance, every gathering of a few hundred people at a street-corner becomes "a mass meeting attended by at least ten thousand." I do not think this is always wilful. I have been constantly struck by the capacity of the Bengalis for self-deception. They are a race of Oriental Tartarins.

But let me pause a little longer to illustrate my point by some events of the last few days which have nothing to do with politics. A prominent Bengali wrote to the Calcutta papers declaring, in the most explicit manner, that a boy had been kidnapped. Other Babus immediately followed suit by describing other cases of kidnapping, the most detailed evidence being

set forth in proof. I counted six alleged cases of kidnapping of boys in one issue of a paper, all supported by chapter and verse. Seventeen cases, professing to be authentic, were published in all. The Calcutta police declared that the stories were all concoctions, and that those responsible for communicating them to the press had been imposed upon. The police were at once denounced by the newspapers for wilful neglect of duty, and charged with "lack of sympathy." In three or four days the whole of the teeming native population of Calcutta, inflamed by the newspaper stories, had worked itself into a wild panic which produced numerous acts of savage violence. An unfortunate boatman, under the influence of liquor, was wandering along a street when the cry was raised that he was a kidnapper. He was immediately assaulted by a large crowd, but rescued by an influential Babu, who had the windows of his house smashed for his pains. The driver of a hackney carriage stopped to look at the disturbance. The story was started that the carriage belonged to the kidnapper; the mob severely wounded the driver, and poured petroleum over his carriage and burned it. In another case, the driver of a hackney carriage had not taken out a licence and therefore the vehicle bore no municipal number. The omission aroused suspicion, and a mob procured petroleum and burned the conveyance. A Babu was proceeding in his carriage and pair along an important thoroughfare when the carriage accidentally knocked down a little child. The Babu alighted to help the child. Result: the cry of kidnapping, the burning of the carriage, and the infliction of such injuries on the coachman that it is feared he will die. The humane Babu was lucky enough to escape. A Punjabi football team was driving through the streets. Some one said: "There go the kidnappers." Instantly they were stoned and beaten to such an extent that several had to be taken to the hospital; it is said that some were "hammered out of recognition." A passing Englishman left his carriage to go to their assistance; he was kicked and stoned, and had not Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, who chanced to be close by, come very pluckily to his rescue he would probably have been killed. Mr. Banerjee's own paper declares that the victim was saved from "certain and violent death." It is instructive to note, by the way, that the same journal, in describing the outrageous attack on the Punjabis, speaks of "the merciless hammering of the poor foreigners." Those who talk of "Indian National Government" do not realise that a Punjabi is far more of a foreigner in Calcutta than a Russian would be in London. The cases of outrageous assault and the destruction of carriages were nume-

rous ; and the point of the whole business is that the panic had an entirely imaginary basis. The stories were stupid concoctions, as the police and the English press had declared without avail from the start. In the few instances where boys were really missing, one had gone off with a theatrical company, another to his native village, another to pray at a shrine, one had run away from school for the sixth time, and so on. All were traced ; and with regard to the story of the hero of the first case it was proved by medical evidence that he was under treatment for cerebral disorder leading to hallucinations. Yet this was a scare created by the native press of Calcutta, supported by column after column of the most deliberate statements, followed by violent denunciation of the police authorities, and resulting in one of those outbreaks of gross lawlessness for which Calcutta is becoming notorious. Had it possessed any political significance, had any prominent administrator been concerned, the cables would have been at once set to work, Mr. Morley would have been implored to "intervene," and the *Tribune* and the *Daily News* would have tearfully clamoured for the application of "Liberal principles" to India.

This is rather a long divagation from the case of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, but it carries a certain lesson which should be applied to the clamour concerning him ; for there is much that is common to both agitations, especially in their revelations of the Bengali temperament and method of statement. No man has been more cruelly and unjustly maligned than the late Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam ; and his detractors are entirely Bengalis. If every home-staying Englishman asked himself this question : "Are the Bengalis necessarily mirrors of truth, and are my countrymen in India necessarily liars ?" they might in time learn how to appraise the storm of abuse in which Sir Bampfylde Fuller has been enveloped. The real truth is that Eastern Bengal is now as quiet as possible, and if Calcutta let it alone it would proceed peacefully with its development. Many of the worst things said about Sir B. Fuller are wholly untrue ; and in regard to other accusations he was in no way personally responsible. The *Tribune* pointedly refers to "the execution of a murderer which Sir J. B. Fuller had carried out without waiting for the reply from Simla to the culprit's appeal for mercy." It is absurd to talk of a Lieutenant-Governor having a man executed ; one might as well talk of the Prime Minister having a man executed, the connection would be about as close. Sir Bampfylde Fuller, except on the occasion when he examined the condemned man's earlier appeal to himself, knew no

more about the case than Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Every experienced Indian administrator will understand this. His answer to the charge brought against him in this respect has never been published. The Government of India promised to make a statement on the subject, and have not done so. If they did, it would be found that if the subordinates of Sir Bampfylde Fuller blundered, the subordinates of Lord Minto erred in even greater measure. The handling of the Barisal affair, in which the Bengal Provincial Conference was eventually stopped, a procession in the streets broken up, and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee prosecuted on charges that were eventually withdrawn, is now universally recognised to have been a mistake. Sir Bampfylde Fuller has had to bear the full odium of the error, and has necessarily remained silent regarding his real share of responsibility. If the truth were known, it would probably be found that such orders as he issued were purely general and not repressive in character, and that he knew nothing of the action taken on the spot until it was too late; but, as has been said, Sir Bampfylde Fuller is not the man to shelter himself behind subordinates. Take, again, the celebrated circular insisting that schoolboys were not to be permitted to take an active part in political agitation or in boycotting and picketing in connection with the Swadeshi movement. Every Radical newspaper in England seems to believe that Sir Bampfylde Fuller was the author of this circular; it is for this reason that we have had all the parallels drawn with Russia, and comparisons made with M. de Plehve. Sir Bampfylde Fuller had nothing to do with its origin. It was issued and circulated by Sir Andrew Fraser's Government before the province was reconstituted; but Sir Bampfylde Fuller has had to bear all the criticism concerning it, and even Mr. Morley has given no sign that he is aware of the real facts. What Sir Bampfylde Fuller did on assuming office was to confirm the circular, and to reinforce it by further instructions. It was not his child, except by adoption.

The immediate question which led him to tender his resignation arose out of this very circular; and though it has seemed to the general public that he resigned on a paltry matter, it will be seen some day that he is one of the few men who have perceived that it is a matter fundamentally affecting, by the principles that lie behind it, the future of British rule in India. When the agitation against the rearrangement of Bengal was commenced, and was associated with the Swadeshi movement and the boycott of English goods, the pupils of the schools and colleges of Bengal were at once utilised for the "active work."

The wire-pullers did not go forth themselves; they set the professors and schoolmasters to incite their pupils to the task. Much of the molestation of shopkeepers and purchasers, the burning and destruction of property, and the scenes of disorder that ensued, was the work of these youths. It is easy enough to talk lightly of such episodes in the House of Commons ; but in India it meant rank lawlessness, quite apart from the interruption of ordinary educational work. Mr. Morley's "instructions," which led to the circulars being withdrawn, may have sounded very free and enlightened and progressive in Parliament; but what has been their actual result? Mr. Morley's views have been literally interpreted in Bengal as a deliberate intimation that the schools and colleges may be utilised to any extent as centres of political propaganda. Many were such centres in secret already ; now nearly every school and college is being openly made a hotbed of disaffection, where anti-British principles are steadily inculcated. If any Government officer interferes, or endeavours to counteract these influences, the native press raises an uproar, the cables flash the news to England that Mr. Morley's "instructions" are being "violated," and half a dozen egregious persons who know nothing of Indian conditions are at once bobbing up and down in the House of Commons at question-time. Sir Bampfylde Fuller understood the situation perfectly well, and knew its dangers. He knew, too, that in India one small but sharp check still suffices sometimes to stop a whole stream of tendencies. He took his stand on the cases of two notorious schools at Serajgunge. The students at these schools had repeatedly been guilty of disorderly behaviour. One of them was punished six years ago, because its pupils participated in a riot which ended in the drowning of an unfortunate ferryman. The present charges against them were that the students, while out "picketing," had raided carts laden with English cloth, and had afterwards attacked and stoned a European bank-manager who happened to be driving past. Sir Bampfylde Fuller asked that these two schools should be deprived of recognition by the Calcutta University, the result of which would be that they would not be able to send up pupils for the University examination. Plainly he knew quite well that the result of disaffiliation in these two instances would mean a salutary check upon the pernicious influences at work among the schools in his province. The Syndicate declined to accede to his request, and he then appealed to the Viceroy. If a Lieutenant-Governor feels that his policy is dependent upon the acceptance of a particular view, he has only one method of bringing pressure to bear. It

is the method which very few administrators in India have ever had the courage and self-sacrifice to adopt when they see things going wrong; it is a last resort which the members of the Army Council and the Board of Admiralty at home seem to have agreed tacitly to ignore. Yet there is every reason to believe that Sir Bampfylde hardly dreamed that he would not be supported by Lord Minto; and he knew that if Simla backed him up he was not likely to be overruled at home.

Probably to his own surprise, as much as to every one else's, his appeal was disregarded, and the resignation was accepted; and though people seem to think that the downfall of Sir Bampfylde Fuller was due to Mr. Morley, the real cause thereof was Lord Minto. Anglo-Indian criticism has not been quite fair to Lord Minto in this matter. It has not made sufficient allowance for the fact that he was placed in a rather difficult position by the refusal of the Calcutta University Syndicate to grant Sir Bampfylde Fuller's request. But it is correct enough in its diagnosis of the larger issues, for the general feeling is that Sir Bampfylde Fuller really has been most unwarrantably sacrificed in the hope of allaying the existing agitation, regardless of the fundamental point that the agitation does not emanate from the new province at all. So far as the immediate question is concerned, the result will be to stimulate political activity in every high school in Bengal, and members of the Civil Service will be made to feel that their only safety lies in ignoring the wholesale manufacture of precocious agitators—not against "partition," but against the whole fabric of British rule. And, far from allaying the general agitation, the overthrow of Sir Bampfylde Fuller seems inevitably destined to stimulate it. The tone of the native Press shows that it is regarded as a triumph for the agitators, and having been successful in their attacks upon the immediate object of their hatred, they are now girding themselves afresh for a renewed and more vigorous attack upon the partition issue. There is probably not a native politician in India who does not firmly—and, in effect, quite rightly—believe that Sir Bampfylde Fuller has been abandoned in response to popular clamour, and who does not, therefore, conclude that he and those who think with him can accomplish anything if they only make noise and riot enough. The newspapers are full of articles frankly demonstrating this point. The very downfall which the Radical Press at home fondly believes will "allay agitation" and "strengthen Mr. Morley's hands," is everywhere used as a text to encourage opposition to the British Administration on a larger scale. Even the Proclamation of 1858, on which so much stress has

been laid, is now said to have been wrung from the late Queen by the Mutiny; the India Councils Act is asserted to have been forced from an unwilling Government by the creation of the Congress; the overthrow of Sir Bampfylde Fuller is claimed to have been brought about by organised turbulence; and the people are invited to draw their own conclusions. That is why grave and experienced men in high place feel the sacrifice of Sir Bampfylde Fuller to have been the worst mistake made by British rule since the Mutiny. Carry forward a wise and enlightened policy of progressive development, if you will; enlarge the scope of representation, and concede all reasonable reforms; there are many reforms which might be made. But once let it be felt that any Lieutenant-Governor can be hurled from his place at the bidding of the native Press, once encourage the impression that the Administration will weakly reverse its own solemn decisions, and upset the most solid of "settled facts," through fear of the results of popular clamour, and you may say good-bye to the stability of British rule in India.

And there is another and a very serious problem now arising out of Sir Bampfylde Fuller's departure, and that is the attitude of the Mahomedans. They represent two-thirds of population of the new province, and not only were they thoroughly satisfied with Sir Bampfylde Fuller's administration, but they bitterly resent his going and the manner thereof. Their feelings may be sufficiently gauged by the following resolution passed at a large and representative meeting of Mahomedans at Dacca, the capital of the new province, on the proposition of the Nawab of Dacca:

That the Mahomedan community of Eastern Bengal and Assam, in meeting assembled, deeply deplore the resignation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, who was a just, sagacious and sympathetic administrator.

They regret to think that Government by accepting it without any regard for Mahomedan interests has done a great injustice to his Majesty's loyal Mahomedan subjects, who form two-thirds of the population of this province, and have never joined or been in sympathy with the Hindu agitators, as is often misrepresented by a section of the Press and some members of Parliament who unwarrantably take upon themselves to speak on behalf of the millions of India.

The Mussalmans of the new province beg to record their disapproval of a system of government which maintains no continuity of policy and which they feel, by lowering the prestige of British power in this country, is bound to affect materially both the efficiency and popularity of the administration, and to alienate the sympathy of a numerically important and a loyal section of his Majesty's subjects in India.

A Mahomedan resolution of such strength and candour is absolutely without precedent in India, and it may be taken as

certain that it portends trouble if the policy of gratifying Calcutta Hindus at the cost of everybody else is to be persisted in. The Mahomedans are slow to move, but very difficult to hold if once they start. In the face of much provocation from imported agitators, they have behaved with great quietness and restraint in the new province during the last few months. Their reward has been that their views and feelings have never been considered either by Mr. Morley or the Government of India, and now that they realise this, they are brooding over it. It is unquestionable that any attempt to reopen the general question of partition now would have the most disastrous effect upon their attitude. They represent the bulk of the population, they have the most right to be considered, they welcomed the partition and are content with it. The Calcutta agitators realise that the smouldering force of Mahomedan opinion is at last growing stronger, and they are doing their utmost to belittle and ridicule the Mahomedan meetings now being held; but whenever the Calcutta caucus sends cablegrams to England during the next few months, it would be well for moderate men to turn to the Dacca resolution just quoted, and to ponder over the solemn warning it contains. For if ever Mahomedan opinion ceases merely to smoulder and suddenly blazes up, it generally produces some very astonishing flames.

THE
NATIONAL REVIEW

No. 285.—November 1906

EPISODES OF THE MONTH

UNIVERSAL regret was caused by the announcement at the end of September that the state of Mr. Chamberlain's health would compel him to cancel all public engagements this autumn, and take a prolonged rest. It is, however, satisfactory to know that he is only afflicted by his life-long enemy, gout, and that all the malicious rumours of "complications" which Radical journalists are becoming somewhat ashamed of having invented, are without any shadow of foundation. There have been absolutely no complications whatsoever, and Mr. Chamberlain may be expected after his well-earned rest to return like a giant refreshed to head the fight against the Disruption of the United Kingdom next year, and to continue his missionary labours in the cause of Empire. Meanwhile his absence creates a great void in our public life, which is almost as much felt by his opponents as by his supporters, and there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the graceful allusions to his health made by leading Liberals, or the friendly references in the Radical Press. Politics are dreary without his splendid strenuousness. The Liberal Party has lost its objective; the Unionists are utterly stagnant. Mr. Chamberlain's absence affords, however, absolutely no pretext for any supineness on the part of his followers, as is pointed out in an able article on "The Fiscal Problem" by "Compatriot," to which we would particularly direct the reader's attention. On the contrary, our great leader's temporary incapacity casts a special duty upon all of us to keep the cause of Fiscal Reform in the foreground. It has made greater progress since the historic

Mr. Chamberlain.

Birmingham speech of May 16, 1903, than has ever been made in such a short time by any political movement in British history, and it is now fortified by a body of argument and experience such as did not then exist. For one thing the enemy have been compelled to change their ground completely, and their staple arguments have collapsed. When British exports were at a low ebb three years ago, we were told that this was of no consequence, because our prosperity depended exclusively on our imports, and if we took care of the imports the exports would take care of themselves. But the moment improvement set in in our export trade—owing to transitory causes which we fear may not last, and which are nothing like as sound as they seem, because our increases are so largely in uncompleted manufactures, while Germany is developing the finished article—exports became the criterion of national prosperity. The imports have been forgotten, though doubtless directly our exports decline, free importers will fall back on what Mr. Morley contemptuously termed "the verbal jingle of an abstract dogma," and every Cobdenite platform will once again resound with the lying refrain, "Take care of the imports and the exports will take care of themselves."

The Alternatives.

THE one outstanding over-shadowing fact is that the productive power of Great Britain is *relatively* weaker as compared with the productive power of her chief competitors, than it was when Mr. Chamberlain commenced his campaign of education and uttered his pregnant warnings at Glasgow and elsewhere. It is small consolation to a man to be able to run better than he did if his competitors can beat him in the race. Out-of-works cannot live on trade statistics, and no one can pretend to be satisfied with the state of the skilled or unskilled labour market. The problem of unemployment remains unsolved. Then again, the Empire has become distinctly weaker, as Mr. Chamberlain predicted it must, without some form of commercial federation. British influence is on the down-grade in Canada, Australia, and South Africa, thanks to the negative policy of *laisser faire*, though it is not yet too late to retrieve the position by a constructive policy of *savoir faire*. Certain stock arguments which hypnotised over-timid temperaments of the Avebury and James of Hereford type, and were the weekly brickbats with which the *Spectator* bombarded the college don, the schoolmaster, and the country parson, have completely broken down. We were told, in season and out of season, that German Socialism and American Trusts were the inevitable fruits of Protection, and that Free Imports provided a sure safeguard against the one and the

other. But so rapidly has the Socialist movement developed in Free Trade England that leading Liberals are now summoning their Party to embark on an anti-Socialist "crusade," while Mr. Lever (Radical and Free Trade M.P.) has organised a Soap Combine to remind us that Cobdenism affords no more security against Trusts than it does against measles. The price of the food of the poor is steadily rising owing to our helpless dependence on the foreigner. Our only hope for the future lies in the policy of Imperial Preference. The Colonies will either continue their present preferences to the Mother Country, or deterred by her refusal to reciprocate they will enter into preferential arrangements with those who will reciprocate. These are the alternatives. The British Empire must go forward or it will go backward. Things cannot remain as they are ; empires have never stood still ; and it will largely depend on the activity and enthusiasm of Fiscal Reformers this autumn as to whether next year's Colonial Conference marks the end of the beginning, or the beginning of the end.

Wanted—an Opposition.

OWING to the ineffable ineptitude of his Majesty's Opposition in the House of Commons, which is not entirely due to the temporary absence of Mr. Chamberlain, nor to the overwhelming numerical superiority of the enemy, but primarily to a want of "grit" on our Front Bench and to the flabbiness of theUnionist Press, of which one section co-operated in assisting Ministers to surrender the Transvaal to the Boers, while another is helping them to demobilise the British Navy—there has been so far no serious concerted effort to open the eyes of the Man in the Street to the perils threatening both nation and Empire from the continued existence of a Cabinet of wreckers, whose waking and sleeping thought is, "How can we injure British interests ? How can we weaken British influence ?" Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and Co. have already been in power for nearly a year, during which time they have been at no pains to disguise their ambitions or intentions, while they have given us in Whitehall, in Pall Mall and in South Africa a sufficient foretaste of their destructive capacity. And yet the Opposition, which conventionally exists to oppose, has rejected, through inertia, indifference or incapacity, successive golden opportunities for bringing the Government to book. We can make some allowance for the demoralisation produced in the Unionist ranks by such a *débâcle* as the last General Election ; but the General Election is fading into the dim and distant past, and there are few signs of the awakening of our leaders from their Sleeping Sickness, apart from

the stimulating activity of Mr. Walter Long, and one striking speech from Mr. Austen Chamberlain. How different was the situation a quarter of a century ago, when another Liberal Government, under the Premiership of a statesman of unique personal and Parliamentary prestige, backed by battalions as big as they were enthusiastic, confronted a defeated and diminutive Opposition! In the first year of the 1880 Parliament, as all may learn from the *Life of Lord Randolph Churchill*, the Gladstone Government was already "on the run." It was beginning to look ridiculous in the eyes of the constituencies, thanks to the energy, the initiative and the dauntless determination of a handful of Conservatives, who, instead of allowing themselves to be cowed by superior numbers, seized every occasion for harassing Mr. Gladstone, discrediting his colleagues, and riddling their proposals with incisive criticism, creating opportunities where none presented themselves.

Where is the Fourth Party?

It makes one's mouth water to think of the mincemeat to which the Fourth Party would have reduced the present Ministry, which is infinitely more vulnerable than the great Cabinet of 1880, during the past Session. We can almost hear Lord Randolph Churchill's fiery denunciation of the "terminological inexactitudes," or, in other words, the ocean of lies on which Ministers have the effrontery to boast that they floated into office. We can imagine the treatment which Mr. Birrell and his monstrous measure for the endowment of Cliffordism would have received; while Mr. Gorst's handling of the Trade Disputes Bill would have made more than one Minister regret that he had ever been born. The Equity lawyer who devotes such time as he can spare from his pilgrimages to Potsdam to disbanding the British Army would likewise have received his deserts, while the peril of allowing an unsuccessful brewer to play ducks and drakes with British battleships would have been proclaimed from every housetop. Mr. Herbert Gladstone, the friend of the alien, would have been turned inside, and Mr. John Burns would have become the butt of every "bus" driver. All the pitiful drivel about Disarmament, which forms the stock-in-trade of Ministerial oratory, and is regarded abroad as so much evidence of insular hypocrisy, would have been mercilessly exposed, as would also the folly of meeting German preparations with British perorations, while the country would be ringing with the dishonesty of using a so-called Free Trade majority for the purpose of carrying a Home Rule Bill. Every Government blunder—and no Government has made more blunders—would have become a popular

catchword, and long before the adjournment of the House of Commons in August the public would have realised the utter unfitness of the Premier and his colleagues for their position, and there would be a general feeling that their days were numbered. Each by-election would reflect growing popular distrust, and already our anxious kinsmen over the seas would begin to breathe more freely. Mr. Winston Churchill, in his more rational moments, must regret that he sold himself so cheaply to the other side, as there never has been, and there never will be, such an opening as the present for a guerilla leader; and high and honourable will be the fame of whoever has the courage and the capacity to reanimate a listless and dispirited Party, and if he cared for his country he would have the satisfaction of knowing that he would be discharging the whole duty of a patriot by denouncing and trouncing the Bannermans, the Bryces, the Bruces, the Burnses, the Birrells, the Buxtons and the other altruists who are busily engaged in giving away the British Empire "with a pound of tea." And though it required an extraordinary man like Lord Randolph Churchill to "knock out" such an extraordinary man as Mr. Gladstone, any ordinary man of average ability and due determination, ought to be able to pulverise Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.

Philosophical Detachment.

As it is, the Opposition have elected to adopt an attitude of philosophical detachment towards the Government, both before and during the Recess, which is inspired by the belief that Ministers will hang themselves, given sufficient rope. It is, therefore, deemed wholly unnecessary to set the Unionist house in order, while all disagreeable questions of Party organisation and Party management are indefinitely shelved. Practically nothing has been done, is being done, or will be done to carry out the pledges given after the General Election. Sham committees discuss paper schemes of reorganisation, and hole-and-corner associations adopt bogus votes of confidence in leaders who refuse to lead. There has been and there will be no attempt to reform the higher *personnel* of the Unionist Party, or to efface the deplorable impression made on the country by the lamentable performances of the late Government, which was the main cause of the *débâcle* and is the operative obstacle to any Unionist revival. All is for the best in the best of all possible Parties. "The old gang for the old places" is the Unionist war-cry. Is it likely to captivate the country? In consequence of the obscurantism and apathy of our Front Bench, which is "cumbered with the ancient and dreary wreckage of the late Administration," and general discouragement of activity among the rank and file, we

are making absolutely no progress towards recovery. We have won but a solitary by-election (in a three-cornered contest) during the past year. At this rate it will take the Unionist Party nearly two hundred years to obtain a working majority. And yet the Government is plunged in difficulties and has ceased to excite the smallest enthusiasm.* There is as little hope for a Party under modern democratic conditions which is devoid of direction as there would be for an army without a general. We are leading an aimless, hand-to-mouth existence like Mr. Micawber. Mr. Balfour's friends are understood to argue that as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who was universally regarded as politically defunct in the year 1900, is now at the head of a record majority, so history will repeat itself, and we shall see another big Balfour majority before we know where we are, provided we possess our souls in patience pending the inevitable swing of the pendulum. These quidnuncs completely ignore the new factor in politics which disturbs all previous calculations, viz., the Labour Party and the Labour vote. For the last twenty years Unionism has lived by the support of the industrial democracy, which we have now lost, and which we must regain before we can hope to retrieve our position. We have not only to beat Liberalism, which ought to be comparatively easy because Liberalism is a gigantic imposture, but we must also beat Labour, which has not yet been found out. And why should the pendulum swing against Labour ? Labour is not in office, and can disclaim all responsibility for Ministerial blunders. Mr. Keir Hardie and Co. will be able to claim credit for every social reform which they can bully a weak-kneed Cabinet into accepting, while they will throw the blame of every fiasco on the Government. Consequently, the swing of the pendulum against the Government may tell more in favour of Labour than in favour of Unionism. *To do any good we have to beat both Labour and Liberalism.* This is the "new fact," which our Front Bench has failed to grasp. It will make demands upon the statesmanship and the devotion of the Unionist Party, and will require an enthusiasm in its members of which so far there are few indications. This "new fact" supplies the answer to Mr. Balfour's comforting assurance that "time and the Government are on our side."

* The *Daily Chronicle*, a Liberal newspaper, is responsible for the statement that on the occasion of Mr. Lloyd George's meeting at the Birmingham Town Hall on October 22, "elaborate arrangements" had been made for the safety of this darling of the people. "Close on two hundred policemen kept a clear passage, and two cars filled with detectives followed the right hon. gentleman's motor to the Grand Hotel." This irresistibly recalls Lord Randolph Churchill's famous refrain, "Guarded as usual."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain (ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer) is so far the single member of the late Cabinet who has shown the faintest appreciation of the causes of the Unionist downfall, and it is for this reason that his speech at the Liberal Union Council at Nottingham on October 12 has been hailed with satisfaction by that portion of the Unionist Party which is not moribund. While his self-complacent colleagues have been informing incredulous audiences up and down the country that the catastrophe was entirely due to the swing of the pendulum, against which even such a Cabinet of all the talents and most of the virtues could make no headway, the ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer has preferred to look facts frankly in the face. He candidly confessed that "they could not explain a defeat of this kind by the ordinary swing of the pendulum." No doubt every Government from the moment of its birth began to make enemies. Everything it did, and everything it did not do, disappointed some of its friends and irritated some of its supporters, and tended to set to work a movement which in time might turn a majority into a minority. All these causes were necessarily at work with redoubled effect in the case of the late Government, which had practically enjoyed an almost unbroken spell of power for fifteen years. Still he thought "they must look deeper for the real causes of the magnitude of their defeat," which he attributed to the fact that "they had exhausted the mandate with which they returned to power, and they had had no time to prepare the further development of their principles, which might have secured for them a renewed lease of confidence from the country." The election of 1906 proved once again, if proof were needed, that they could not conduct a Party to success on a policy of passive resistance to any proposals however bad, or by a simple defence of good work that the Party had done in the past. Parties were living organisations, and growth was the law of life. Mr. Austen Chamberlain frankly recognised, in reviewing the events of the last two years, that "the Government's attitude was not understood or appreciated by the country, and that their continuance in office during that time had estranged and aggravated large numbers of voters." We may note in passing that the *National Review* has been assailed by every Taper and Tadpole, and has been vilified by all the journalistic jackals of the Party for insisting on these elementary truths; but now that they are proclaimed on the authority of an ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, a strange silence has fallen both on Tadpole and Taper, while the *Daily Telegraph* is turned to stone.

"Plain Speaking and Clear Thinking."

In another passage, which also reads remarkably like a page from last year's "Episodes of the Month," Mr. Austen Chamberlain admitted that the late Government's management of the Fiscal Question was a contributory cause of the catastrophe. "The country neither approved their inaction nor understood their silence, and the hesitation and doubt which seemed to afflict the Government paralysed the efforts of their most active and energetic supporters throughout the country. For it was in this great attempt to protect British industry, to defend it against unfair and unequal competition, and to draw the members of the British race into closer commercial federation—it was in this policy that the natural development of Unionist principles lay." The speaker drew this inevitable moral from his suggestive review of recent events: "That their countrymen liked plain speaking and clear thinking; that they would follow a bold lead wisely given; but that they would not continue their confidence in a Government that spoke not at all, or spoke with a divided voice upon one of the great issues of the day." Happily they were no longer hampered by their self-imposed pledges, and "they had now a decisive declaration of Unionist policy embodied in the letters interchanged between their leaders on St. Valentine's Day, and approved and endorsed by the great meeting of Unionist members of both Houses of Parliament and candidates, which was held in Lansdowne House—that Tariff Reform was and must be the first constructive work of the Unionist Party." That was "the official policy of the Party declared by the voice of its leader, Mr. Balfour, and was the natural development at once of their Unionist principles and their social programme. The Party would make its realisation the chief object of its ambition and the first occupation of its return to power." Mr. Austen Chamberlain is to be warmly congratulated upon his brilliant reentry into public life after many months of happy inactivity. We only hope that he will not allow himself to be intimidated by his colleagues from following up his bold initiative, which offers a striking contrast to the palsied attitude of so-called Party leaders. At the mass meeting held at Nottingham that same evening (October 12), Lord Lansdowne, who was the principal speaker, was more Whiggish and lukewarm than ever as regards Tariff Reform; while Mr. Balfour, who was momentarily screwed up on St. Valentine's Day to describe it as "the first constructive work of the Unionist Party," has practically boycotted the question ever since. Has any great reform ever been carried by indifference and neglect?

Although we cannot pretend to regard Lord Lansdowne's speech or Mr. Balour's silence upon the "Macdonnell mystery" as satisfactory, their challenge to Sir Antony Macdonnell to produce the "embarrassing letters" which he claims to possess is, at any rate, clear and unequivocal. It is now for Lord Lansdowne's "old friend"—the notorious Nationalist who was so gratuitously imported from India to serve a Unionist Government in Ireland—to produce his "documents," or to stand convicted as a confessed bluffer and blackmailer. He can scarcely take refuge behind Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, because the Premier has publicly demanded the production of all documents bearing on the Macdonnell appointment; and though the latter has a wonderful capacity for swallowing his own words, even his digestion would be unequal to such a strain. Here is Lord Lansdowne's invitation to his "old friend": "If any one has a document which seems to him to establish the charges which have been made against us, we shall raise no objection to its publication." Mr. Balfour was far more emphatic, and if Sir Antony Macdonnell has any sense of shame it will be impossible for him to remain silent under this challenge. "Never has there been a more preposterous legend throughout the length and breadth of the land than that either I or my colleagues of the late Government ever tolerated for one instant the idea (*i.e.*, of bringing forward a measure of Devolution). We never did. You might as well accuse us of horse-stealing. There are some charges so preposterous that one hardly likes to refer to them by way of denial, and this is one of them. There is a legend, so I am told, that compromising letters are in existence proving the truth of the charge. There are no such letters. The charge is false from beginning to end. If there are such letters, let them be produced. I give full leave to the fortunate possessor of these incriminating documents. Let him come forward in the light of day, and let us have no more of these whisperings and rumours in dark places." In the French formula, *la parole est à* Sir Antony Macdonnell. We reiterate he will now have to produce these legendary letters, or be branded as a political blackmailer.

Blackmailing the Unionist Party.

It is a relief to learn from Mr. Balfour that there is no skeleton in the Unionist cupboard to hamper the Unionist Party in the great fight before it, although it must be admitted that Lord Lansdowne's treatment of the Macdonnell incident at Nottingham and his flat refusal to produce any documents himself had encouraged a contrary

Home Rule Conspiracy.

impression. Mr. Balfour tells us that he has spent the best years of his life in fighting against Home Rule, "and everything that savours of Home Rule, or can lead to Home Rule. That creed I have professed in good times and in bad; was I likely to abandon it without rhyme or reason? Let us leave such follies; they are not worth, in my opinion, serious discussion." But Mr. Balfour should bear with the anxiety of his followers, because the conduct and speeches of his own colleagues, Mr. Wyndham, Lord Lansdowne and Lord Dudley, are solely responsible for these sinister rumours. Moreover, we have it on the unimpeachable authority of Mr. Walter Long, that "rightly or wrongly Sir Antony, without any doubt, firmly believed that in everything he did he was only carrying out the wishes of the Government." And among the things which Sir Antony "did" was to draft a Devolution scheme, or in other words a Home Rule Bill, which we now learn he showed to Lord Lansdowne. It is, therefore, the Party who are entitled to be irritated with their leaders, and not the leaders who are entitled to be irritated with the Party. However, the main thing is that Mr. Balfour, at any rate, whatever may be the case as regards others, stands absolutely clear of the Devolution intrigue, and is ready and eager and panting for the Home Rule fray, which is advancing upon us by leaps and bounds in spite of the declaration of more than one Cabinet Minister that a General Election won on Free Trade gave no mandate for Home Rule, and that any attempt to pervert it from one purpose to the other would be a breach of faith. The Home Rule conspiracy is developing rapidly behind the scenes, under the genial auspices of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who proposes to proceed by instalments, which he has advised his Nationalist confederates to accept as so many stepping-stones to the "larger policy," by which they understand and mean Irish independence.

The Coming Bill.

THERE is reason to believe that Sir Antony Macdonnell has already drafted a measure constituting an Irish Parliament and an Irish Executive in Dublin—*i.e.*, a Krugerite Government at our very doors, and the Nationalists are emphatic in declaring that they will take nothing less, although they are naturally willing to deal on the instalment plan. Sir Antony Macdonnell has practically told us as much, and his statement has not been contradicted by any of his superiors—if he has any superiors. His Home Rule Bill will see the light next Session. In his own words, "The coming year, 1907, would see the fruition of many of those hopes which the

best Irishmen had for many years entertained." And even though it might not bring all those Irishmen had hoped for, "it would be the fruition of so much that they might make it the fountain and the source from which the whole of their hopes might be fulfilled." Mr. Redmond, who has been more offensive than ever this autumn, is at no pains to conceal the Nationalist "hopes" which Sir Antony expects to satisfy, nor will he allow any illusions to linger in Liberal minds as to how he and his followers intend to exploit any concessions which the Government may be mad enough to grant. Never was the Nationalist leader more violent. He has gone out of his way to express his sympathy with the "physical force" party and the Irish-American extremists. In order to secure the success of two of his satellites, who have been despatched to collect dollars from American servant girls, Mr. Redmond recently declared: "I have no quarrel with men who hold extremer views than I do—although I confess that in my twenty-five years I have not met many men who do hold extremer views than I do—I have no quarrel with them *except, perhaps that they do not advance these views a little more vigorously than they do.*' (Our italics.) This is a clear invitation to the dagger-men and dynamitards of the Clan-na-Gael to organise a fresh crop of outrages, and in any sane State Mr. Redmond would be clapped into gaol for incitement to murder. He thus developed his ideas. "I have always held the view that it was a strength to the National movement, and not a weakness, that Englishmen should realise that there was behind the men who were conducting the Constitutional movement on the floor of the House of Commons a great unknown power waiting for an opportunity which might arise, to have recourse, if necessary, to other methods to advance the cause of Ireland;" and he proceeded to commend Mr. Patrick Ford of the *Irish World* (who was declared by three English Judges to be "a known advocate of crime and the use of dynamite"), as a man "whose name is a power in America, as it is at the present moment, and has been for many years, in Ireland."

"The Plant of an Armed Revolution."

THE menacing speeches of Mr. Redmond, Mr. Dillon, and others, show conclusively that the Nationalists stand precisely where they did when Mr. Redmond declared five years ago "Our ultimate goal is the national independence of our country. I say, in its essence, the national movement is the same to-day as it was in the days of Hugh O'Neill, of Owen Roe, of Emmet, of Wolfe Tone, to overturn the foreign domination in our land,"

or when in Mr. Parnell's day, the murderous Clan-na-Gael pointed out that Home Rule would give them "the agencies and instrumentalities of a Government *de facto* at the very commencement of the Irish struggle. It places the Government of the land in the hands of our friends and brothers. It removes the Castle rings and gives us what we may well express as *the plant of an armed revolution*." In other words, Home Rule, disguised before English audiences as Devolution, and commended to them as a final settlement of the Irish question, is merely regarded by the Nationalist Party and their American paymasters as providing so much "armed plant" to the enemies of England, and as furnishing them with a formidable base for further operations against this country. Is it conceivable that Englishmen are so decadent, so despicable and so utterly bereft of their senses, that in the face of the warnings of these truculent traitors, which could be multiplied *ad nauseam*, they can seriously contemplate handing over loyal Ireland to the tender mercies of the Redmonds and the Fords, and creating a situation from which the only possible issue would be separation or civil war?

Reopening of Parliament.

THE Recess ended on October 23, when Parliament resumed its labours amid every manifestation of public apathy. Indeed, but for the vagaries of those hysterical hooligans, so happily christened Suffragettes, who are daily demonstrating the unfitness of their sex for public life—few people would have realised that the House was sitting. The Parliamentary atmosphere appears to be distinctly calmer and cooler than it was. The Ministerial horde has returned from its dissipations at Budapest and other places in a chastened frame of mind. Many circumstances have combined to teach them that politics is not all "gas and gaiters," as they imagined during the delirious enthusiasm following the General Election, when the whole duty of the newly-elected Member consisted in howling down the other side. The House of Commons promises to be less of a pandemonium than it was. It has begun to dawn upon all Liberals that a mammoth majority has its disadvantages, while the shrewder members of the Party realise the gravity of their growing differences with the Labour Members, whom they had previously regarded as valuable auxiliaries who would expend their energies in harrying the Unionists, but whom they now recognise, in the graphic language of the Master of Elibank, as threatening their very "vitals." The Liberals have no stomach for following Junior Whips in "crusades" against Socialism, but the Socialists are conducting an exceedingly active

crusade against Liberalism in many industrial constituencies under the relentless Mr. Keir Hardie, who refuses to give quarter. Then again the older Parliamentary hands on the Ministerial side are profoundly perturbed at the resuscitation of the Home Rule controversy. They could make allowance for the weakness of a Government dependent for its existence on the Nationalist vote, as in 1892; but they cannot conceive why a Cabinet with a commanding majority over all Parties in the House should deliberately go out of its way to violate the solemn assurances of several Liberal Ministers and countless Liberal candidates, that Home Rule was not an item in the Liberal Programme. As the *Daily Mail* opportunely reminds us, no less a person than Mr. Asquith declared on October 12 of last year that "Home Rule will not and cannot be any part of the policy of the Liberal Government." Why should these election promises be repudiated and the people of England betrayed? Why does the Premier play the game of Mr. Redmond and Lord Rosebery, provide a discredited Opposition with a priceless asset, and jeopardise all those social reforms for which the Party secured a mandate? This new departure is regarded in many Liberal quarters as a fatuous proceeding which portends disaster.

Ministerial Tactics.

THEN, again, Ministerial tactics generally excite misgiving among thinking Liberals. The policy of "ploughing the sands" and "filling up the cup" was tried twelve years ago with dire results to its authors, and its threatened repetition causes consternation. According to those ranting demagogues, Mr. Lloyd-George and Mr. Winston Churchill, measures will be sent up for rejection to the House of Lords, and when sufficient grievances have been accumulated the country will be called upon to end or mend the hereditary Chamber. No one will be imposed on by such a transparent trick. Long before the cup is full the Man in the Street will be heartily sick of the Lloyd-Georges and the Winston Churchills, and will be eagerly awaiting an opportunity for sending them about their business. The delusion that the House of Commons is a popular institution is confined to members of Parliament. The country would never vote for a one-Chambered autocracy; and, as Mr. Balfour has pointed out, a reformed House of Lords could refuse to play the purely passive *rôle* of our present second Chamber, and therefore a successful agitation against the Peers could only result in the disestablishment of the House of Commons from its present unmerited supremacy in the Constitution. It would be somewhat surprising that the Unionist Party

does not take the initiative in putting forward proposals for reforming and fortifying the House of Lords, were it not that a "constructive" policy would conflict with the *laisser faire, laisser aller* disposition of our Front Bench. In any case the immediate duty of the Peers has been rendered tolerably plain by their artless opponents. Certain Bills will be sent up this autumn, of which the Education Bill is by far the most important and the least popular. Indeed, it has few friends in any section of the community. It is abhorred by Churchmen and Roman Catholics as a wilful injustice; it is hated by Nonconformist stalwarts such as Mr. Hirst Hollowell, as a sham, while Mr. Perks has declared that he would regard its disappearance with equanimity.

The Opposition in the Lords.

THE Birreligious Education Bill has moreover had the bottom knocked out of it by the startling decision of the Court of Appeal during the Recess, which, as our readers will remember, decided that the local authority need not pay for denominational teaching in non-provided schools. This is tantamount to a declaration that the Passive Resisters' grievance is founded on a myth, and reduces the present Bill to an absurdity. Sir Robert Finlay, the late Attorney-General, when consulted by the London County Council, pronounced the Court of Appeal's decision to be wrong in law, but the only way to set it right is on appeal to the House of Lords, which the Government have tardily decided upon. There is every reason to believe as was stated by the *Times* that the wiser Ministers were prepared to postpone the Committee Stage of the Education Bill of 1906 in the Upper House until the Law Lords had pronounced judgment upon the Act of 1902. This would have been a sensible arrangement, but needless to say it was overruled by the extremists, and therefore the House of Lords as a legislature will be discussing one Bill while as the Supreme Court of Appeal it will be adjudicating upon another. The absurd action of the Government, needless to say, in no way affects the political duty of the Second Chamber, which, as we have repeatedly pointed out, is master of the situation on this question. Our only anxiety arises from the fact that the Unionist leader in the Lords is not a fighting man. Lord Lansdowne is an able administrator and a skilful speaker, but he has the misfortune to be a Whig, which means that he is always on the look-out for a convenient compromise. Compromise is admittedly a necessary part of a statesman's equipment, but firmness where principles are at stake is no less necessary, and it is to be hoped that Lord

Lansdowne's colleagues may be able to keep him up to the mark. The Government rely on him to clear their thorny path in the House of Lords. The Unionist Party can only redeem itself by convincing the country that it has convictions for which it is prepared to take risks and to make sacrifices. It is the plain duty of the House of Lords to amend the Education Bill into harmony with public opinion. The Electorate may have vaguely desired to establish public control over elementary schools and to abolish tests for teachers, but the majority certainly had no intention of transferring the injustice of one denomination on to the shoulders of other denominations. The House of Commons occupies such weak ground in opposing the Lords on this issue that many persons believe that the Cabinet would clutch at any pretext for abandoning the Bill. Mr. Birrell's first attempt at statesmanship is thoroughly worthy of the Chairman of the Liberal Publications Department.

Football.

THE other measures on which Ministers expect to score in their promised "game of football with the Lords," to borrow Mr. Lloyd-George's metaphor, are the Trade Disputes Bill, the Plural Voting Bill, and the Land Tenure Bill, as both the Workmen's Compensation Bill and the Merchant Shipping Bill are practically non-contentious measures, though each affords scope for judicious amendment. The Trade Disputes Bill, upon which the Law officers and several other people have made such a pitiable exhibition of themselves, will not inconceivably be restored by a Lords' amendment to the form in which it was originally introduced into the House of Commons by the Attorney-General, though, as we have previously pointed out, this is not the ideal issue for a conflict between the two Houses, as we are doubtful whether the Peers would be able to enforce their point, or whether they would be wise in insisting on it. The Land Tenure Bill and the Plural Voting Bill are of a piece. Both are ill-considered, badly-drafted measures, which will be pitchforked at the Peers for the purpose of picking a quarrel. The former is the handiwork of an ignorant young landlord, Mr. Agar-Robartes, no longer a Member of the House of Commons; while the Plural Voting Bill sprang from the capacious brain of Mr. Lulu Harcourt, and was presented to the House of Commons as a bad practical joke. It consists of the usual Radical attempt to disfranchise political opponents without touching the larger questions of Parliamentary Reform, and it should receive short shrift from the Lords, who, however, should make it abundantly clear that they recognise the absurdities and anomalies of our present electoral

system, and are fully prepared to accept a comprehensive Reform Bill founded on the principle of "one vote one value" which would terminate, *inter alia*, the intolerable scandal of the over-representation of Ireland. There is something to be said in favour of the Second Ballot, even though it is advocated by Mr. Winston Churchill, and much to be said in favour of shortening the General Election. But there is nothing to be said for the Plural Voting Bill, which touches none of these problems. The general outlook is most promising for the Peers, and we gather, from the manly speeches of Lord Zetland and others that they will rise to their great opportunities, unaffected by the bluff and bluster of their ill-conditioned opponents. To paraphrase a famous speech made at Oxford many years ago by the present Lord Curzon in defending the Peers, "they toil not, neither do they spin, and yet I say unto you that Mr. Lloyd-George in all his glory is not arrayed like one of these."

The Potsdammerung.

THE Potsdam Party in the Cabinet (Lord Loreburn, Mr. Haldane and Mr. Bryce), who have recently been immortalised (October 4) as "The Potsdammerung" by the brilliant caricaturist of the *Westminster Gazette*, are being hard pressed by their colleague at the Admiralty, and will have to look to their laurels. Our War Minister was lately described by the Anglophobe *Lokalanzeiger* of Berlin, as "the best friend of Germany in England," and on his last pilgrimage to Potsdam Mr. Haldane received the ovation which German Society invariably accords to any one who is believed to have injured British interests. As the wrecker of our Regular Army, Mr. Haldane is naturally a *persona grata* on the Spree. But he is being rapidly "cut out" by Lord Tweedmouth, who bids fair to become *persona gratissima*. A few more years of the present *régime* at the Admiralty would so weaken British Sea-power as automatically to transfer our sceptre to the "Mailed Fist" without the disagreeable necessity of fighting. As our readers remember, Lord Tweedmouth's first act, with the complaisant co-operation of Sir John Fisher, was to meet the loss of the *Montagu* by dropping a *Dreadnought* from this year's building programme, and by holding out hopes of dropping another *Dreadnought* next year—presumably if other *Montagus* founder. The Cawdor memorandum, for which the present Sea-Lords were responsible, declared that four armoured ships must be regarded as our irreducible minimum per annum to secure the requisite margin of safety, and since its promulgation other Powers have announced substantial additions to their naval programmes. Nevertheless, with the connivance of "our only reformer

John Fisher, Lord Tweedmouth announces further economies at the cost of efficiency, and the Sea-Lords have stooped to circulate a mystifying *communiqué* calculated to throw dust in the eyes of the country and to mislead the Press into treating a reduction of our sea-going squadrons as a positive increase of naval power! They have already succeeded in hocussing certain newspapers, which might have been expected to know better. Persons who believe that we strengthen our Navy by laying up our ships and reducing our crews will believe anything. It is the policy of Camille Pelletan transferred from France to England for the benefit of Germany, though probably Lord Tweedmouth has never heard of his French prototype. The truth is succinctly told by the *Morning Post*, which is always sound on naval questions. "The 'communication' produces a depressing effect. It reads like the first vague announcement of 'the British Navy, Limited and Reduced.'" As our contemporary drily observes, "the liability of the country in case of any failure of the Navy in war is absolutely and literally unlimited." Needless to say the latest treason of the Admiralty has caused boundless delight in Berlin, tempered by doubts as to British sanity. Those of our sailors who do not belong to "the Fishpond" are simply aghast. We shall next hear that there has been a British surrender at the International Wireless Telegraphy Conference in Berlin, and that we have made a "graceful concession" of our priceless advantage, thanks to the Marconi system—to Germany.

The Ministerial Crisis in France.

As the Sarrien Cabinet achieved such a brilliant triumph at the polls a few months ago, and seemed outwardly united both in its home and foreign policy, the recent Ministerial crisis in France came as something of a surprise to the general public. But it caused no astonishment to close students of French affairs, who knew that M. Sarrien had contented himself with forming a Cabinet of caretakers to carry the Republican Party over the General Election, and for this purpose had collected as many distinguished Statesmen as he could persuade to accept portfolios for the time being. Such a combination had no staying power, even had the Premier's health permitted him to remain in office. That the reconstruction has been so long postponed was doubtless due to the Papal declaration of war against the Separation Bill, which rendered a Ministerial crisis momentarily inopportune, but the prosecution of the struggle with the Vatican accentuated the necessity of constituting a homogeneous Cabinet in place of the somewhat heterogeneous body which has governed France for the past six

months. M. Sarrien and all his colleagues tendered their resignation to President Fallières on October 19, and M. Clemençeau (Minister of the Interior) was subsequently commissioned to form a new Ministry, which he succeeded in doing without much trouble or undue delay, several of his former colleagues joining the new combination. Besides M. Sarrien, M. Bourgeois (Minister of Foreign Affairs), M. Etienne (War Minister), and M. Poincairé (Finance Minister), retired in order to leave the field clear for a more Radical Cabinet, which was ultimately constituted as follows :

Premier and Minister of the Interior .	M. CLEMENCEAU.*
Minister of Justice	M. GUYOT-DESSAIGNE.
Minister of Foreign Affairs	M. PICHON.
Minister of Public Instruction and Worship	M. BRIAND.*
Minister of Finance	M. CAILLAUX.
Minister of War	General PICQUART.
Minister of Marine	M. THOMSON.*
Minister of Public Works	M. BARTHOU.*
Minister of Commerce	M. DOUMERGUE.*
Minister of Agriculture	M. RUAU.*
Minister of Labour and Hygiene . . .	M. VIVIANI.
Minister of Colonies	M. MILLIÈS-LACROIX.

The one striking, not to say startling, appointment is of that of General Picquart, the hero of the Dreyfus case, to the War Office, for which he has eminent qualifications. No serious person credits the suggestion that General Picquart has been put at the head of the French Army at this critical moment for the purpose of reopening the Dreyfus case and paying off old scores. Mr. Clemençeau is the last man to suggest such a policy—General Picquart the last man to execute it As the *Temps*, which was never a Dreyfusard paper, points out, "the new Minister of War is a man of conscience and of character ; he has proved it heroically. Nothing, therefore, authorises the proposition that he will become untrue to himself. He has the military spirit ; he knows the Army ; and he will be able to defend the patrimony of National Defence against those methods of ill-conceived economy which were so fatal on the eve of the Morocco affair." The Ministry of Labour is a new office which has been entrusted to a Socialist.

A British Comment.

THE new Government is emphatically a Clemençeau Government, and will draw both its inspiration and its strength from the great personality who finds himself at last, after a life of strenuous criticism, the responsible head of affairs. His remarkable powers will be severely taxed by a complicated situation, which personal and

* Members of the Sarrien Cabinet.

political enemies will exploit to the *n*th power. Besides the regular Opposition there are the moderate Republicans who regard M. Clemençeau as too "advanced," the "Combists," who are jealous of his sudden advent to power, and duffers like M. Pelletan, who resent their own exclusion, to say nothing of M. Jaurès and the Collectivists, who refuse to be mollified by the inclusion of M. Viviani. Only the extraordinary ability, energy, and courage of the Premier will enable the Government to overcome this formidable coalition. Although there is a change at the Quai d'Orsay, where M. Pichon, a former Minister in Peking and lately Resident-General of Tunis, succeeds M. Bourgeois, there will be no change of foreign policy. M. Clemençeau was a partisan of the *Entente Cordiale* with England long before it became either fashionable or popular. That he is recognised as one of its bulwarks may be gathered from the bilious comments of the German press. British criticism is consistently friendly if occasionally amusing. In an article entitled "The Liberalism we Lack," the *Daily News* rejoices over the formation of M. Clemençeau's Cabinet, and thus improves the occasion :

> The Liberalism of our neighbours is a sentiment so infinitely more robust than our Liberalism that its later manifestations are difficult of comprehension. It is as if the Government of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman—the Waldeck-Rousseau of our country—were to be reconstituted on more Radical lines, under the leadership, let us say, of Mr. Lloyd-George—whom we will substitute for M. Combes. Then let us suppose that there were another General Election after the disestablishment of the Church, and that the Liberal and Labour Parties were returned to power with a far greater than their present majority. In that event we should have to assume that the most prominent anti-Chamberlain journalist—we shrink from naming him—were appointed Prime Minister, with Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Snowden as his colleagues in the Cabinet, and with Sir William Butler as Secretary of State for War.

Apart from the grotesque comparisons between Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and M. Waldeck-Rousseau, and General Picquart and Sir William Butler, it would be difficult to pack more blunders into fewer sentences. The *Daily News* forgets that we repealed our Concordat and carried our Separation Bill nearly four centuries ago, calling these measures the Reformation. There is, therefore, no analogy between the Disestablishment question in England and the Separation movement in France. The Anglican Church, of which the British Sovereign is the head, is a national institution. The Catholic Church in France, on the contrary, is governed by a foreign potentate, the Pope of Rome, and it is this unnational and, indeed, anti-national character of the government of the French Church which is mainly responsible for the present crisis, which is aggravated by the belief that the Vatican is wire-pulled from

Berlin. We should all be Disestablishers on this side of the Channel if our Church were run by an Anglophobe clique of Spanish and Italian cardinals prompted from Potsdam.

M. Clemenceau's Warning.

In another respect the *Daily News* is equally at sea. Unlike the British combination imagined by our contemporary, the Clemençeau Cabinet is absolutely sound on vital questions of National Defence. While Mr. Haldane is engaged in disbanding battalions and crippling our artillery, and Lord Tweedmouth in demobilising battleships, M. Thomson, the French Minister of Marine, stipulates for the construction of six new battleships, while General Picquart has been appointed, not as General Butler would be appointed, to wreck the Army, but because he is the embodiment of efficiency. Under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and Co. all patriotic Englishmen feel insecure, because they see that the foundations of National Defence are being tampered with, while Ministers delude themselves and bemuse the public into believing that we are on the eve of an international millennium. How different is the attitude of M. Clemençeau, who when interrupted in a banquet given in his honour at Hyères a few weeks ago by one of the guests, who shouted "Talk to us about peace," retorted, "No peace is possible without force. When I came into office I believed that all European nations were at one in desiring peace. Almost immediately, without any provocation on our part, a storm of calumny broke over our heads, and we had to ask ourselves, 'How are we prepared?'" Imagine Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Lloyd George, or any other of the heroes of the *Daily News*, talking such sense. Our contemporary is certainly justified in describing French Radicalism as more "robust" than our decadent variety.

The Hohenlohe Revelations.

Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, who in his seventy-sixth year, stepped into the breach created by William II.'s sacrifice of the gallant Caprivi to a sinister intrigue, and thus became the third Chancellor of the German Empire, was the very last man to whom the world looked for a sensation; all the more as he had been dead for nearly five years. He is described by the *Times* Berlin correspondent as having been in his lifetime "the embodiment of discretion and silence." He was neither a talker nor a speaker, and he was wont to read the scanty sentences in which he addressed the Reichstag "from a piece of blue paper." He once advised a young official who wanted to know how to "get on" "to wear a black coat and hold his tongue." This good

counsel he himself followed all through his life. "He was far more silent than Moltke, and fully as sententious in what he did say when he opened his lips. It was only by the strength and brightness of his big blue eyes that he held his interlocutor like the wedding guest in the *Ancient Mariner*; but even in his extreme old age nothing seemed to escape his piercing glance." Nor was the patriotism of Prince Hohenlohe more suspect than his discretion, and therefore we may feel sure that it was to serve some good German purpose that on his eighty-second birthday (March 13, 1901) he gave instructions at Colmar to his son, Prince Alexander, and to Professor Curtius, son of Professor Ernest Curtius, of Berlin, the historian, and tutor to the Emperor Frederick, for the publication of the two portly volumes of memoirs, equal in bulk to the *Life of Gladstone*, which have provided the sensation of the past month, and the effect of which is likely to be felt for many months to come. According to the correspondent already quoted

> Prince Hohenlohe, who always had his hand upon the pulse of public opinion, must have clearly foreseen what the first effect of the publication would be. He must also, as others and I myself knew him, have realised that after the first shock had passed his real object would begin to be achieved and that from beyond the tomb his truthful narrative would enlighten the German people and its rulers regarding the nature of the perils through which they had passed—and, indeed, are still passing—and would bring home to them the necessity for continual self-restraint and prudence.

Anger in High Places.

POSTERITY will undoubtedly honour Prince Hohenlohe for the signal service he has rendered to the German Emperor and the German Empire, both of whom he loved so wisely and so well, in his posthumous endeavour to warn them against the perils and pitfalls of the Bismarckian system. But for the moment the "powers that be" in Berlin, who regard themselves as the repositories of the Bismarckian tradition, are furious with all Hohenlohes. The Emperor has addressed an irate and almost incoherent telegram to Prince Philip, the eldest son, expressing his "amazement and indignation at the published account of the most private conversations between your father and myself concerning Prince Bismarck's retirement. How was it possible that material of this kind could be published without having first obtained (*sic*) my permission?" This is probably the most magnificent advertisement ever accorded to any book, and it instantly cleared off an edition of ten thousand copies. Prince Philip is understood to have replied disclaiming all responsibility for the Memoirs, and dissociating himself from the action of his younger brother, Prince Alexander, who was wholly and solely responsible. Prince

Alexander has thrown up his appointment as President of Upper Alsace, and has been placed on the retired list. The powerful Hohenlohe family is in disgrace, to the great delight of Prince Bülow, the Imperial Chancellor, "who bears, like the Turk, no brother near the throne"—a fact which suggests the answer to the question on every one's lips as to why the German Government made no effort to stop a publication of the nature of which it had ample warning from the preliminary fragments in the *Deutsche Revue* as well as in the *Ueber Land and Meer*. We may dismiss the extravagant theory, though no theory should be dismissed simply because it seems extravagant, where the German Emperor is concerned, which has received some credence in foreign capitals, that the Emperor himself was privy to the publication, wishing to remind Vienna that he had preferred to "drop the pilot" rather than abandon his Austrian ally, which might encourage the latter to stand by Germany in her present painful isolation.

A Clue to the Mystery.

THERE is more force in the elaborate explanation of Herr Maximilian Harden, of the *Zukunft*, one of the very few independent journalists in Germany, and perhaps the most brilliant, who points out that the Wilhelmstrasse must have realised that the forthcoming Memoirs would probably contain passages detrimental to German official interests. As Prince Alexander Hohenlohe was an official, nothing would have been easier than to bring pressure to bear upon him through any of the many available channels. As Herr Harden points out, "Prince Alexander now declares that he would have refrained from publication if the Emperor had commanded him to refrain after the appearance of the first extracts. Who is to blame for the failure to issue this command, and for the consequent world-wide scandal?" It is, of course, "the Imperial Chancellor who is responsible for neglect on the part of his officials. . . . Can it be that, as the prime object, it was intended to bar the path of advancement for every one who bears the name of Hohenlohe; to exhibit the peril of sudden changes in the Chancellorship; to intimidate a will of menacing strength; or at all costs to divert attention from other scandals?" This suggestion that "in one quarter or another the publication was connived at in order to make the whole Hohenlohe clan politically impossible in Berlin," which is mentioned by the *Times* Berlin correspondent, who does not, however, endorse it, would, he tells us, "seem to be connected with the report which was circulated and semi-officially denied last year, to the effect that the Emperor had destined Prince "Ernie" Hohenlohe

the Hereditary Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenburg) for very high office (*i.e.*, the Chancellorship) when he appointed him to the post of Acting-Director of the Colonial Department." Prince "Ernie's" enemies, whoever they may be, were able to make the Colonial Department so hot for him that he eventually resigned, and, as the *Times* correspondent reminds us, "in the speech which he delivered at a farewell dinner in Berlin he paid tributes to all his official subordinates but said not a word of his official superiors." The prejudice of the Wilhelmstrasse against the Hohenlohes would explain its torpor towards the Memoirs, the publication of which would effectually dispose of dangerous political pretensions. It is another of those very disagreeable personal incidents in which public affairs in all countries, especially Germany, abound. At the same time, the Hohenlohe family were amazingly ingenuous in playing into the hands of their crafty enemies, though we imagine Prince Alexander's defence would be that he had no option except to carry out his father's solemn injunctions.

Bismarck's Resignation.

THE particular fragment of the Hohenlohe Diary which excited the wrath of the German Emperor, and consequently riveted the attention of the public, both at home and abroad, on the book, was the story of Bismarck's resignation as related by the late German Chancellor, who was at the time Statthalter in Alsace-Lorraine, on the authority of the principal personages involved, including the Emperor himself. Prince Hohenlohe heard on March 21, 1890, at the house of his brother "Victor," the late Duke of Ratibor, in Berlin, that the rupture between the Emperor and Bismarck was due to "the way in which Bismarck treated his Majesty and the unfavourable opinions regarding the Emperor which he expressed in conversation with diplomatists, as well as the unfriendly way in which the intercourse between the two was conducted." It is no surprise to learn that Princess Bismarck inflamed the quarrel instead of trying to pacify her husband, in whom the Emperor was losing confidence owing to his frequent changes of opinion. In an entry dated March 4, 1890, Prince Hohenlohe describes a court festivity where "the Emperor, at the drawing-room, squeezed my hand till my fingers cracked. He also drank to me at dinner, and I then bowed with deep respect; so deep, indeed, that I nearly spilled my champagne." Subsequently the Empress Frederick received Prince Hohenlohe and "seemed not to approve of the manner of Bismarck's dismissal. . . . In questions of social policy the Empress Frederick

shares my views, and says that the Emperor Frederick always opposed Bismarck's legislation." There is a particularly interesting account of the attitude of the Grand Duke of Baden, the Emperor's uncle, towards Bismarck and the crisis of March 1890, which has been a shock to ardent Bismarckians who were ignorant of the hostility of the Duke towards their hero. After confirming the statement that the final cause of the breach was Bismarck's refusal to rescind the Cabinet order preventing Prussian Ministers from being received in audience without their chief's (Bismarck's) knowledge and approval, the Duke narrated, *inter alia*, that the final interview between Bismarck and the Emperor was so violent that the Emperor afterwards said, "He was very near throwing the ink-pot at my head." The Emperor apparently mistrusted Bismarck's foreign policy, and suspected that he was working in the direction of abandoning Austria and the Triple Alliance and effecting an understanding with Russia. A few weeks later at Karlsruhe the Duke of Baden expressed to Prince Hohenlohe his great satisfaction at Bismarck's resignation, stating that it had become a question between a Bismarck dynasty and a Hohenzollern dynasty. Had the Emperor given way he would have lost all authority.

Bismarck's Version.

On March 22 of the same year (1890), Prince Hohenlohe visited Bismarck himself, to whom he declared that the Chancellor's resignation had come as a surprise to him. "To me too," rejoined Bismarck. "Three weeks ago I had not thought that it would end like this. For the rest I ought to have expected it, since the Emperor now means to govern alone." Bismarck then spoke of the Berlin Labour Conference and the Cabinet order about the Prussian Ministers as causes of the rupture, and he suspected Verdy du Vernois, then War Minister, and "was irritated with the Ministers generally because they had left him in the lurch and because they feared the Emperor more than himself." He recognised the Grand Duke of Baden as one of his enemies. Prince Hohenlohe's suggestion that the Emperor might one day recall Bismarck provoked the latter to retort that he would not for the world live through three such weeks again, and he advised his interlocutor "to take care that the Emperor does not occupy himself too much with Alsace-Lorraine," and "to keep out of his (the Emperor's) sight as much as possible"; upon this the diarist observes, "Easier said than done." On March 31, 1890, after returning to Strassburg, Prince Hohenlohe heard from Colonel Heuduck that the Emperor had given the commanding

generals his version of Bismarck's resignation, telling them that Russia had wanted to occupy Bulgaria, and to assure herself in that event of Germany's neutrality, but that he (the Emperor) had promised the Emperor Francis Joseph to be a faithful ally, and he would keep his promise. A Russian occupation of Bulgaria would mean war with Austria, and he could not leave Austria in the lurch. Prince Hohenlohe remarks, "It looks more and more as if differences about Russia's plans had led to the rupture. Bismarck wished to leave Austria in the lurch. The Emperor wants to go with Austria even at the risk of being involved in war with France and Russia. This explains to me what Bismarck said about the Emperor's conducting his policy after the fashion of Frederick William IV. That is the *point noir* in the future."

The Emperor's Account.

STILL more interesting is the detailed report of a conversation between the present Emperor and Prince Hohenlohe on April 24, 1890, during a drive to the shooting-box at Suffenheim, when "for a whole hour without stopping" the Emperor told the Prince "the whole story of his breach with Bismarck." The estrangement had begun in December 1889, when the Chancellor opposed the Emperor's desire to take up the Labour question. The Emperor had urged that unless the Government took the initiative the Reichstag—*i.e.*, the Socialists, the Clericals, and the Radicals—would take the lead, and the Government would have to follow. The Chancellor wished to renew the expiring Socialist law, and failing its adoption by the new Reichstag to dissolve, and to act energetically in the event of disturbances. The Emperor opposed this policy "because," he said, "if his grandfather (William I.) after a long and glorious reign had been compelled to take action against rioters no one would have taken it amiss. But with himself, who had not yet achieved anything, the case was different. He would be taunted with having begun his reign by shooting down his subjects. He was quite ready to act, but he wanted to be able to do it with a good conscience after trying his best to remedy the legitimate grievances of the working classes." Bismarck had worked against the Labour edicts of the Emperor in the Ministry, and he had also tried to influence diplomatists and foreign Powers against the Labour Conference. The Chancellor had threatened to resign in February, but to the Emperor's disappointment subsequently stated that on reflection he had changed his mind. Then there was the Cabinet order incident, and Windthorst's (the Clerical leader) visit to Bismarck. "The last three weeks of Bismarck's Chancellorship were

full of disagreeable discussions between the Emperor and the Prince. It was, as the Emperor himself put it, 'a beastly time' (*eine hahnebüchene Zeit*), and as the Emperor further remarked, the question had been whether the Hohenzollern dynasty or the Bismarck dynasty was going to govern. As to foreign policy, the Emperor asserts that Bismarck went his own way and kept a great deal from his knowledge. Indeed, he says that Bismarck sent word to St. Petersburg that the Emperor wanted to pursue an anti-Russian policy. "I have no proof of this, however," added the Emperor. It will be acknowledged by all fair-minded people that this portion of the Hohenlohe revelations reflects considerable credit on William II., if coupled with profound regret that he should have so completely abandoned the admirable disposition with which he ascended the throne. Of late years he has pursued as tortuous a policy abroad as Bismarck himself, while he has turned his back on social reform, and nowadays holds up every social reformer to public execration as an "enemy" of the country. Prince Hohenlohe presumably hoped by his posthumous "indiscretions" to recall the Emperor to his earlier and better self, and to warn him of the perils of an absolutist domestic policy, as well as of the risk of playing fast and loose with his neighbours.

Germany and Russia.

THE relations between Germany and Russia are always interesting and occasionally complicated. The Hohenlohe Memoirs throws a dry light on the subject which will not be lost elsewhere. There has always been a powerful war party in Germany, and in the late eighties Count Waldersee (who made such an exhibition of himself in China as Commander-in-Chief of the allied forces in 1900) was its life and soul. Russia was then the objective. Prince Hohenlohe regarded Waldersee with considerable alarm, as a vain and reckless man thirsting for military glory. At Friedrichsruh on December 14, 1889, Bismarck told the Prince that war was improbable, adding, however: "If there is war, it remains very doubtful whether at its close we shall be able, as one of the conditions of peace, to insist upon Russia's changing the principles of her internal administration." If Germany gained the first successes in war she ought, according to Bismarck, at once to come to terms with Russia; but he significantly referred to the possibility of restoring the Kingdom of Poland on the defeat of Russia. All that, however, was very far off. "Waldersee wanted war because he was growing old." Prince Hohenlohe also reveals the real nature of Bismarck's secret agreement with Russia, a well-guarded secret. On January 27, 1894, he learnt from Dr. von

Miquel that Bismarck's wrath had been chiefly due to the refusal of his successor (Count Caprivi) and of the Emperor to give effect to the treaty which had been arranged with Russia. That treaty provided "that Germany should give Russia a free hand in the East while Russia *per contra* bound herself to remain neutral in a war with France, even if Austria intervened in the East." On December 13, 1891, Prince Hohenlohe had an interview with Caprivi, whom he told that Shuvaloff (the Russian Ambassador), had called him a "*trop honnête homme*." Caprivi explained that this was because Bismarck had concluded a treaty with Russia "according to which we were to guarantee Russia a free hand in Bulgaria and Constantinople, while Russia bound herself to remain neutral in case of a war with France." Caprivi, who was a man of honour, and who shines like a star among the many mean and ignoble personalities who crowd these pages, remarked that when he became Chancellor he refused to renew the treaty because "if it had become known it would have broken up the Triple Alliance," upon which the diarist cynically observes: "I fear that Austria will not be grateful to us for this."

Caprivi.

ANOTHER blow for the Bismarckians is the demolition of the accepted legend that Prince Bismarck was of all his countrymen the *persona gratissima* with the Tsar Alexander III. On August 15, 1892, Prince Hohenlohe had a conversation with the Emperor William II., who said laughingly: "The Tsar told me that he had entire confidence in Caprivi, while, on the other hand, if Bismarck told him anything, he always had the conviction 'qu'il me tricherait.'" The Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria appears to have been of one mind with Alexander III. regarding the respective merits of Bismarck and Caprivi, for he said to Prince Hohenlohe at Ischl on July 30, 1892, upon Bismarck's conduct after his resignation: "It is melancholy to think that a man like him can sink so low," while as regards Caprivi Francis Joseph said: "God grant that this man may long remain at his post." After such a tribute to Caprivi from such a devoted friend of Germany as the Emperor Francis Joseph, it is no longer invidious for Englishmen to express their admiration for the high statesmanship and noble character of this really great German, whose downfall was one of the most odious episodes of the present reign, besides being a calamity to the whole Continent. Prince Hohenlohe shared the enthusiasm with which Caprivi was regarded by all sound and sensible persons both inside and outside Germany. So apparently did Herr von Holstein, of all people (who only the other day was himself unceremoniously kicked out of the Wilhelmstrasse after a lifetime of devoted, if sometimes

sinister, service to his country), for in conversing with the Prince on December 15, 1893, Herr von Holstein defended Caprivi's foreign policy against the attacks of the Bismarckian Press in a manner which, as the *Times* Berlin correspondent points out, "throws a clear light on Germany's attitude towards England and Russia." Herr von Holstein enumerated as Bismarck's mistakes, "the Berlin Congress, mediation in China in favour of France, the prevention of a collision between England and Russia in Afghanistan, and the whole policy of *tracasserie* in our dealings with Russia. Regarding the latter purpose of Bismarck to leave Austria in the lurch, Holstein said that we should have made ourselves so contemptible that we should have become isolated and dependent upon Russia." We have not the space, unfortunately, to narrate the disgraceful intrigues which ultimately compassed the fall of Caprivi and deprived Germany of the services of her first statesman. To effect this object the Bismarckians joined forces with the military malcontents, the Court camarilla, and the Agrarians.

Nicholas II.

PERHAPS the most amazing of all the "indiscretions" is the reproduction of certain very private conversations between Prince Hohenlohe, after he had become Imperial Chancellor, and the present Russian Emperor Nicholas II., who must be somewhat surprised that his confidences should be given to the world without his consent. This untoward experience may possibly discourage his Imperial Majesty from confiding in German statesmen, while it should not be wholly lost upon British simpletons, who make pious pilgrimages to Potsdam, and whose ingenuous remarks are subsequently trumpeted over Europe. At Peterhof on September 11, 1895:

> The Tsar inquired about our African colonies and seemed to take an interest in them as a geographer. . . . With regard to the East Asiatic question, the Tsar expressed his satisfaction that we had gone along with him, and was gratified when I said that we were guided by the desire to manifest (*sic*) our good relations with Russia. The Tsar observed that there had been some differences of opinion which were now cleared up, and the negotiations in Tokio would do the rest. "Entre nous," he said, "est-ce que ce n'est pas Monsieur de Marschall qui a été un peu cause de ces différends?" I protested and said that Marschall did what he was told, and that we did nothing without having obtained the commands of the Emperor. Perhaps differences of opinion had led to misunderstandings. The Tsar then said: "Au fond j'ai beaucoup de sympathie pour les Japonais, malgré la blessure dont je porte la marque," and he touched his forehead, on the side of which there is a scar or swelling. "Mais c'était un fou, un fanatique, quoiqu'un employé de la police. Tout ce que j'ai vu dans ce pays m'a fait une grande impression. J'ai été frappé par le grand ordre qui y règne, par l'activité et l'intelligence de la population Mais cette sympathie n'a pas pu m'empêcher d'agir contre les Japonais quand ils ont voulu aller trop loin." (That, at least, was the sense.)

"Les Chinois sont une horde indisciplinée, qui ont de bonnes armes et des canons et des forteresses, mais ne savent s'en servir."

Then follows a passage of special interest to Englishmen, of whose voracity the Russian Emperor complained.

The Tsar then said that he had written to our Emperor in the spring to the effect that he would have nothing against our making some acquisition in that quarter (China) so that we might have a *pied-à-terre* or a coaling-station. I replied that the Emperor had told me so under seal of secrecy—whereat the Tsar made a gesture of approval. I then mentioned the Chusan Islands, which, however, the English claimed. "Yes," said the Emperor, "they always want to have everything for themselves. When anybody takes anything, the English at once want to take much more"; and he made a gesture with his arm. He had just read in a newspaper that an Englishman maintained that England ought to acquire a point a thousand miles north of Hong-kong. "Mais ce serait chez-nous," he laughingly added. Finally, he spoke about Armenia. He was sick of the Armenian business, and hoped that there would now be an end to it. Raids of brigands took place everywhere. In the Caucasus, too, the Armenians were plundered and caused trouble. It was, therefore, time to settle this question; else the disturbance would spread.

As I was leaving, he entrusted me with his best greetings to the Emperor, and added: "Dites à l'Empereur qu'il continue à m'écrire personellement quand il aura quelque chose à me communiquer."

A year later (September 6, 1896) Prince Hohenlohe had another audience of the Tsar, who again made observations of special interest to Englishmen:

The situation in the East, he was glad to say, seemed to be quieting down. The disturbances in Constantinople were over, and he had to-day heard from Crete that the population was quieter and that an end of the fighting was in prospect. According to the Tsar's view, England is to blame for the whole movement both in Armenia and in Crete. His Majesty expressed the most emphatic mistrust of the policy of the English Government: "J'aime beaucoup l'Angleterre et les Anglais, qui me sont sympathiques, mais je me méfie de leur politique." He had been told that the English statesmen wanted to entrap him into agreements on the occasion of his visit.

To this Prince Hohenlohe replied—and the Potsdam party should note that British fickleness is one of the weapons upon which German statesmen mainly rely for spoiling relations between this country and other Powers—"that the English Constitution, and the account which English Ministers had to take of the changes of public opinion, made it impossible to conclude treaties with England," and "he (the Russian Emperor) emphatically agreed with me." In the same conversation

the Tsar said that the chief things he had in view were Russian policy in East Asia and the completion of the Siberian Railway. Japan was arming at a great rate. They had no money, however, in Japan, although at present the Chinese war indemnity supplied them with resources. When these were exhausted, he could not think how they were going to complete their military preparations. Besides, they would take years to do it, and by that time the

Siberian Railway would be ready, and then Russia would be in a position "de faire face à toutes eventualités." Reverting to English policy, the Tsar remarked that he had been told that England contemplated bringing Africa from the Cape to Egypt under her power. This, he thought, however, might take some time to accomplish. I replied that the English attached such great importance to their supremacy in South Africa because, in their fear of one day losing India, they sought compensation (*sic*) in South Africa. The Tsar replied, "Yes, but who is going to take India from them? We are not so stupid as to pursue a design of that sort." Russia, he added, had no interests in Africa.

According to Prince Hohenlohe, and we confess that we find this statement hard to swallow, the Russian Emperor, in speaking of his travelling plans, said "that he had not spoken to our Emperor about Paris, *and he asked me if I had any objection to his visit to Paris* (our italics). He was pleased when I replied that the visit to Paris appeared to me to be 'inevitable.'" The Emperor of Russia would never have discussed his approaching visit to France in this manner, or have sought the German Emperor's or Prince Hohenlohe's leave to visit Paris.

Agent Provocateur.

THERE is much that is interesting regarding the relations between Germany, France and England, which all tends to corroborate the view that Germany is the *agent provocateur* of Europe, and it makes us understand more than ever Wilhelm II.'s objections to our *Entente Cordiale* with France, while it will strengthen English determination to uphold that great international compact on which the peace of Europe depends. It should also encourage our Government to effect a settlement with Russia *independently of Germany*. On October 23, 1881, Bismarck told Prince Hohenlohe at Varzin that Germany must wish France every success in Africa so that her attention might be drawn away from the Rhine. "So long as France had no allies she could not become dangerous for us. We should be able to beat her even if she had the English on her side." Again, at Varzin, on November 7, 1882, Bismarck said that only the Monarchy was dangerous in France, that Germany could always maintain a benevolent attitude towards the Republic, and that she could "quietly look on when the English and the French locomotives anywhere came into collision." The efforts of our pro-German Press, headed by the *Westminster Gazette*, to minimise these disclosures, are quite as entertaining as the Memoirs are instructive. Our Liberal contemporary would apparently have us believe that if English statesmen, like their German *confrères*, took the world into their confidence, the code of Downing Street would be found not dissimilar to that of the Wilhelmstrasse. It is really carrying the

passion for fouling one's own nest too far to suggest that Lord Lansdowne or Sir Edward Grey are capable of treating, *e.g.*, France as Bismarck and his successors treat those with whom they have entered into confidential relations. On October 27, 1883, Bismarck described a recent visit from Mukhtar Pasha, who wanted him to use his influence against British encroachments on Turkey. Bismarck, while declining to interfere, was good enough to advise Mukhtar that "the Turks should apply to France about Egypt." Our readers will bear in mind that part of the pro-German case for an Anglo-German policy is that we invariably received the loyal support of Germany in Egypt, and at the very moment of Bismarck's incitement of Mukhtar, guileless British statesmen certainly laboured under the delusion that Germany was our friend. Does the *Westminster Gazette* believe that Sir Edward Grey is capable of treating the French in Morocco as Bismarck treated us over Egypt. Because if it does we don't. Bismarck had also advised Mukhtar that in Bulgaria the Turks should help themselves, and if the English bothered them about Armenia they should *envoyer promener* the English—a phrase which Prince Bismarck then paraphrased into a very coarse one. In August 1884 Prince Hohenlohe gives particulars of the Franco-German *rapprochment* under the auspices of Ferry, who was a cat's-paw of Bismarck's. "In the West African question there will be common action, as likewise with regard to various Egyptian questions, such as the quarantine, the Suez Canal, the Liquidation Commission, &c." What a comment on the Anglo-German "understanding" which was then the corner-stone of our foreign policy! On November 2, 1884, Prince Hohenlohe had an audience of the old Emperor William, who had evidently been alarmed by Bismarck as to the "Radical tendencies" of the British Government, and he expressed his fear "that the Republican movement may get the upper hand in England." Therefore the three Empires must stand together, &c. &c. This is an instructive illustration of Bismarck's habitual method of frightening European sovereigns by the British Liberal bogey. At the present moment Mr. John Burns' presence in the Cabinet is presumably being used against us in St. Petersburg. On the same occasion the old Kaiser entrusted Prince Hohenlohe with greetings to Ferry, of whom he had a high opinion. "I was to say that we did not desire a quarrel between England and France. Just let Gladstone go on. It is good for us, not for England." William II. is probably telling his friends at this moment: "Just let Campbell-Bannerman go on. It is good for us, not for England."

Continental Affairs.

THE salient Continental incident of the past month is the resignation of Count Goluchowski, Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs for more than eleven years, who has succumbed to the prejudice of the Hungarians, who had convinced themselves that Count Goluchowski was an "enemy" of their aspirations. It would be gross flattery to describe him as a great man or to treat his retirement as a sensational event, but it may fairly be said of Count Goluchowski that during a critical period he discharged the delicate duties of a singularly trying post with dignity and discrimination. He retained the confidence of his Sovereign and secured the good-will of the whole *corps diplomatique*. He has been succeeded by Baron von Aehrenthal, Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in St. Petersburg, whose selection has caused more enthusiasm on the Neva than on the Spree, and is instructive as demonstrating that the Ballplatz is less under the thumb of the Wilhemstrasse than the latter would have Europe believe. Count Goluchowski was at one time reputed to be subject to Potsdam influence, but before the end of his term he had bought much enlightening experience, as may be inferred from the studious reserve with which the German semi-official Press has discussed his retirement. The effusive telegram he received from Wilhelm II. after the Algeciras Conference was almost as unwelcome to its recipient as the ponderous pleasantry perpetrated by the same Sovereign, who on his last visit to Vienna (according to the *Temps*), invited Count Goluchowski to sit by him in these amazing terms: "Golu., Golu., come here and sit down next to your Emperor." * * * The British public will probably never learn the full unbowdlerised details of the visit of the Eighty Club to Budapest, but unless rumour is an unusually lying jade, some of our Liberal friends in their passionate desire to establish a union of hearts between the Hungarian and British nations, somewhat forgot themselves, and afforded scope to local caricaturists which would entertain rather than edify their fellow members were they reproducible in this country. It is unfortunate that Englishmen should frequently misbehave themselves abroad. Happily the Hungarians are of a forgiving disposition. They will know how to make allowances for the vagaries of their unsophisticated guests. * * * For these and other more cogent reasons we may rejoice that the threatened deputation of "cranks" to present an unwelcome address to the dissolved Russian Duma was eventually abandoned. A step which was too cranky for Mr. W. T. Stead must indeed be cranky British interference in Russian affairs at this particular moment

would have had a regrettable effect on Anglo-Russian relations (which are not unlikely to gain materially from the Hohenlohe revelations) and might have been attended with very serious consequences. During the past month there has seemed to be a slight lifting of the clouds in Russia, upon which, however, it would be rash to indulge in premature exultation. Meanwhile German Jews are waging active warfare against Russian credit, presumably with the object of injuring Russia's largest creditor, France. Pro-German pens in this country are lending themselves to this congenial task, and though Russian finances remain a cause of grave concern, Englishmen should be on their guard against vindictive political attacks with ulterior motives.

British Affairs.

Not the least important topic on the agenda of next year's Colonial Conference will be the claim of the self-governing Colonies to greater consideration at the hands of the Mother Country in all international arrangements affecting their interests. Current events are converting that claim into an irresistible demand. It is not permissible that Newfoundland should learn from the newspapers that the British Foreign Office has entered into a *modus vivendi* with the Washington Government in which the interests of our oldest Colony are sacrificed in the usual vain attempt to placate the Americans, while Colonial legislation is calmly overridden. The incident is fully discussed in "Greater Britain." A few days later the public were informed that Great Britain had signed an Anglo-French Convention concerning the New Hebrides, ignoring the suggestions of Mr. Deakin and Mr. Seddon, and for which the Commonwealth Government repudiates all responsibility. The Colonies cannot, will not, and should not tolerate such treatment. Another painful Colonial topic is the desertion and ruin of the people of St. Helena, who have a peculiar claim on the Mother Country for conspicuous service rendered in the past, by the sudden withdrawal of the British garrison in the pretended interests of economy—a course condemned on strategic grounds by experts of the authority of Admiral Seymour, Admiral Fremantle, and Sir John Colomb. We trust that some Unionist Member of Parliament will make this subject his own. * * * The British Foreign Office has concluded two outstanding negotiations with the Porte, on one of which it may be congratulated. The Turko-Egyptian frontier has been delimited substantially in accordance with British claims. On the other hand we have consented to an increase in the Turkish Customs *ad valorem* duties from 8 to 11 per cent.,

of which the major portion will fall upon British trade, which thus provides the razor for cutting its own throat, because whatever paper conditions may be imposed in the way of earmarking the proceeds for Macedonian purposes, the net result must be to liberate a sufficient sum to enable the Sultan to provide the kilometric guarantee for the German Baghdad Railway. We had hoped that Sir Edward Grey would repudiate this evil legacy inherited from the late Government which will ultimately place Asia Minor under the "Mailed Fist." The Germans are jubilant. * * * At home public attention has been largely engrossed in the titanic struggle between the *Times* and the leading publishers, who are resisting the claim of the *Times* Book Club to sell second-hand books at what price it pleases whenever it pleases, which the publishers assert would have a detrimental effect on their business, as well as on that of authors and booksellers. They seek to impose a six months limit. The *Times* on its side declares that the publishers do not know their own interests, still less those of booksellers or authors, and that it is fighting for the cheapening of literature. Our readers are probably sufficiently familiar with the controversy (which has been set forth with magnificent impartiality in the columns of the *Times*) to have formed their own opinion one way or the other. * * * The Church Congress at Barrow attracted even more attention than usual on account of the striking evidence afforded by many papers and speeches that Socialism is "in the air." The President, the Bishop of Carlisle, opened the proceedings with a remarkable address on the necessity of the Church's marching with the times, while the Bishop of Birmingham preached a striking sermon declaring that it was no longer the Church of the poor, having become the Church of the rich. * * * Mr. Haldane has meted out certain punishments to certain officers and non-commissioned officers unfavourably mentioned in the Report of the South African Stores Commission, but so far as we have seen, his decision to make small scapegoats has excited universal disapproval. It is a typical Radical proceeding. * * * We trust that Lord Milner's remarkable speech on the perils of anti-Nationalism, which is the besetting sin of the present House of Commons, will be republished in popular form and placed in the hands of every elector. * * * The Unionist cause has sustained a heavy blow in the death of Colonel Saunderson, and the House of Commons has lost one of its most attractive members. * * * As we go to press we learn that an English edition of the Hohenlohe memoirs will be published in the course of this month by Mr. Heinemann.

THE FISCAL PROBLEM

THE relation between Mr. Chamberlain and those who are privileged to work with him is not merely that of leader and followers. He not only inspires in them absolute trust in his capacity to lead, his sincerity and fidelity of purpose, his unflinching courage ; he makes them feel that they are friends and colleagues in a movement which is of greater importance than any individual, but in which the work of every one has its natural place and really counts. Whether at home or in the Colonies Mr. Chamberlain is held in honour amongst his followers, not as the capable but cold and unapproachable leader, but as the impersonation of loyal friendship, courage, and resoluteness in action. His indisposition, therefore, at first appeared to them to take the heart out of the movement he leads. To face, without him, the next few months, critical as they must necessarily be in the history of the Empire, seemed too great a task, even though they knew the plan of campaign and their allotted tasks. But Mr. Chamberlain, during the last three years, has not worked in vain. He knows that his followers work all the harder because he is temporarily unable to fulfil his own plans, so that when he resumes active work he may find the movement for the consolidation of the Empire carried a stage further towards realisation.

Since 1903 the progress of the movement has been uninterrupted, and at no period has that progress been so rapid as since the General Election, which was supposed by some enthusiastic Free Traders to have put an end to it for ever. There were before 1903 many students of public affairs, both here and on the Continent, who believed that with the steady growth of Imperial sentiment the revival in the United Kingdom of some of the older forms of indirect taxation would force the consideration of Preference and the desirability of a change of fiscal policy. Mr. Chamberlain's action brought the whole question into the field of practical politics, and the success of his campaign at once showed such a widespread desire to accept the Colonial offer and so

much dissatisfaction with the existing fiscal system, that even then confidence in the ultimate triumph of the cause was justified. But three years ago it was not possible to define with much precision the problem which the country had to solve, and in these circumstances divergent views amongst Tariff Reformers as to the extent to which it might be necessary or desirable to break with the old system were not unnatural. The remarkable feature of the early stages of the movement was that at least half the population were prepared to break with Cobdenism in one way or another, and of these a very large proportion desired to follow Mr. Chamberlain's lead. Those who had most carefully watched the trend of economic opinion during the last twenty years and noted the decay of "orthodox" views, were surprised at the large measure of support Mr. Chamberlain at once received. This was the more striking, because when the movement began Mr. Chamberlain himself and many of his supporters were prepared to accept generally the current view as to the advantages which had followed the adoption of Free Importation and the prosperity of the industries of the United Kingdom. It was not at all necessary to an Imperial policy to prove that our industries were "dying." On the contrary, the actual working out of a preferential scheme is much easier when there is no disparity, to our disadvantage, between our industries and those, say, of the United States and Germany. The serious decline of the iron and steel, engineering, textile, or other great industries here, relative to those of competing countries, would make it difficult to draw up a fair preferential schedule, or, in fact, a scheme which would work. Reciprocal arrangements, such as Colonial development requires, are not really possible except with progressive countries. The realisation of the dangers which threaten British trade came subsequent to the opening of Mr. Chamberlain's campaign and as the direct result of detailed inquiry. The opponents of Tariff Reform naturally and at once represented him as a Protectionist of the old school.

As a matter of fact there has never been any risk of a return to Protection divorced from Imperial Preference except from two quarters. A Government, pledged to maintain Free Trade and opposed to "Food Taxes," may easily pave the way for Protection in an insular sense by imposing "revenue" duties on imported manufactures, and in the event of international complications which involved great expenditure would be forced to do so. No other new sources of revenue adequate to the needs of the country could possibly be discovered. This was proved by the experience of the late Government which, although a

Free Trade Ministry, found itself obliged to re-impose a Corn Duty in order to broaden the basis of taxation. Even now the choice has to be made between new indirect duties and the cutting down of the Army and Navy Estimates, *i.e.*, between import duties now combined with national security, or the certainty of import duties in the future combined possibly with the risk of war. Retaliation, if it could be translated into action, would lead to a high protective tariff. Retaliatory duties would necessarily be higher than duties calculated on the basis of normal trade relations ; they could not be taken off when they were once imposed ; and the demand of other groups of manufacturers than those immediately concerned for proportionate duties could not be resisted without throwing the whole trade of the country into a state of confusion.

Mr. Chamberlain never showed a sounder Imperial instinct than when he forced the country to reconsider its preconceived ideas as to the flourishing condition of British trade. In the first place, he showed that he understood the point of view of the Colonies. Statesmen like Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Deakin do not want the United Kingdom to abandon the present fiscal system out of pity for the forlorn condition of the struggling communities which they represent! An Imperial arrangement must be in the interests of the several states affected ; otherwise it cannot last. In the second place, the burden of Imperial defence must in the natural course of things rest mainly on the United Kingdom for a long time to come, and our ability to bear it depends upon the progress and efficiency of our industries and the stability of our national credit. No impartial observer of international trade relations would say that Mr. Chamberlain began his crusade a moment too soon. Until recent times the United Kingdom had been for more than two hundred years progressing faster than any other country. Not only our industries, our commercial methods, our banking and credit system, have been organised under these conditions of relative predominance, but diplomacy, naval and military dispositions and the raising of revenue, have been carried out in the same conditions. This has been the case for so long that our people have forgotten that there is any connection between economics and politics ; they think of their money-making, their domestic politics, naval supremacy and the maintenance of the Empire as subjects which have no necessary relation to each other. If a great Imperial crisis occurs, they think they will rise to it as in times past. They have grown immensely rich under Free Trade ; look at the volume of our imports and exports per head,

and the magnitude of our income tax returns. So they will pour out their money like water when the crisis comes, and deal with it triumphantly,—forgetting all the time that in the new conditions the very forces which bring on the crisis may make the money-making impossible and destroy our credit.

The following considerations are of special importance in showing the intimate connection between the state of our home industries and the maintenance of the Empire: (1) Taking agriculture, we find that no nation has ever been so dependent on imported food-supplies as the United Kingdom at the present time; in modern times no nation has ever waged a great war on conditions in any degree approaching those we should have to deal with. During the great war with France this country was self-sufficient. In the period 1841–5, 24,000,000 persons, or nearly 90 per cent. of the population, were supported on home-grown wheat. During the Crimean War more than 20,000,000 persons, or nearly 75 per cent. of the population, were so provided for. In 1871–5, the number fell to 15,600,000, or 48 per cent. of the population. In 1901-5 only 4,600,000, or 10.6 per cent. of the population, were fed on home-grown wheat. Thus the conditions in which our great and successful wars of the past were fought, and in which the Empire was founded, have been entirely reversed. (2) It is clear that no measures we could adopt would prevent an enormous rise in the price of food-stuffs in the event of war with a naval power or a combination of naval powers. No doubt prices would come down if the war lasted long enough. But our people have never had to face a serious rise of prices, and no one can tell how they would act. In this connection therefore it is important to scrutinise the statistics of unemployment. The class of permanently unemployed or unemployable appears to be increasing. It cannot be too often repeated that our present statistics of unemployment relate only to Trade Unionists in receipt of "out of work benefits." The information they supply refer, therefore, only to the conditions prevailing among the best organised sections of the working classes who constitute a comparatively small fraction of those who work for "wage or salary." What the conditions are in the less skilled trades, among the casual labourers and the unorganised working men; the numbers out of work among the great army of clerks and shop-assistants, no one can say, for no one knows. (3) The possibility of dealing with this problem becomes more and more remote under the present fiscal system. The continuous decline of agriculture means the progressive decline of our home market, and makes us more and more dependent on the export of

manufactures or raw materials as a means of purchasing food for the population. Mr. Chamberlain has been much criticised for insisting so much on the export trade as a measure of our prosperity. As a comparative test, that is, in the sense in which he has used it, he is perfectly right. Our home trade is officially estimated to be four or five times our export trade. But the home trade of the United States or Germany is not less than from eleven to thirteen times the export trade. Yet the foreign trade of both these countries is growing more rapidly than that of the United Kingdom. (4) Every industry in the United Kingdom has gone backward relative to those of foreign countries since Mr. Chamberlain began his campaign, some of them, *e.g.*, the iron and steel industry, with extraordinary rapidity, so that we come out a very bad third in the international struggle. This is of great importance from at least two points of view. In the first place, it becomes more and more difficult to make a profit on our foreign trade because our output is relatively less than that of foreign countries. In the second place, our naval supremacy, which depends on the absolute and relative superiority of the engineering, electrical and allied industries, is undermined. It is quite impossible to tell from the Board of Trade Returns what is happening to these industries, because the classification is hopelessly deficient. From other evidence, however, it appears that in these industries competition in the home market has developed in recent years in between 400 and 500 products or groups of products. Some of them are of small money value, but of fundamental importance in modern shipbuilding and naval operations. The First Lord of the Admiralty might reasonably be asked whether we are in reality self-sufficient in regard to materials, plant and important accessories for rapidly carrying out a naval programme. (5) The alteration in the relative economic position of the Great Powers cannot fail to react on the financial predominance of London. The United Kingdom was for so long a period far ahead of all other countries that it is rather difficult to obtain direct and useful evidence on this subject or to use arguments which will not appear academic. Certainly there is no instance in history of a country retaining for long its financial predominance divorced from flourishing manufactures. The actual variations in the rates of exchange during the last fifteen years between London, New York, Paris and Berlin seem to seem to show that the predominance of London is already less than it was, though I should be sorry to make a dogmatic assertion on so difficult and complicated a subject.

The weight of these considerations is in no way diminished

by the recent Trade Returns. I remember three years ago discussing the probable course of trade with prominent Tariff Reformers, when we agreed that looking at the actual figures of international trade in the last thirty years it would be reasonable to expect an upward movement in the natural course of things which would affect all countries, and it was quite easy to forecast the kind of arguments which would in these circumstances be used by the Free Traders. What was really interesting in the situation was the magnitude and character of the movement which was anticipated. At that time there were grounds for great anxiety as to the immediate future of the cotton industry, and the progress or decline of this great industry must always have a considerable effect on the other trades of the country. Now, with the record figures of the last three years before us, it is more difficult than ever to share the optimistic views of the Free Trade writers. It has become abundantly clear that the relative decline of the United Kingdom was not a temporary phenomenon, the significance of which Mr. Chamberlain exaggerated. While we retain the lead in regard to certain specialities, British industrial supremacy is now definitely a thing of the past. Looking at the absolute trade figures, we find that the recent expansion is due almost entirely to coal, pig iron, machinery and cotton. It is not a little remarkable that the trade between Germany and the United Kingdom is carried on in a large measure on a mediæval basis, *i.e.*, we send to Germany raw or semi-manufactured materials and receive from that country finished products in the manufacture of which we used to be supreme. We might regard with more equanimity the enormous increase in the exportation of coal if the amount retained for home consumption showed a similar increase, but that amount is practically stationary—a sure sign taken in conjunction with the increased demand for municipal undertakings that our manufactures as a whole are not progressing. The increased export of cotton goods is not due to Free Trade, or the wisdom and energy of spinners and manufacturers, or the acquisition of new markets, but to causes which are known to be temporary and exceptional; and the boom is now over. The exportation of pig iron is consequent on the great expansion in the iron and steel industry of Germany and the United States. The increase in pig iron production in the latter country in a single year (1905) is equivalent to the total production of the United Kingdom, and notwithstanding the fillip given by the foreign demand we have fallen to the third place. But the two most striking features of the present situation are the state of employ-

ment and the stagnation in the City coupled with the increased Bank Rate. With regard to the former, Lord Ridley drew attention to the facts in a recent letter from which I may be allowed to quote :

The Board of Trade publishes monthly returns as to the extent of unemployment, based upon information received from trade unions. These trade union returns show that there was a considerable improvement in employment in the course of the year 1905 as compared with 1904, an improvement which has, on the whole, been maintained so far during the year 1906. The percentage of the unemployed members of the unions making returns fell from 6.8 in January 1905 to 4.9 in December, but the figure for the whole year was 5.4 per cent. This was lower than in 1904, but, with that exception, higher than any year since 1895. Yet this relatively high percentage of unemployed coincided with the record figures of the foreign trade of the country, a fact which seems to show that the growth in the export trade was not to be taken as indicative of a similar improvement in the general prosperity of the country. During the year 1906 the percentage of unemployed in the trade unions giving information to the Board of Trade has gone steadily downwards until September, following all the year, with the exception of one month, the average for the previous ten years. It is somewhat remarkable that, with all these record figures, we have not bettered average conditions. The course of the returns seems to justify the view, which is very generally held in certain quarters, that the problem of unemployment is becoming more and not less urgent. It is, of course, not easy to say what precise weight must be attached to these official returns. They are at best only an index, and not an absolute measure of the state of employment. They show whether employment in certain skilled trades is increasing or diminishing, but not how many unemployed there are ; and we have no information of a reliable character on the unorganised trades of the country. Moreover, the returns we have, come from only a minority of the unions, representing only 25 per cent. of all trade unionists, and of the trade unionists represented an abnormally large percentage are employed in the textile industries—that is, in just those industries in which, owing to the exceptional causes described, employment has been most active. If, therefore, we remember that in these record years of the export trade the percentage of unemployment has not fallen below the average of the last ten years, we may rest assured that the problem of finding employment for the working classes will be far more acute when the present boom is over.

The "City" has, so far in our history, proved the best index we have of the state of our trade and of our international position. If the country is as prosperous as the Trade Returns seem to indicate, it is inconceivable that this prosperity would not have been reflected. What we find, however, is a degree of stagnation affecting all classes of gilt-edged securities with which it is difficult to find any parallel in modern times. It is too early to dogmatise as to the exact relation between the remarkable rise in the Bank Rate and the general economic position of the country. The significant feature appears to be that no similar rise has ever occurred before in what may be called

"normal" as distinct from speculative conditions, and that it is due to the increased gold requirements, *i.e.*, the increased prosperity of other countries, particularly the United States. If that is so, the great increase in the Bank Rate is an economic fact of the first importance.

The net result of recent experience is not only to confirm, but to emphasise, the general accuracy of Mr. Chamberlain's diagnosis, and the need for strong action. It is possible—nay, certain—that at certain intervals the ordinary movement of trade will bring about an expansion of the export returns as great, or even greater, than that of the last three years, especially if the periodic variation coincides, as it has done in these three years, with the operation of other special causes. Such trade cycles affect all countries, whether they are declining or progressing. But the United Kingdom is beyond all doubt falling behind her principal rivals, and is every month becoming less fitted to deal with the problems of unemployment and dumping which will become acute directly the depression of trade sets in—that is, less fitted to overcome the very real difficulties which have to be surmounted in framing an Imperial scheme.

Meanwhile, in the Colonies the position has become more and more defined with the natural and inevitable progress of affairs, and we know that the Colonial Conference to be held next April must affect the whole future of the movement for the consolidation of the Empire. At the last Conference, in 1902, the full consideration of Preference, and its advantages and disadvantages, was made extremely difficult by the imperfect figures which were available, and by the absence of direct and individual evidence from manufacturers and merchants engaged in the trade with Canada—the only Colony which at that time gave Preference to the United Kingdom. If the materials available even at that time had been abstracted in detail, they were sufficiently copious to convince even the late Lord Ritchie that Sir Wilfred Laurier and Mr. Fielding were on firm ground in asking for reciprocity. We have had four years additional experience, with the result that the advantages and the efficacy of Preference are proved beyond doubt. Free Traders seem to think they have disposed of the question when they have pointed out that the exports of the United States to Canada have grown more rapidly than those of the United Kingdom to Canada since 1897. This is true. But they appear to be afraid of the real facts, though they are easily accessible in the Canadian official returns. Total imports into Canada have enormously increased, but whereas up to 1897 United States trade was continuously

and rapidly increasing, British trade was rapidly diminishing. Since the adoption of Preference British trade has not only ceased to decline, it has rapidly increased. But that is not the end of the matter. Under the existing Canadian Tariff there are two classes of commodities, those which are dutiable and those which are admitted free. The United States trade has increased in the case of the free goods—*i.e.*, where Preference does not operate, and in the case of those on which the duties are low—*i.e.*, where the Preference is inconsiderable. In practically every other group British trade has gained at the expense of the United States. Similar conclusions are suggested by our more limited experience in the case of South Africa and New Zealand. Hence Preference is an advantage to us. We cannot, in fact, do without it, and no Free Trader suggests that he would like it to be withdrawn.

All the self-governing Colonies are revising their tariffs. Now this revision must have important consequences for the Empire. It is made necessary by the development of the several Colonies. It affords a splendid opportunity for developing Imperial trade. But a new tariff may, in the nature of things, almost be said to compel foreign countries, whose trade will be affected, to offer to negotiate. Are we going to stand aside, and, if so, watch or hinder such negotiations ?

The Colonies at any rate have left us in no doubt as to their wishes. In view of what has taken place in recent months, the old, foolish controversy whether there was an "offer" or not is singularly out of date. Again, I may quote from Lord Ridley's recent letter :

> Arrangements have been negotiated, or are in process o. negotiation, between the following Colonies : Canada and Australia, Canada and New Zealand, Canada and South Africa, Canada and the West Indies, Australia and New Zealand, Australia and South Africa, New Zealand and South Africa.
>
> The Canadian preference to other Colonies is part of the general Canadian preferential policy inaugurated in 1897, and is, in every case, placed upon a reciprocal basis. Only those Colonies which grant tariff preferences to Canada are admitted to the Canadian Preference, and Canadian Ministers have expressed their readiness to enlarge the Preference now granted to British manufacturers so soon as British Ministers will also adopt the reciprocal basis for trade within the Empire. It is only in the case of the United Kingdom that Preference is granted without reciprocity, and you will recall Sir Wilfrid Laurier's definite declaration that he is willing "to discuss with you [British Ministers] articles on which we can give you a Preference, and articles on which you can give us a Preference." The arrangement recently under discussion between Australia and New Zealand has for the moment been rejected by New Zealand as inadequate, but the New Zealand Parliamentary Committee, in its report, emphasises the importance of preferential arrange-

ments, particularly with the Mother Country, and praises the example set by Canada in this respect. Similarly, in regard to the other inter-colonial arrangements, they may be said to affirm the acceptance by the Colonies of the general principle of mutual Preference and their desire for its extension to the relations with the Mother Country.

What, then, will be done at the next Colonial Conference? That it must be of the greatest importance to Imperial interests is certain, and I do not see how the Government can possibly avoid a full and free discussion of Preference, except on the hypothesis that they will deliberately neglect British interests not only from the point of view of the mutual relations of the United Kingdom and the Colonies, but in regard to certain foreign countries. (1) The Australian Commonwealth has raised a question similar to that we had to face when we denounced the German and Belgian treaties in order to make way for Canadian Preference. The Commonwealth wishes to give us a Preference not only with regard to goods but also shipping, a Preference which is equivalent to a considerable subsidy to our mercantile marine. This proposal is at present blocked by twelve treaties of commerce and navigation which make such Preferences impossible. Of these twelve treaties, half were concluded before the Colonies had the power to say whether they would accede or not; to the others some of the Australian Colonies acceded, of their own free will, while other Colonies declined to accede. The treaties clearly prevent the Australian Commonwealth from acting in the way it desires; they would also stand in the way of similar action on our part. But the question of playing fast and loose with treaty obligations does not arise, for all the treaties may be denounced after due notice except one, that with Morocco, in which mutual consent is necessary. The other countries concerned are Austria-Hungary, Colombia, Egypt, Greece, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Paraguay, Russia and San Salvador. (2) When foreign countries revise their tariffs we make representations to them as to modifications we may desire. It is true that such representations are, in existing conditions, generally fruitless. But we never refuse to negotiate if we have the chance. Recently the President of the Board of Trade plumed himself on the negotiations which had been conducted with Roumania, and then published a misleading account of the concessions which had been obtained. Now the Colonies are revising their tariffs and are arranging Preferences. They have declared by word and deed that they desire to negotiate for further Preferences. All the industrial and commercial classes of the United Kingdom will be directly or indirectly affected by the new Colonial tariffs. In these circum-

stances, it is grotesque that the Government should send its representatives to Roumania and at the same time refuse to negotiate with our own people at an Imperial Conference. (3) When Mr. Chamberlain began his campaign, the country was furious with indignation because Germany penalised Canada for giving us a Preference. From that day to this nothing whatever has been done from this side to remedy what was considered to be a gross outrage, and Canadian goods are still penalised because we enjoy a Preference. (4) The indignation here was supposed to be equivalent in force to Lord Lansdowne's "big revolver," and it was said that Germany had actually postponed the operation of the new tariff until they could see what was likely to be the result. This was idle talk. British anger had no effect on German policy. The German General Tariff had already been passed in December 1902; negotiations with other countries proceeded normally, and when they were concluded the new Conventional Tariff came into operation, also quite normally, in March 1906. It included no modifications in the interests of the United Kingdom. We had made representations teeming with sound economic arguments. But they were not listened to. On the contrary, the duties on iron and steel, machinery, textiles and many other goods were raised, in some instances, so as to become prohibitive. Duties were not lowered at all except by the chance operation of the power of negotiation possessed by some foreign country, and never in our interests but in their own. (5) Though Canadian goods are penalised by Germany, the United Kingdom still enjoys "most-favoured-nation-treatment" with that country, that is, our goods are admitted under the Conventional instead of the General Tariff. We originally purchased the concession by binding the Colonies, without their consent, not to give us a Preference. When the treaty was denounced in 1897 "most-favoured-nation-treatment" was continued to us from year to year by Imperial Ordinance, but Canada was deliberately excluded from its benefits. Canada retaliated by imposing a surtax on German goods imported into that country. The surtax is of considerable advantage to us because it is tantamount to a substantial increase of Preference. But it cannot be said to be of advantage to Canada. On the figures, German Trade has decreased. But Canadian information shows that many German goods can, under our present fiscal regulations, he imported into the United Kingdom and then re-exported *under the British Preference*, to Canada. Thus the policy of Canada is to a certain extent foiled, and Germany, to that extent,

enjoys the same Preference as we do in Canada instead of paying the surtax. Now the Government cannot avoid the discussion of this important subject, because unless the most-favoured arrangement is continued, British goods will be subjected to the General Tariff of Germany early in 1908. In fact, if this is to be avoided, negotiations should already have commenced. Here we have a question of the greatest importance, requiring early decision, in which the preferential policy of Canada, and so of all other parts of the Empire, is involved, and also our own relations with Germany. What line does the Government propose to adopt? If Mr. Chamberlain were in power we know the course he would pursue, but with a Government pledged to maintain an obsolete fiscal system the only method of securing valuable trade concessions is by the sacrifice of Imperial interests.

These are some of the purely fiscal subjects which arise quite naturally from the present situation. The list may be largely extended. There can be no doubt that a British Government should take the initiative in the full and free discussion of such subjects. They are, at any rate, sufficient to show that we have reached the parting of the ways, and Tariff Reformers must fight for all they are worth.

COMPATRIOT.

THE TRUE SITUATION ON THE CONGO

THE Congo has attracted much attention in England for some years past. So many erroneous and misleading views have been put before the British public that I have often wished to place before it my own opinion on some of the principal points in a question that, naturally enough, is of the deepest interest to all who are concerned in any way with the civilisation of Central Africa. I avail myself, therefore, with great pleasure, of the present opportunity to give effect to my long-felt desire. I cannot, however, deal here with all that has been said or printed about the Congo, but I will endeavour to make it clear that, if in some parts of the State, especially those districts where the trading companies have been established, the people have been sometimes the victims of cruel treatment, it is beyond dispute that the Government has striven to remedy this state of things, that already great progress has been made and that the constant care of the Government is to improve the lot of the natives.

I know England well from having resided there on several occasions. Appointed in 1904 to attend the manœuvres of the British Army, I had then the opportunity of forming courteous and agreeable relations with a large number of English officers as well as with many high officials in England. I had also an opportunity of appreciating the admirable qualities, the deep sense of equity, the loyalty and respect for the rules of "fair-play," which are among the chief characteristics of the British nation.

It is for this very reason that I do not despair of seeing soon in England a general repudiation of the extravagant and impassioned opinions, as I myself and my countrymen consider them to be, which are held about the Congo by apparently a certain number of Anglo-Saxons. Still more am I convinced that the rights of King Leopold, destined in God's good pleasure to become one day those of Belgium, will never be

infringed by the friendly people to whom Belgium owes so much. It is in this spirit, and because I know that it is a principle in accordance with the best English tradition to listen to the other side (*audire alteram partem*), that I write these lines.

I think I may affirm without being taxed with presumption that I have the right to speak on the matter in question. It is fifteen years since I was first placed at the head of the Government of the Congo State in Africa, and during the whole of this period I have taken an almost continuous part in the administration of the Colony. I can, therefore, speak with ample knowledge of my subject, and if the objection is raised that I am not in a position to speak with impartiality, I reply that my statements can be read by all who reside or have resided on the Congo, and certainly I shall not be suspected of committing the imprudence of expressing any views which would soon be proclaimed as false by the majority of those residents.

I only returned to Europe on July 9 last, coming direct from Boma and the Congo, where I had resided in my capacity of Governor-General since the month of May 1905. The term resided must not lead the reader to conclude that I remained at a single place, or in a fixed residence. On the contrary, much of my time was employed in a tour through the Upper Congo as far as the basin of the Rubi (Uelle) passing *en route* Leopoldville, Bumba, Ibembo and Buta. I afterwards visited Basoko, Stanleyville and Ponthierville, all on the great river, and wound up by inspecting Basankusu, Bongandanga and Baringa in the Abir district.

During this tour I had innumerable opportunities of seeing with my own eyes and at close quarters, what was the condition of things in the region I visited. I spoke to thousands of natives who were at perfect liberty to make all their complaints to me. I also examined the work of the State officers, and had many conversations with English and foreign missionaries. I saw much, and I carefully overhauled the official records. The more numerous sources of information than were available a few years ago allow of our arriving at more definite conclusions, and it is almost inconceivable that any grave abuses can now remain long unknown. I think then that I know thoroughly the actual position of things in the Congo.

The matter which most excites public opinion in Europe is, naturally enough, that of the treatment of the natives, and as I said at the commencement, that is the point which I most wish to treat here. I am convinced, as are, no doubt, the

greater number of my readers, that the welfare of the black population is the first object that colonisation has to obtain. When I resumed, in the early part of 1905, the personal direction of affairs on the Congo, I was under the recent impression of the violent and repeated attacks, more especially in England, on the subject of the alleged deplorable condition of the Congo natives. My attention, therefore, was given in a very special degree to this point.

Mr. John Morley said lately, during the debate on the Indian Budget in the House of Commons, that if there is a country about which it is imprudent to "dogmatise," that is to say to formulate general propositions, it is British India. The same truth might be uttered about the Congo. It is one of the most grievous errors into which well-intentioned, but ill-informed persons fall to imagine that a single people, living under the same or uniform conditions, inhabits the immense Congolese territory. The truth is, the tribes, the climate, the institutions, the economic situation, and the mode of life there present striking differences

These differences are due to a thousand different causes. They are not due, as is sometimes assumed, to variations in the mode of Government or in the "Congolese system." It is said that the native is happy where the labour tax—based on the quantity of rubber collected—is not in force, and that on the other hand he weeps under the burden of a horrible oppression wherever that tax is enforced. Nothing is more distant from the truth. These views of an excessive simple-mindedness will never be accepted by those who have seen the Congo. I find a decisive proof of this, one which will not be regarded with suspicion, in the letter which the Rev. Mr. Millman, a respected Protestant missionary, who was at that time head of the Baptist Missionary Society's mission at Yakusu, and who I believe is still there, wrote me on December 28, 1905.

The position of the large population about which he addressed me was evidently not exceptional. It is the same in all parts of the State under the direct control of our officials, and it is even more favourable in many other regions than at Yakusu.

The following is the text of Mr. Millman's letter :

Baptist Missionary Society, Yakusu, Upper Congo,

W. C. Africa, *December* 28, 1905.

To His Excellency the Governor of the Congo Free State, Boma.

Sir,—At the time when many and well-attested reports of oppression and cruelty in certain districts of this vast country are disturbing and shocking the feelings of Englishmen, and causing English journals to depreciate the

labours and the industry of the officials of this State, it is a pleasure and an honour to be able to say that in this part of the "Province Orientale," that is, in the country lying between Isanghi and Stanleyville, with which we are, and have been for eight years, very intimately acquainted, we have never seen or known any single case of grave maladministration or cruelty.

Your Excellency, it is a joy to us, and you will pardon us if we express the wish that a like joy may soon be the lot of every Congolese, native and white, to testify to the ability, enlightenment and humanity of the officers who have occupied the highest positions in this province, from the early days of Mr. Malfeyt's residence here until the present time of Mr. de Meulemeester's term of office.

We have just completed our annual inspection of the native schools under our direction, in over seventy villages, in which some 3000 children are being taught to read and write, and we have found in all these places uniform tranquillity and comparative contentment.

Believe me, your Excellency, to be yours respectfully,

(S.) W. MILLMAN.

I replied to Mr. Millman, when thanking him for his communication and for his impartiality, and in the course of my remarks I pointed out that if, in other districts, abuses might have been committed by individuals they had never been condoned by the Government which took steps to punish them as soon as the facts came under its knowledge.

In my opinion the difference which is perceptible in the condition of things in different regions is chiefly due to the spirit of the population. While some of the tribes submit willingly to their fiscal obligations and pay the tax without difficulty, others more backward in intelligence, or it may be more warlike by disposition, offer a resistance not easily overcome. It is too often forgotten that these are the same tribes who, not thirty years ago, strove on several occasions to stop Stanley as he came down the river in the course of that tropical Odyssey, during which the sound of the war-drum was heard night and day for whole weeks, like an enervating and almost exasperating music in the ears of the heroic traveller.

It must not, however, be supposed from these observations that tranquillity does not prevail in a general sense throughout the region of the Upper Congo. General revolts such as those which happened a few years ago do not, in my opinion, seem any longer possible. Any comparison that might be made in this respect between us and the great neighbouring colonies could not be unfavourable to us.

Our troops, now well instructed and well disciplined, have never any difficulty in overcoming hostile demonstrations. This was shown during the three risings of the last twelve months, two of which were in the Lomami and on the Wamba (Kwango). The third rising that of Sultan Djabbi

had been long foreseen, and was in reality no misfortune because that chief, filled with a sense of his own importance, and believing in his strength, refused to submit himself to the very light obligations imposed upon him by the Government, and thus set a bad example to the other chiefs of the Uelle region. The necessary force to bring him to reason was quickly and easily brought together. The resistance offered by this Sultan was not of long duration. It is true that he has not been made prisoner, but he has been deserted by the tribes subject to his authority, and his influence has been destroyed. In consequence the zone of the Uere-Bili has entered upon an era of calm and progress hitherto unknown to it.

With regard to the rising on the Lomami which resulted in the death of two traders, it never possessed more than local importance, and is now over. The hostilities on the Wamba are quite recent. Troops in sufficient number are on the spot, and tranquillity is being restored. I may point out that both these risings have occurred in regions where traders are operating at a considerable distance from the State posts. What has just happened in these two regions proves that the maintenance of trading establishments at a distance from the Government stations is not easy. The Government has often been reproached with placing obstacles in the way of the creation of such establishments, but it can no longer be doubted that if the measures which the Government took out of prudence had not been observed a situation far graver and more complicated than that which has been denoted would have been created, and so many points of doubt and discussion would have arisen that the remedies now put in force would long have proved inadequate. I must emphatically assert that the difference in the results obtained in different parts of our territory arises above all and almost exclusively from the difference between the native tribes.

The greater number of the troubles, and the most regrettable abuses have arisen in the regions where the population, which never possessed any political organisation worthy of the name, has shown itself, if not averse to any control whatever, at least repugnant to any regular government. I believe that the English are themselves confronted with a very similar condition of things in the forests of the Lower Niger, as is shown by the numerous punitive expeditions necessary in that quarter. It is a mistake to attribute them, as some persons do in England as well as on the Continent, to the severity of English officials in general, or to the harshness of English methods of colonisation.

By means of objective facts the efforts accomplished by the Congolese administration in putting down abuses may be realised, and at the same time an idea can be formed of the progress effected in this respect. The following table which gives the number of cases tried in 1905 and in 1906 respectively, first against State officials and secondly against the agents of Companies, for acts before and after the year 1905 gives eloquent evidence on this point :

CASES TRIED OR IN COURSE OF BEING TRIED

For acts prior to 1906 .	1. Against agents of companies .	22
	2. Against State officials . .	8
For acts after 1905 . .	1. Against agents of companies .	13*
	2. Against State officials . .	2

Two circumstances, in my opinion, have directly contributed, and will contribute still more in the future, to bring about the complete disappearance of all abuses. They are, first, the improvement in the recruiting of the officials and agents, and secondly, the improvement of communications. The returns of the white personnel in the service of the State in Africa show that while their numbers increase, their capacity for instructing and guiding the population has also greatly increased.

Out of 1511 officials and other State functionaries, 537 are in their second term of service. Not only are they experienced in native affairs, but they were adjudged worthy of being reappointed to the service after having passed three years in Africa, and after having given proof of their aptitude for it. The higher order of officials have, as a rule, from six to nine years' service to their credit ; under their direction the junior officials are carefully trained. The efforts made by the Government to improve its newly recruited staff, and on the other hand the experience acquired by a large number of our officials have had as their natural consequence a great diminution in the total infractions of the law.

The development of the network of rapid communications, already so great on the Congo, will render more efficient the supervision of our posts by the administrative and judicial authorities. Where the whites can get easily, any serious inflictions on the native population will be out of the question. Thus the Government by actively pushing on the development of its system of communications by land and

* One of these prosecutions resulted in an acquittal. It may be mentioned that the process of investigation has been made of a much more searching character than formerly.

water is accomplishing a highly useful work towards the remedying of abuses.

In the malevolent attacks directed against the Government it has often been asserted that there is a great depopulation on the Congo, and that its principal cause is to be found in the bad treatment to which the natives are subjected. The material necessary for the expression of a positive opinion on this subject does not exist, because it has not been possible to take a complete census; but from inquiries that I have often instituted, I consider that the depopulation, if any at all, has been very little. Along some of the principal lines of communication the population has very considerably diminished, but this is mainly due to the fact that the natives always move away when the whites establish themselves in any district. The population on the banks of the Congo and the principal rivers must for this reason tend to fall off. But besides this cause, it is especially in the vicinity of the waterways that the sleeping sickness has most prevailed. Regions which were thickly peopled are now almost deserted from these two circumstances, and the conclusion is at once come to that the depopulation on the Congo has been enormous. This is, however, passing judgment very lightly on an important question.

The population of the interior without going to any great distance from the river remains very large, and in many places is increasing. The frequent military expeditions of a few years ago, when it was necessary to effect the submission of the natives, caused no doubt serious losses, but never in any country has the loss in open fighting been a cause of great depopulation.

What is the value of the total given by men of some weight who have passed some time in places on the main routes? It is really none whatever, and yet it serves generally as the basis for fantastic calculations. If the future census shows that the population is only half what such estimates made it, will it be concluded that the population has diminished by a half? I fear that it is only too probable, at least among those who are ill-disposed towards us.

In any case it is now certain that we have only to contend with one main cause of depopulation, which is the sleeping sickness. There are many indications that this malady is on the decrease. The whole of the measures taken by the Government will certainly not put an end to the scourge, but beyond all doubt they will greatly reduce its ravages. I have insisted on all the sanatoria—large places of refuge for the

sick like that at Leopoldville—being organised at the principal points of junction along our communications. For the purpose of combating this scourge I attach the greatest importance to all questions of hygiene, and I am convinced that if the detestably dirty habits of many of the natives were abandoned by them most of the evils which now befall the Congo population would disappear, or at least would greatly diminish. I am convinced in particular that the sleeping sickness would make far fewer victims if the villages were always built in well-chosen places, and if the marshes were drained in the neighbourhood of human habitations. This task of inculcating the blacks with good sanitary habits appears the more likely to succeed as some of the races of the interior—as for instance in Katanga, Uelle and the Province Orientale—have already some notion of the principles of hygiene. I consider that the public administration has in any case incurred the obligation to stimulate these good practices and to repress those that are bad. That is what I endeavoured to effect by the following order which I made on March 22 in the present year :

ART. 1.—The inhabitants of all native villages are obliged to keep in a state of cleanliness the land around their huts, so that the part of the public way in front of their dwellings must be cleared in accordance with the provisions of the next Article.

ART. 2.—The inhabitants of these villages are bound to cut the grass within a radius of fifty mètres round the last of the huts forming part of the native agglomeration, or of the different agglomerations constituting a village.

ART. 3.—The chiefs of posts under the supervision of the District Commissioners are instructed to see to the maintenance in a perfect state of cleanliness of the native villages lying within their authority. They have the right to oblige the occupants of the huts to co-operate in works for the common benefit, such as cutting the grass, cleaning the public way, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, and any other tasks required by the public health or the laws of sanitation.

I also at once addressed the subordinate officials, so as to ensure the more prompt and complete execution of my orders, in an official circular, of which one passage may be of interest to the reader, as it contains some details on the native way of living :

The native huts often present a neglected appearance, are arranged, without the least regard for symmetry, on the first spot where it seemed good to their occupants to build them, without taking the least account of the position of the neighbouring huts, of the facilities of communication to be maintained throughout the whole extent of the villages, of the breadth of the routes, or of such questions as the possibility of their being surrounded after the rains by stagnant water, or, in case of a rise in the river, of their being completely inundated.

I have seen, indeed, some villages where the soil was completely submerged, and where, notwithstanding, the natives continued to live in their huts after taking only very simple measures to shelter themselves from immediate contact with the water, whilst at a very short distance they could have found solid ground. As to the huts themselves, the natives, generally speaking, take no account as to whether they are sufficiently ventilated, or as to their size being in proportion to the number of the occupants, &c. Indeed, they are quite regardless of the requirements of the laws of hygiene. As a rule the natives like to live in dark places, where there is neither air nor light. They give many stupid reasons for this preference which we must endeavour to remove.

I was so much struck by these facts that in some places I caused works to be commenced for the erection of capacious huts, well ventilated, and in positions completely sheltered against floods and bad seasons. I was pleased to see, during a recent visit, that some of these works were far advanced, and that the natives themselves co-operated fully in the work demanded of them, and in which they perceived that they were as much interested as we were.

I also reiterated to the different territorial chiefs with whom I conversed my desire to remedy the situation that I have described, and my recommendations to that effect. All the district commissioners have been instructed to order their subordinates to exhort the natives to construct comfortable huts, preferably in wattle, and to aid them with their advice in the construction of these buildings, so that there may be some degree of harmony and that the laws of sound sanitation may be conformed to. In these works, better example than that set by our old soldiers, who have constructed model villages in the neighbourhood of our posts, could not be wished for.

Another point of which the natives do not understand the importance, but which must constitute one of the cares of the State authorities is the absolute necessity of keeping the villages in a constant state of cleanliness, clearing regularly the surroundings of the dwellings, cutting the grass with which most of the villages are encumbered, and which becomes the receptacle of noxious matter that breeds pestilence, and the habitat of dangerous insects and animals.

In the opinion of competent persons and especially of the members of the Liverpool Medical Commission which made special researches into the causes of the sleeping sickness, cutting the grass constitutes one of the most efficacious means

for averting the spread of this scourge, and to make this measure effective the practice should be carried out over a radius of 50 mètres from the huts. It can also be burnt down provided that all precautions are taken to prevent a conflagration. As soon as the natives realise what are the reasons for the light labour in cleaning the ground surrounding their huts they will readily perform it under the direction of the qualified officials.

From this example, and a thousand more might be given, it may be seen that the Congo Government takes a deep concern in the well-being of the people. May I be permitted to remark that to accuse it of destroying to some extent systematically the native races is to charge it not only with monstrously unnatural and inhuman sentiments, but also, leaving all question of sentiment aside, with an incredible act of stupidity, since it must be clear to everybody that the economic future of the Congo itself depends entirely on the labour which the black races of that State can alone supply ?

The care which the Government has for the improvement of the lot of the native population is shown in particular by the measures it has taken in the appointment of the Judges. I know well the judicial staff of the Congo, and I have pleasure in affirming that they discharge their difficult task with intelligence and complete devotion to their duty. It is gratifying to me to be able to record that the Judges are equal to their task not only by their knowledge, but also by their constant anxiety to show their great impartiality and their complete independence of the administrative power.

It has been stated that the Judges of our Courts obey the instructions of the Governor-General or of the Central Government. Never has the least semblance of pressure been exercised on any Judge. The law makes them independent, and they would know how to defend their rights if any attack were made upon them. The Government is convinced that the judicial decisions given on the Congo are, in respect of impartiality, just as much beyond the range of suspicion as those of the best established courts of Europe. I recall on this point an opinion which has been published and which will not be challenged, viz., that of Baron Nisco acting as President of the Court of Appeal. He wrote as follows to the Naples paper, *Don Marzio*, in 1903 :

> The simple fact of its having founded a Superior Court of Appeal, with Judges of different nationalities, of its having nominated as Judges and judicial officers foreign magistrates and advocates, more especially Italians, is a conspicuous proof and guarantee of the impartiality and of the serious intention of the State administration.

This testimony is weighty. In face of a declaration of that character, what is the value of the interested statements which are not based on any facts, and which aim only at insulting our Judges in common with the other authorities of the State?

If the administrative and judicial authorities committed the grave faults with which they are accused, the British Consul, who is very active, would certainly have drawn attention to them every time that English subjects were involved. I have had with him a large correspondence on the subject of complaints from British subjects. The examination of that correspondence would reveal the great anxiety of all our officials on the Congo to secure as much respect for the rights of the individual as in European countries, and to carry out scrupulously the laws and regulations.

The application of the new decrees, which have introduced important changes into the Congo State, was at the moment of my leaving Boma for Europe occupying the close attention of the Congo officials. Even before the publication of those decrees in Brussels many administrative measures had been set on foot in anticipation of their being put in execution, and in these I myself took an active part. It is a wicked and unjust insinuation, scarcely worthy of notice, to say, as has been said, that the Congo Government does not seriously intend to put the new laws, that it itself admitted to be necessary, into execution. They form an imposing legislative whole, and in this matter the Congo State has nothing to envy the other Colonies of Africa.

What is the conclusion to be drawn from these remarks? When I ask that question, I do not address myself to the minds heated by the ardour of *pro* or *anti* Congolese polemics, but to the minds of the calm, to those who have preserved all their reasoning faculty, and I ask them whether they do not think that the generous sentiments of a large part of the British public have been perhaps justly aroused, but still in a very excessive degree, by the accounts given it as to the treatment of the Congo natives? In truth, if that treatment had ever been such as it was described to be by the detractors of Belgian work on the Congo, it might be asked how it was possible that it did not fall under the reprobation of all persons on the Congo, and how it is that it is attacked by only a small fraction of such residents. The reality is indeed different, and, thank God, it is far less tragic. The immense majority of the natives throughout almost the whole of the State territory have always lived, and still live in the most complete peace.

It has been recently said in England that in this controversy

the Belgian people must be separated from the Belgians on the Congo. In expressing this view is the hope entertained of detaching from the latter the Belgian nation considered as a whole? If such is the case I desire to warn those who have made this calculation that they altogether deceive themselves. Belgian public opinion follows with close and sustained attention the course of Congolese polemics. It would be a grave mistake to take a few discordant voices as the expression of the general opinion. The cause is well known in Belgium, and can be imagined in England, which makes this insignificant minority speak in a hostile sense of the Congo Government. I beg my readers not to have any doubt of Belgian national sentiment, which will not tolerate that a few isolated criminals shall be confounded with the glorious army of its citizens who have shed their blood in Africa, and who are consecrating their efforts to a work of civilisation.

BARON WAHIS.

THE COMING SOCIAL REVOLUTION

WE have our revolutions, but we have them quietly. When the victim up the tree knows who is going to shoot, it throws up the sponge (which is a mixed metaphor) and says "Don't shoot, I'll come down." And so it is with our feudal or patriarchal Government; it has "come down," and we are to-day governed by a middle-class democracy, the bourgeoisie—but now we hear that individualism is doomed, that "capital is the enemy" aimed at, and will have to come down and give in to Socialism. It was common at one time to speak of Socialism and Communism as the red terror, and it is true that the methods of those who were furthering the idea at that time reeked of blood. The object of Socialism could only be attained by means of revolution, and the type of the drastic evolution of the future was to be found in the up-rising and down-pulling of France at the end of the eighteenth century. It is not to be wondered at that weak knees kissed each other for support, and that lily-livered folk were blanched as to their faces when the massive foot of Socialism was heard on the path of history. Even a poet spoke of "red ruin and the breaking up of laws." But although that was the method of early Socialism it is all changed now. The avowed object of Socialism—although it is not the real object of all those who profess to be Socialists—is the improvement of the condition of the people. Many persons have got it into their heads that all wealth is produced by labour, and that, therefore, to labour all wealth belongs. It is a pretty fallacy, and, as many are quite certain of the truth of that seductive doctrine, they hold that all private property is theft; and although they are far too wise to ignore the importance of capital as a means to the equipment of labour, they desire to see all capital in public hands. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, when, in June, he assured the French Socialists in the name of the English Labour members, that "capital, that is our enemy," knew quite well that he was sacrificing truth for the purpose of his

epigram. It is not capital—but capital in private pockets, as distinguished from capital in the coffers of the State—that is the enemy of Socialism. And those who profess that doctrine desire to see the transfer from the individual's hands of all the means of production, distribution and exchange, and think that that transfer would improve the condition of the labouring classes. According to them the present system which allows property to be private in the hands of individuals, allows the capitalist class to levy heavy taxes upon the producers of all wealth or value—the workmen. The rich at present hold the poor to ransom. "If you will not work on my terms," they say, "you shall not have roof to cover you, or machinery to manufacture with, or land to till, and you will inevitably perish of hunger." "And what are your terms?" asked the abject labour of the past. "My terms," said capital, with fine urbanity, "are that if you work you shall eat. I will give you enough to keep body and soul together; nay, more, for we must look to the future—I will give you enough to keep a wife and to rear a family; but all the rest of the wealth that you produce by your labour is to belong to me." This was the bargain with which labour had to close, on pain of death.

It was against this system that the intelligence of the early Socialists rebelled, and their aim was to bring about a revolution which would break up the crushing tyranny of capital—an earthquake which would level the oppressive mountains of wealth, and bring about an equality which would improve the condition of the proletariat. That, indeed, is the aim and object of Socialism and Labourism to-day; but its methods of attaining its end are entirely different from those of the early leaders of the movement, and are likely to be much more effective. These methods, as we shall see, are operating in our midst to-day.

Marx and Blanqui thought that the way to the realisation of the State-ownership of property—which according to them was to be the new heaven and new earth of their dream—was through a proletariat revolution which was to be grafted on a bourgeois revolution. The bourgeoisie was to be the jackal for the lion of the proletariat. They had no confidence in the strength of the proletariat to accomplish a revolution from start to finish. Indeed they thought that the revolution which was to place labour in power was to be on the same lines as the earlier unsuccessful revolutions; but the bourgeoisie was only to be the cat's-paw to get the hot chestnuts out of the fire of revolution, the gains of the social convulsion were to be appropriated by the proletariat. This was their hope, this their programme.

In Germany [Marx and Engels wrote in 1847] the Communist party will fight along with the bourgeoisie whenever it takes up its revolutionary *rôle* again ; it will join with it in combating absolute monarchy, feudal ownership of land, and the lower middle-class. But it will never forget for a single instant to rouse among the workers the clearest possible consciousness of the antagonism that exists between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and makes them enemies. The social and political conditions that will accompany the triumph of the bourgeoisie are so many weapons which the German workman will know how to turn against the bourgeoisie itself after the downfall of the reactionary classes. The fight against the bourgeoisie must be begun without delay.

But although these were the ideas of 1847, all that is changed to-day. More prudent, more insidious counsels have prevailed. Socialists now desire a quiet not a noisy revolution, a revolution in the name of law, rather than in the name of "red ruin." The ideal, for instance, of Jean Jaurès is "the revolution that will be embodied in things, in laws, and in our hearts, not in formulas and words, and it would free the great work of the proletarian revolution from the sickening odour of blood, of murder and of hate which still clings to the bourgeoisie revolution." Jaurès desires to attain the same end, but he proposes to use constitutional means. Votes have more force than dynamite.* He is quite frank indeed, and admits that all violent means employed by the proletariat would in result "only unite against it all the non-proletarian forces" and as the old revolutionary methods of fire and sword have failed when the forces of order were shoulder to shoulder, they propose the new method of revolution which is indeed in full swing. They are determined to bring about their own revolution by "the gradual and legal conquest of the power of production and of the power of the State," and in another place he says, "we have in the legal conquest of the democracy the sovereign method of revolution."

Jaurès, in another of his *Studies in Socialism,* deprecates even a "general strike" as a means for the furtherance of Socialism. He regards it as a preliminary to a violent revolution, which would probably fail, and lead to years of repression of the proletariat. Here also he favours the gradual realisation of Socialism by the organised efforts of the proletariat, by the "legal conquest of the majority."

The Socialism of Germany is run on similar lines. Liebknecht, in answering the question what measures ought the Socialist party to adopt in the near future, said : "It goes without saying that the steps to be taken depend essentially on the circumstances under which the Socialist party has obtained

* Or, as Mr. Tregear, the Secretary of the Department of Labour of New Zealand, puts it, "the ballot-box is the only social weapon."

an appreciable influence on legislation ;" and he goes on to anticipate that in Germany his party might be called upon "to govern, or at least to share in the government." After showing how an unsuccessful war or widespread discontent might weaken the hands of "the ruling system" to the verge of paralysis, he added :

> We may even imagine, though we can scarcely count on it, that the danger will be understood by those in the upper circles, and that they will attempt to avert the catastrophe, otherwise inevitable, by introducing intelligent reforms. In this case our party will be necessarily asked to participate in the Government, and will be called upon especially to reform the conditions of labour.

That the Socialist party would obtain partial control of the Government, even under the Imperial *régime*, he foresaw, and he was ready, in the interest of the proletariat, to become, if necessary, a Minister of the Kaiser. This then is the method of Socialism in our days. We have no longer to contemplate the imminence of bloodshed; we have only to recognise the gradual conquest by means of the labour vote, of Parliament, and, by means of legislation, of the individualist and the capitalists' position. But this is no distant prospect ; it is going on, and it is this new aspect of Socialism that we have to consider. This constitutional revolution is being realised. M. Millerand has been a Minister of France; Mr. John Burns is President of the Board of Trade. We see how the Labour party in Germany has been growing in power, notwithstanding the attempts to buy off their onward progress by the "intelligent reforms" foreshadowed by Liebknecht, by the passing of the Insurance Laws in 1883, 1884, and 1891. In 1877 the Socialists had twelve representatives in the Reichstag, in 1890 they had thirty-seven, in 1894 they had forty-six, in 1898 they had fifty-six, and in 1903 eighty-three. In 1887 they polled 437,438 votes for the Reichstag, in 1898, 2,120,000, and in 1903, 3,010,771. But we see too that in this country the Labour party is a party in being. In former Parliaments the Labour members were interesting exceptions, to-day they abound ; and the history of the last Session shows that they are to a large extent dominating our House of Commons, although as yet they have only some fifty representatives within its walls. Nothing is more remarkable than the way they have modified and dictated the policy and measures of their allies the Liberal party. At the elections, as we know, the Liberals were only too pleased to have the Labour vote, and in many instances the Liberals succeeded where otherwise they would have failed, in consequence of proletarian support. But it is the

history of the old fable repeating itself. The horse sought the assistance of man against his enemy—let us say, mending the fable—the ass, and to succeed in the campaign he had to allow man to mount on his back. When the war was over and the horse's enemies had been routed, man refused to dismount, and has ruled his ally ever since. The Labour party is in the saddle, and although politicians of the type of Mr. Winston Churchill show some restiveness after a Cockermouth election, the Liberal party will find it very difficult, with all its buck-jumping, to unseat the Socialists. It is significant of the situation that the Master of Elibank, a member of the Government, speaking with the experience of a Whip, has intimated that the Liberal party may be forced to embark on a crusade against Socialism, and Mr. Haldane, speaking on October 5, said, "If in the name of Labour Mr. Keir Hardie, or anybody else, brought forward abstract propositions which conflicted with Liberal principles, if he wanted to nationalise land or capital, or anything else, the Liberal party would cross swords with him." This is vague and gentle threatening. How Labourism must laugh at a crusade undertaken by a Government pledged to the principle of old age pensions, State aid to the unemployed, payment of members, and which has in hand the Trade Disputes Bill, the Provision of Meals for Children Bill, and the Land Tenure Bill. They crusade too late.

Under these circumstances it is worth while examining the principles of Socialism or Labourism, and considering the prospects of the country in the event of the achievement of the quiet revolution of the workmen of the country which is now hatching. "We are all Socialists now," said Sir William Harcourt in 1888, meaning that we are all willing to concede certain social reforms, or in Liebknecht's words, in fear of worse things befalling us are introducing "intelligent reforms." But this Socialism of the Conservative and Liberal parties is the gain of the Labour party. Both the great constitutional parties of the State have been playing the game of the proletariat.

For a time we were in favour of regulating our institutions in the interests of the people, but that policy is a failure. Not long ago, at the instance of the London County Council, a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the whole question of London water-supply. Lord Llandaff was chairman. One of the important questions inquired into by that Commission was whether there should be "control" of the water companies in the interests of the public, or purchase of their undertakings. That Commission reported in favour of purchase; and now, as we know, the whole of the

water-supply of London is in the hands of a representative Water Board. That is only an illustration of the adoption of "ownership" as the remedy, instead of control or regulation. Then again, the Post Office, the Telegraphs, and the Post Office Savings Banks are in the hands of the Government, and the Telephone will shortly pass over into the hands of the State. There was no thought that we were furthering Socialism when we took these steps in the direction of State ownership. There is not in the minds of many Liberals and Conservatives who advocate the purchase of the railways by the State any idea that they are advancing the revolution. But they are, and the Labour leaders know it. A large number of politicians, influenced by the traders of the country, are of opinion that the regulation of railways by means of the Board of Trade and the Railway Commission has been a complete failure, and that the next "intelligent reform" will be the acquisition of these important means of distribution by the State. Already, as long ago as 1865, a Royal Commission, presided over by Mr. Monsell (afterwards Lord Emly), reported in favour of the immediate purchase of the Irish railways, and since that time large sums have been expended in Ireland out of the public purse on the construction of light railways. Before long then we shall see this leaf out of the Socialists' programme-book become a page in the Statute-book. We may note the same tendency in every direction, and in the past the two constitutional parties have vied with one another as to which was to do the most for the people in the way of social reform.

There is not at the present time a single water company supplying water in Scotland, and private enterprise in that direction only exists in two of the great towns of England—Bristol and Newcastle. Gas is to a very large extent supplied by public authorities. The supply of electricity is also a municipal function, and a Committee of the House of Commons last Session, while rejecting the London County Council Electric Power Supply Bill then before them, recommended that the County Council should introduce another and more comprehensive scheme, although the Bill was one to authorise the sale of electricity for power purposes to authorised distributors, railways, docks and the like obvious extensions of the functions of a public body. But it is not necessary to illustrate the trend of legislation further. Everything points in the direction of the concentration of these public functions which affect large numbers of persons who are users of high-

ways or consumers of commodities like gas and electricity in the hands either of municipalities or the State. But if we cannot leave our railways in the enterprising hands of companies, why should our ships be in private hands? It is upon our mercantile marine that this country depends for its daily bread. A combine of shipping companies could force Britain to conclusions in a week. We have had naval manœuvres to find out whether we could defend our sea commerce from an enemy's ships in time of war. May we not have to defend ourselves against our shipowners? We have attempted some regulation of these in the public interests. But if the regulation of railways is a failure, why should this be a success? Already the Otago Trades Council, in a manifesto which is interesting reading, have put the matter —so far as New Zealand is concerned—plainly enough. It says :

> It is too late for them (employers) to object to the Government's ownership of the railways, the post and telegraph services, State coal-mines and distributing coal depôts, to its conduct of State fire insurance, State life insurance, &c. All these things, whether conducted by the State or the municipality, are Socialism—industries being conducted by the people for the benefit of the people as a whole, instead of being conducted, as is too often the case at present, for the benefit of the employer, who in too many cases gets more than a fair share of the money which is made out of the business—profit which is, to a large extent, made by his workers. But where does the consistency of the Employers' Federation, or of the opponents of State ownership, come in in upholding the Government's ownership of the railways of the Colony and objecting to its owning a steamship service? The one is carriage by land, the other carriage by water, but the principle of ownership is just the same. "The field of private enterprise" is gradually being encroached upon year by year, as the State makes a step forward, and we intend to do our best to shift the fence further and further back.

Again, if it is important that gas or electricity or power should be supplied at the cheapest possible price, surely it is far more important that bread and beef and shoes and stockings should be sold to the public without allowing capitalists to "fleece" them for profits.

We have only to look at the tentative Socialism of one of our Colonies to see the finger-post of our own political progress. In New Zealand the Government owns the railways, and is the largest landowner and rent receiver in the islands, possessing about two-thirds of the whole acreage. It limits the estate that can be held by one individual, and has a right of compulsory repurchase. Colonies for the unemployed were founded by Ballance, leader of the Labour party and premier, in 1893. There is a progressive income-tax, a land tax, local option in

regard to liquor, advances to settlers, one man one vote, female suffrage, an eight-hour day and a minimum wage. There is compulsory arbitration in industrial disputes, old age pensions, "direct employment" of labour without the intervention of a contractor. The Government controls the Bank of New Zealand, is an insurance authority, appoints public trustees, and is a lawyer who does most of the conveyancing of land. In New Zealand, therefore, the State, without being an absolute monopolist, is an important and very active competitor in most of the fields of industry. But that, as we have pointed out, is tentative Socialism. No man can ultimately succeed in his competition with the State, and all such competition as is carried on with the rates and taxes behind it must in the end lead to the crushing of independent rivals. The Colony is on the direct road to Collectivism, and we in this country are following in its footsteps. Many of the measures which are on the horizon of practical politics here have been put upon the Statute-book there, and the Labour party here mean to use the Liberal party to carry out these reforms, which are all pointing one way, in the direction of Socialism.*

* Since the above was written an important article on "Labour Politics in New Zealand," and a leader founded on the article, have appeared in the *Times* (September 1, 1906). These show, what I hinted, that the present tentative Socialism in the Colony is only a half-way house to the real thing. The Conciliation and Arbitration Act, which was to lubricate the relations between capital and labour in the Colony, has broken down. It has, as was to be expected, been popular with workmen while New Zealand was "booming," and the judge had only to raise wages. It would have been abolished long ago if it had worked the sliding scale so as to reduce wages. But it has too, of course, seriously increased the cost of production, and led to the importation of more articles competing with colonial industries. But now the Act is being condemned, not merely by employers, but by workmen, and, as the writer of the article says, there is a tendency for "the Labour party to break away from the party in power, and to assert in a more aggressive manner than formerly the claims of labour." That that is true is seen from the quotation already given from the Memorial of the Otago Trades Council, and is written at large in Mr. Tregear's letter to Mr. Benton, which, although a private letter, has been made public. That gentleman is a high State official, Secretary to the Department of Labour, and this is how he writes: "Here we keep pegging away, sapping little by little the foundations of one monstrous privilege after another. We got arbitration upon its sturdy legs, and I know you have followed its career with interested eyes. Now we have again a crusade against the landlords in cities and suburbs, because every advantage in wages, &c., gained by the workers by arbitration is being exploited and neutralised by robber rents. . . . We have barely touched the fringe of the soiled economic garment. So long as the wage system endures, so long as capital holds the land, machinery, and other means of production, so long is the bulk of our population only a collection of well-fed, well-clothed

Mr. Keir Hardie, speaking on August 25 to the National Union of Dock Labourers, took up a frankly Socialistic position. He said: "The great fight of the future was going to be fought out on the floor of the House of Commons. They did not want the old strikes and the old lock-outs to continue, during which the rich employers were able to sit quietly at home while the working men and their families were starved into submission." What he wanted was a strong Labour party in the House, "who would be able to compel the employer class and the landlord class to take their hands off the life of the nation." Landlordism had according to him "been a curse all the time and always, and they would have to get rid of it." It is quite time, my Master of Elibank, that you began your crusade! Quite time! If I am not mistaken, it is too late.

We are all, if not Socialists as Sir William Harcourt said, opportunists in politics to-day, and "the opportunist" has been defined as a man "who has to do the best he can under the circumstances." But that policy lends itself to the advance along the road which the Labour leaders desire legislation to follow. "The spirit of opportunism," said a writer in the *Fortnightly Review*, "is not confined to statesmen and diplomatists, and there are workmen who are shrewd enough to see that the wealthy classes will do much for fear, and little for the love of their poorer brethren." This concession at the sword's point is the hope of the Labour party. The revolution is not to draw blood, but to threaten; and already we have seen this new party, this growing power, making its voice heard by constitutional means, and putting its indelible mark on the Statute-book of Britain. But this policy of opportunism under fear may lead us too far, and it is worth while inquiring as to the road that lies before us, and as to the probable consequences of this new revolution which both the Liberal and the Unionist party are doing their unconscious best to further. What is Socialism, and what will it do for us?

The aim of Socialism is simple, and, M. Jaurès says, it is "noble." According to the Labour party, as we have seen, all value is produced by work, and therefore all property belongs to the workmen, and they are about to re-possess themselves of their property not by the clutch of red revolution, but by the transfer of constitutional taxation. At the present time

"slaves." It is obvious, therefore, that this tentative bud of Socialism is about to become the full-blown rose in New Zealand, where a State official can speak of the owner of capital as the "robber," and the working man as his "slaves."

they say, owing to the capitalist laws, laws made by capitalism after it ascended the throne of feudalism, property is held in private hands, and society is divided into two great classes : the one that earns—the proletariat—and the other that by virtue of ownership taxes the workers. Socialism, as we have seen, is no longer a war against capital, for it recognises that no work can be done without an expensive equipment. Before we can put the poor to work we must have raw material, we must have the machinery which with the help of labour is to produce the finished article ; but it is a war against the holding of capital in private hands, and the payment of profits to those who hold the capital, instead of to the State which ought to hold the capital. Take a simple illustration. If a Gas Company exists in a town, it supplies gas to those who require that kind of illuminant, and the persons who use the gas are benefited thereby, for the company can produce and sell gas much more cheaply than the individuals could supply themselves. But the company spends its money not to benefit the consumer, but to secure what is called a return on its capital. In the case of a non-statutory company supplying gas the profits of the company are unlimited ; but the State has, in its attempt to use the monopolist corporation for the benefit of the people, put statutory companies under various restrictions in return for the statutory privilege conceded to the company of breaking up the public streets and roads. One of these restrictions has been on the amount of profit which the company might divide, or in other words a restriction as to the amount of money it might exact from the consumer of gas. In the old days Parliament used to allow companies to divide ten per cent. on the invested capital amongst their shareholders, more recently they have limited the profits to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., to 7 per cent., and nowadays companies are compelled to raise new capital by means of what are called "the auction clauses," which is an expedient by which the capital is to be raised at the cheapest possible rate, so that the public may have the gas at the lowest possible figure. But it is evident that there must still be a resulting profit to the shareholders, otherwise they would cease to carry on the undertaking. This profit comes out of the pockets of the consumers of gas, and is regarded by the Socialists in the light of a tax. One thing is certain, and that is that if the capital for the enterprise had been raised by the municipal corporation of the town, and the undertaking had been carried on as efficiently in the hands of the corporation as in the hands of the company, the profits resulting from the

manufacture and distribution of gas might have gone into the public purse and been applied by the town to the reduction of rates, or they might have been given to the consumers of gas by reduction of the price of gas. In either of these events the public would have been the gainers, and the only losers would have been the shareholders in the company who would not have found a profitable investment for their money.

Now a precisely similar course of reasoning is applicable to any private ownership. Presumably a man holds land in order that he may receive the profits. A manufactory is erected with a view to gain ; a railway is made by shareholders in order that they may reap a harvest of profit. Ships are sailed, banks established with the same object in view. If all these enterprises are profitable in the hands of private enterprise, it is obvious that the gains of such undertakings find their way into private pockets, and come out of the pockets of the public who use the land, who buy the manufactured article, who travel on the railway, who pay the freight, or who borrow from the bank. The desire of the Labourist is that all these profits should find their way into the public purse, and be disbursed for the benefit of the public. The foundation of this claim to appropriate all these means of production, distribution, and exchange is that the profits have not been created by the capitalist, but by the workmen, and consequently they belong to labour and not to wealth.

But the argument goes further. It is pointed out that the tax which is levied every year by the landowner in the form of rent for farms, or ground-rent for "stands" in cities, the interest on the public debt, the profits upon such enterprises as those we have referred to, as they have to be paid by the people, have to be in the first instance earned by the people, and that this system is equivalent to the *corvée*, for the workman has to work about one-third of his whole time for himself and his family, and about two-thirds of his whole time to pay these taxes to the rich. It is true that the workman would even in the case of a collectivist State have to toil a portion of his time to pay rent, but the rent would go to the State, and, therefore, belong to him. He might have to work to pay interest on the public debt, but it would be a debt that had been incurred by him, and not, as our existing debt is, a debt incurred by capitalists in the interests of capital. He might have to labour to replace machinery, and even to pay a sinking fund ; but the machinery would be his own, and he and his class would be the beneficiaries when the sinking fund had paid off the capital

cost of the establishment. In this way, it is argued that under the present system the wage earner is not his own property. For two-thirds of his time he is a slave, labouring not for himself but for others, and Socialism is to emancipate him and let men in future own their own bodies and souls. This is a thin sketch of the "noble" creed of Socialism, and it is founded on some obvious fallacies which, however, will not prevent its realisation, for the power is in the hands of the proletariat, and our politicians are puppets, and voters pull the strings.

The economic fallacy of Socialism is, that all value is produced by labour. The greater part of value is produced by the bounty of Nature; we have our raw materials, our iron, our coal, our fruits, and the increase of our flocks and herds given to us with liberal hand. It is quite true that the mining of the iron and coal is by human labour, the planting of the seeds, the reaping of the harvest is the work of men's hands. But there are other bounties besides the bounty of the earth, there is the bounty of the brain and the bounty of character. It is to the bounty of the brain that we owe our knowledge of the uses to which the minerals can be put; it is to intelligence that we owe it that we know when to sow and when to reap; it is to genius that we owe the implements with which we excavate our mines, or plough the earth, or weave our cloth, or sail the sea; and therefore it is human brains as well as human muscles which have created values. But the values that are produced are due, at any rate in part, to machinery, and the machinery is not the result merely of the genius of the inventor, that it exists at all is due to the thrift of those who, having earned wages by their labour, accumulated capital. It is thrift then that I call the bounty of character, and it is a colleague in creating value. But there are various kinds of labour besides that of the muscles upon which the Socialists lay such stress, which go to the production of the finished article. It suits the labourers to regard "labour" as merely manual labour, and to regard all the rest of the work of the world as "fleecing" by parasitic classes. A man who lays bricks or makes shoes, who looks after a lathe,—that is their idea of the labourer. Those who administer the laws, and make honest dealing possible, those who cure the workman's diseases, and make it possible for him to go to the mill, those who minister to his pleasure in leisure times,—these are put down as "non-producers," because they do not directly manufacture an article having a value in exchange. But now leaving this foolishness on one side are there not those who more directly contribute to produc-

tion to whom some of the fruits of labour belong? The capitalist has not only lent labour money for the means of production, he has organised his army of workers. He is the mainspring of the various human wheels in his manufactory, and as such he is entitled to his wage as much as the workman who weaves a web, drives a van to the station, or shunts a truck in the yard. I have never heard of a battle being won without some wise generalship. But even if it were true that all value was created by labour, then it is equally obvious that capital only represents past labour, and has as much right to protection as present labour. As we have pointed out, labour to produce an article of value must be equipped, it must have raw materials, it must have tools, and in obtaining these it only pays for past labour, or in other words remunerates capital which paid the wages of those who brought the raw materials or made the machinery. But if all capital is the accumulation of past labour, then it would be wrong for present labour to take the whole fruits of past labour without paying for them. That would be "corbies" picking out "corbies'" eyes with a vengeance. Indeed, if there can be such a crime, this would be theft. And like all theft it would not only be wicked, it would be impolitic. Who will forego a pleasure in order to accumulate capital for the future needs of labour if he is to have no security from the thieving hands of a collectivist State? Suppose all the capitalist centuries had spent all they had made on self-indulgent pleasures, where should we be to-day? We should be in penury and squalor, and we should have to pinch and screw in order to accumulate capital before we could work or live. The labourer must have a meal before he can do his day's work—that meal was capital. It is possible that that meal was the product of the worker's labour of yesterday. But suppose it was the product of the labourer's father's work of yesterday. Here we have rampant capitalism, against which Socialism has set its foolish face. I have, we will say, laboured yesterday and the day before and have by my thrift saved and accumulated food for another day, which I call my private property even under a Corporation Commonwealth. Suppose I desire to have a holiday, and I give what I have earned to another worker who labours for me to-morrow. What has happened? I, the capitalist, have made a wage slave of my fellow, I am "fleecing" the man who does my work. I am a parasite. I am—for the day at least—one of the class against whom the proletariat are to rise and protest.

But, again, what is "ownership," that it is moral in the

case of a State and immoral in the case of an individual? As we understand ownership, it is a right to use, and that, too, in a very limited sense. If I have pearls I can wear them, or sell them and give another the right to use them in the same way. If I have land I have a right to use it, or to sell it or let it, and so give another person a permanent (as permanence is reckoned in human affairs) or a temporary right to use it. But it is important to note that individual ownership must begin somewhere. The crust of bread I am gnawing is mine, and has, I suppose, ceased to be the property of the community, although since Prudhon's doctrine that "property is theft," I am not quite sure. But if not mine while I am eating it, in the process of digestion or indigestion I suppose I may claim it as "a poor thing but mine own," without an abuse of language. But where does the individual property going outwards end? The loaf is mine; I have got it presumably by my labour. But what about the field that grew the wheat—is not that mine, if I ploughed it and scattered the seed on it, until the harvest? If not, if the State has a right to walk over my field and spoil my crop, if I have not a right to harvest the corn, I will not sow the grain in the spring. But if your Collectivist State guarantees me the use of the field while it whispers with the green crop, or with the sun's help "laughs in the harvest," then this guarantee is a guarantee of private property; and whether it is guaranteed to me for a year, for a term of the rotation of crops, or for a life, or longer, is a matter of detail. Collectivism has recognised individual property, and, so far as principle is concerned, has committed suicide. There must, then, be private property at some juncture, and the whole question as to where private property is to end and social property is to begin, is a matter not of principle but of expediency; and the question of expediency must be determined, not by a decision as to whether it is capital or labour which produces and measures the value of an article, but by the consideration of what is best for the whole community.

But, as we have seen, this "noble" creed claims that persons who earn wages are slaves, and that on this ground a man who lends another a spade, and who says to his fellow, "if you get sixpence for your labour to-day, you must give me a penny for the use of my spade," is a taxing capitalist, and must have his spade taken from him, without compensation, and made the property of the community. This man who lends the spade is evidently a capitalist of the worst type. What is he doing? He is making his fellow delve for him—the owner of the spade—for one-third of his whole time. He is reducing the man with

the spade to slavery. He owns the man, or a third of him. Now, all this lends itself to inflated rhetoric, but it is nonsense. Any man or woman who does anything for any other human being may in the same sense be called a slave. A medical man gives up his whole time to his humane profession, and is paid, possibly inadequately, for his time. He is a serf, a slave ; but he is also a "fleecer," for he makes others labour to produce the money that is paid to him. He is a parasite, a blood-sucker, who lives upon the earnings of others. But if a Collectivist Government were in power to-morrow, the labourers would have, out of their earnings, to pay the salaries of the Government, the salaries of paid Members of Parliament, of the whole Government establishment, including the State doctor. I do not know whether such a Government would have a fleet or an army ; if not, its tenure of office would probably be short, owing to its being stamped out of existence by the rude foot of foreign aggression and conquest. But if it had ships and soldiers, the expense of these non-producers' services to the State would have to be paid out of the labour earnings of the proletariat, and to that extent, I suppose, the workmen would remain "slaves."

But in other respects, in our view, we should look in vain to a Collectivist Government for salvation. Up to the present time the progress of events has led to liberty. To a large extent the power of privilege has become a dead letter. It is possible that the wings of wealth may, when wide-spread, as in the case of Trusts and Combines, want clipping. But up to the present time the ideal of Social well-being has been the maximum amount of personal freedom. The Master of Elibank has dimly understood this when he says, in somewhat curious metaphor, "that if the Liberal party did not stand on its own legs its very vitals would be consumed," and, changing his figure of speech, he added, "it would fall between two stools and disappear as an active force in British politics." That is its threatening fate, and it has brought about this imminent catastrophe by furthering the inordinate claims of labour, and by preparing the way by legislation for the tyranny of a co-operative commonwealth. For Collectivist rule would be a worse form of tyranny than any that we have suffered from in the past. It is absurd to tell me that because I should have a vote for the legislative assembly, and might be said to make my own laws, that I should by my vote influence the choice of the Ministers who would govern the country ; that I should myself, through them, be governing myself, and that could not be a tyranny. Reason is not to be

hoodwinked by such speciosities. That I have one vote in a constituency of 20,000 does not reconcile me to the crushing effect upon my personal liberty of a law I detest. "Behold," said Carlyle, "now I too have my twenty thousandth part of a talker in our National Palaver. What a notion of liberty!" I may not only have the inestimable privilege mentioned by Carlyle, but I may be the representative of the 20,000 electors, or say of 10,100 of the 20,000 in the National Palaver, and I may be in a minority, and vote against every Bill that is passed into law. Does that reconcile me to the measure? Is it a bit less tyranny if it goes against my conscience or my liberty if it is enacted by a majority than if it is dictated by one man? No, it is worse for me. A revolution might get rid of the man, but what is to rid me of your Collectivist Palaver? But it may be said, that is what you have to put up with to-day. It is to some extent true, for we—both parties in the State—have been playing with the edged tool of Socialism. Every step in that direction rivets our chains more effectually, and the tyranny of a Labourist Government would be more galling than that of any Monarch or Capitalist Government known in the past. It is more than slavery when the labour of each belongs to all. To-day some of the burden of the idle falls on the rich. The unemployed are supported, the poor are fed, children are educated. Besides, there are streams of charity which water arid places. But under the Socialist *régime* the burden of all these human millstones must be round the neck of the proletariat, and with its many eyes it would see that there was no idleness, no leisure, no shirking of work; all must turn their hands to work; all must earn, as far as possible, an equal quota for the State coffers, which are to be the means of relieving all, not of endowing some. To-day there is a human relation between master and workman, although, of course, a great deal less in the enormous manufactories than in the smaller workshops. Capital may be a hard taskmaster, but it has some bowels of compassion; the State has none, and if it had it would be brought to book by the workers, for whom it would only be a bare trustee. In my view, we may be whipped with whips by the capitalist, but we should be scourged with scorpions by the Co-operative Commonwealth.

But there is another aspect in which Collectivism must be a failure. It is, as we have seen, the hope of great gains to the individual that induces him to take the great risks of enterprise. We see the successes of capitalist trading and forget the failures. But these have been many, for the hope of great rewards has led capitalists to volunteer even for the

"forlorn hopes" of commerce. It is well to recognise that in the past the State and municipality have not been enterprising. They have only followed in the footsteps of private endeavour, and have taken to the supply of water, of gas, of electricity and the like, only where success had been assured in private hands. But in the heaven of Collectivism there is to be no great prize for adventurers. Indeed, the Co-operative Government is to put an end to competition, which has been the spur in the sides of progress. There is to be no longer a social war ; we are to be at peace, but a peace which will not produce enterprise, a peace which will produce sleep. The persons who represent the Commonwealth will be in office for a short period. They will not adventure in the public interest but play for safety, which is their own best policy if they desire to retain or regain the power of office, which will then be sought after as the sole distinction. They, it is to be remembered, are not to be rewarded by the success of a great venture ; the public is to reap the unexpected harvest. On the other hand, if they undertake a great work and it fails, they will be incontinently punished for the failure. All this makes for caution. It is the individual, the minority, which has always been active ; the majority, the proletariat, has always been passive. Thus Mr. Gronlund, the author of *The Co-operative Commonwealth*, says : "The majority are always ignorant, always indolent. You cannot expect them to be anything else with their present social surroundings. They have never brought about consciously and deliberately any great social change. They have always permitted an energetic minority to accomplish that for them, and then they have always sanctioned the accomplished fact." * This is true of all great as well as of all social changes ; but the social democracy will put an end to energetic minorities, will rule out individual genius or enterprise. There will be no incentive for a man to do more or differently from his fellows. It will be always "afternoon." There will be a maximum day as to hours of work and a minimum wage as to pay. There will be no spur of competition for lethargic sides. The Co-operative Commonwealth

* Mr. Tregear, in the letter already referred to, says : "We have made our factories clean and pleasant places to work in, looked after the wages, the hours, the overtime pay, the holidays, the health of the women and children. Result—Carelessness as to the real problems ; fatuous contented acquiescence in things as they are ; the wage-earner, satisfied with his position, ready to consider Tregear fuming over economic matters of little importance. Only when I show them how they are being robbed does the 'pleasant afternoon' feeling give way sufficiently to take them to the ballot-box." It is in this way that revolutions are manufactured.

will be the stupid home of indolence, of ignorance, and ultimately of want. If this is to the advantage of the nation as a whole, then I for one am mistaken.

But it is in this direction that we are going, not so far as the proletariat and some of their Liberal allies are concerned, consciously, but none the less surely. It is curious to note that the Labour party has sprung into active being under a Liberal Government, and that many Liberals were helped to seats in Parliament by the Labour vote, and that the advent of the Labour Party to Parliament was hailed in the first instance with congratulations by the leaders of the portentous party which was returned to power at the General Election. The late Duke of Argyll was asked to define the fundamental principles of Liberalism, and answered that

> he held that liberty (Liberalism) consists in a hatred of tyranny in all its forms, and especially in those forms which may be most dangerous in our times. . . . By tyranny [he went on to say] I mean all restraint to individual freedom in the disposal of everything that belongs to man, whether mental faculties or material possessions, which are the fruit of mind, beyond those restraints which are absolutely essential for the maintenance of order and of law and of such other fundamental conditions of organised societies as may from time to time emerge.

This may be thought obsolete Liberalism in these new days, and the great Liberal Party may try to maintain its place of power by passing, as they seem ready to do, Socialist measures. In the last Session we have seen many legislative sops thrown to the proletarian Cerberus. But we shall in the future see further excursions in the same direction. The Labourists have found out the great weapon of the "tax" and will wield it. They will not rob the rich, they will tax them, by a drastic progressive Income Tax and other expedients of a like sort. They will limit the amount of property a man may deal with by will, and the rest of his savings, if any, will go to the State. This is not highway robbery—it is legislation. But what we want to know is, how many of the members of the Liberal party favour such tactics—how many hold the negative principles enunciated by the Government Whip. It will not do to play with Socialism. M. Jaurès, in one of his *Studies*, says :

> The Radicals flatter themselves that they can put a stop to this movement by promising the working classes some reforms, and by proclaiming themselves the guardians of private property. They hope to hold a large part of the proletariat in check by a few reforming laws, expressing a sentiment of social solidarity, and by their policy of defending private property to rouse the Conservative forces, the petty bourgeoisie and the middle-classes and the small peasant proprietors, to oppose Socialism.

Although this was written of the Radicals of France, it is equally true of the Radicals of England. They must make up

their minds whether they are going to play the game of the proletariat by passing Socialist measures, and so sapping their own position, or they must dissociate themselves from the Labour party and its prospective tyranny, and stand with the remnant of the Unionist party for the freedom which was their creed. It is quite certain that many Liberals, afraid of the Labour vote in their constituencies, will probably dissociate themselves from such a reaction, and will become members of the Labour party; but there are others who, if told to go and sell all and give to the poor, would feel sad, because they have great possessions; and to some of these we cannot but think a creed which looks upon capitalism as menacingly antagonistic to Labourism, which condemns all private possession, and which holds that it is the duty of the State to find work for all, would not be an acceptable political foundation. That these can form a party by themselves I do not believe. Their only chance of success in delaying the wheels upon that down-hill grade of Socialism is to become members with the Unionists of a great Constitutional party. In future a combined Liberal and Conservative party must try to hold its own against the Labourists. There will be an inevitable cleavage in the Liberals. Some will desire to preserve private property, like the Radicals in France; some will cling to the principles of liberty as defined by the late Duke of Argyll; while others who have played the trump card of Socialism on the platform and won the trick, will possibly proceed along the same road that New Zealand and Australia have marked out, and will bring about in this country a co-operative tyranny. I am not here condemning one set of politicians. I am condemning a want of principle in the plethoric ranks of the Government majority, and in the debilitated ranks of the Unionists. Each of these residual products is too apt to coquet with the forces which are marching to the conquest of private property through legislation. It is high time, it seems to me, to see where the foolish policy of opportunism upon the part of the rival parties is leading us, and to note that the earnest endeavours of the Labour party are, with the assistance of these rival politics, making for its definite but deplorable goal. I am far from convinced that anything that can be done now can stop the triumphal progress of labour, but I am convinced that if labour succeeds in its great enterprise of silent revolution it will be disastrous to the State and to the race. Man has been created by competition, he will be undone by the sloth of a Co-operative Commonwealth.

J. H. Balfour Browne.

THE STORY OF MALARIA

THE Editor of the *National Review*, in asking me for an article on this subject, remarks that "the educated public would be exceedingly interested to know how a question that has been somewhat vaguely discussed in the public Press, actually stands at the present time." I will do my best to meet his wishes. Though to the medical profession the theme is a familiar, and, indeed, a stale one, yet, in spite of innumerable lectures, pamphlets, and newspaper articles, the public has scarcely quite grasped its full significance; and a detailed exposition in such an organ as the *National Review* may, therefore, be of not a little service in our war against this very potent enemy of mankind.

I always find it best to treat the subject as much as possible historically. One of the chief causes of popular scepticism towards scientific discoveries is ignorance of the immense care and labour required in the making of them—people often think that they are merely guesses at the truth. Thus, few understand that our present knowledge regarding malaria is really the result of more than two thousand years of patient studies, and that the history of these studies constitutes what has rightly been called an epic of science—a gigantic one, setting forth the struggles, not of men against men, but of man against Nature. Not until to-day do we see the promise of victory; but we shall owe it when it comes very largely to the efforts of the past.

The story begins with the medical writings of the ancients, commencing with those of Hippocrates, about 400 B.C. The Greeks and Romans certainly distinguished two important points about the so-called malarial fevers. The first was that these fevers are not continuous from start to finish, but tend to be broken up into short attacks which recur at regular periods. One type, which recurs every day, they called *quotidian fever*; another, which recurs every other day, they called *tertian fever*; and a third, which recurs every third day, *quartan fever*. Between these attacks the patient is often free of fever; whereas

in the continued fevers, such as typhoid, his temperature seldom falls to the normal until the end of the illness. It is true that even in malaria the fever is often continuous, especially at first; but this is merely due to the overlapping of the attacks or paroxysms, owing to the fact that a second one begins before the first has completely abated. The other point ascertained by the ancients was that there is a connection between marshes and the disease. This seems to have been discovered by general experience rather than by the researches of any individuals; but there are numerous passages in ancient authors attesting their recognition of the fact. For example, Strabo says (lib. v.), "Omne Latium felix est, et omnium rerum ferax, exceptis locis quæ palustria sunt atque morbosa." They even seemed to connect the disease with living organisms; for Varro * talks of disease in marshy places being due to "animalia quædam minuta, quæ non possunt oculi consequi." Doubtlessly led by obvious reasoning on these data, the Romans would seem to have been aware of the effect of drainage on malaria; for Julius Cæsar projected the drainage of the Pontine Marshes, and Marc Antony tried to make political capital out of a similar scheme. We now know, not only that the ancients were quite right regarding both the periodicity of malarial fever and its connection with stagnant waters, but also the reason of both of these phenomena; while, lastly, the effect of drainage has been demonstrated in a conclusive manner by recent set experiments.

Of course, the Middle Ages added little to our knowledge of the subject; and the next great advance came from South America. It seems that we owe to a villager of Malacotos, near Loxa in Ecuador, the discovery of the efficiency of Peruvian Bark against malarial fever. This fact was made known in Europe in 1640 by a lady who had been cured by the drug, the Countess El Cinchon, wife of the Viceroy of Peru; and, later and more widely, by the cure of Louis XIV. by an English "empiric," Talbot. From this time the use of the bark became general; and in 1820 Pelletier and Caventon separated its essential alkaloid, quinine. Approved by two and a half centuries of use, the bark or its alkaloid is now the accepted remedy for the disease—one of the few specifics which we possess—and has probably saved millions of lives. It is always strange that the world, which treasures the names of its principal tyrants, fiddlers, and buffoons, should have forgotten that of the benefactor who gave it such a boon as this drug.

* *De re rustica* lib. i. cap. 12.

But quinine was not only the specific but also the teacher. Physicians speedily discovered that it cures only the periodical fevers, leaving the continued fevers unaffected, and were thus able to separate much more clearly than before the symptoms of these two groups of maladies, and to study each by itself. The wonderful book of Torti (1712), who without a clinical thermometer was able to make a most exact study of the symptoms of malarial fever, was the first result of this observation; and his work remains the classic on the subject to the present day.

About the same time, that is scarcely two centuries ago, Morton in England and Lancisi in Italy, renewed studies on the relation of the periodic fevers to stagnant water, and suggested that the former are directly due to emanations from the latter. Be it observed that they gave no experimental evidence in favour of this view; they made no attempt actually to produce the disease in man by the agency of the emanations; they simply stated the hypothesis as an explanation of the well-known relations between the fever and the marsh. Here again science has absolutely confirmed the conjecture; but the emanations are not gaseous, as these writers and their more dogmatic followers seemed to think, but of quite another nature.

As this great drama unrolls itself we feel inclined to look for the utterances of some chorus explaining or criticising the action of the play—something like the chorus of Pities, or of Ironical Spirits, which appears in Mr. Hardy's smaller theme of the Napoleonic wars. At this point the Ironical Spirits would impress the danger of assuming without experiment hypothetical explanations of known facts. The fevers exist; the marshes exist; and the former are certainly caused in some way by the latter. What more natural to assume than that the former are produced by gases from the latter, and then to dogmatise, and even to label the fevers with the conjectural cause and to call them the malarial (bad air) fevers? Yet if these old physicians, instead of mere theorising, had carried out the necessary experiments, as was done later, they would soon have discovered the falsity of their doctrines.

The next contribution to our knowledge of the subject was made chiefly by British naval and military surgeons, such as Lind and Pringle, who, during our world-wide extension of empire in the eighteenth century, ascertained that malarial fever is not confined to Europe, but extends over almost all tropical and subtropical countries. We thus began to acquire some inkling of the magnitude of our enemy; but unfortunately

these observers added little more to our store of facts about him. They and their followers adhered to the old theories of causation, and even embroidered them with fresh phylacteries of hypothesis. They held, without experimental proof, that the malarial miasm rises not only from stagnant water but from the soil itself. Thus arose the conception of the Telluric Miasm. It is enough, they thought, to scratch the surface of the soil to have this poison come rushing out like steam from a vent, affecting all around. Millions of people still believe that malarial fever is due to turning the soil. How then is it that all agriculturists do not suffer much more than other people do? But Dogma, that old enemy of man, greater than malaria, does not pause to consider. She bids us conclude at once, and sleep; and even science herself has often sunk under her sway. One of the most curious facts in history, showing the innate irrationality of man, is to be found in the slow advent of the experimental method in connection with the study of disease.

About the middle of last century, however, the most important of the pure sciences, experimental pathology, sprang into being. The great improvements then effected in the microscope enabled her, assisted by her sisters of biology, to commence that minute study of disease which, if man is rational and disciplined enough to act upon her teaching, will release him from many of the worst evils which now affect him. As regards malarial fever, the first result was the discovery of the fact that the blood and certain glands of a patient are infiltrated with characteristic minute black granules called the *malarial pigment*. It was soon shown that these granules are formed in the blood, and are derived from the *hæmoglobin*, or substance of which the *blood corpuscles* are composed; and people at first thought that they consisted of hæmoglobin altered by the action of the paludic or the telluric poison. In 1880, however, it was recognised that these pigment granules are really the discarded refuse-matter of innumerable little parasites which live within the blood corpuscles, and cause the disease.

This important discovery was made in Algeria by Dr. Laveran, a French army surgeon, almost simultaneously with the discovery, due to Pasteur, Lister, Koch, and others, that the bacteria, the lowest forms of vegetable life, are the cause of many maladies, such as anthrax, tuberculosis, cholera, typhoid, leprosy and Malta fever. The date was therefore an epoch in history, because for the first time man learnt the actual cause of much of the disease which cuts short his life. But Laveran's

observations opened a new chapter. The parasites of malaria are not bacteria, but protozoa, the lowest form of *animal* life. Let me endeavour to give a simple description of them. I suppose that the educated reader, familiar as he is with the philosophies and arts of mankind, may have heard that his own blood consists chiefly of little yellow bodies, called red blood corpuscles, floating in a clear fluid. These bodies are about one thirty-three hundredth of an inch in diameter, and, in a man of a hundred and fifty pounds in weight, number about twenty-six billions. We shall obtain some idea of the magnitude of this number when we compute that to count it at the rate of a hundred a minute, day and night without rest, would take about five hundred thousand years. The parasites live within these corpuscles at the expense of the hæmoglobin of which they are mainly composed, somewhat as a grub lives within a nut. When they are very numerous, as they frequently are during a bad attack of fever, one in twenty-five corpuscles may be infected, giving a rough estimate of a billion invaders present throughout the body; but when their numbers fall below, let us say, two hundred and fifty millions, the patient will not as a rule be conscious of their presence. When they once gain an entrance to the body they may continue to breed in it in varying numbers, like rats in a ship, for many years; but happily they often die out more quickly, owing either to medication by quinine, or to the elaboration of some germicidal process by the body itself.

For several years Laveran's discovery obtained little credence or even notice; but then a large number of observers living in many countries began to follow it with the greatest care and interest. Golgi of Pavia, together with Laveran himself, first showed the mechanism by which the parasites reproduce themselves. Each of the little bodies, safely ensconced within its red corpuscle, gradually grows in size, and on reaching maturity breaks up into a number of spores. The shell of the corpuscle then bursts, allowing the spores to fall into the fluid of the blood; and each spore next attaches itself to a fresh corpuscle, enters it, and lives within it as its parent had done, producing in its turn a fresh crop of spores; and so on, *ad infinitum*. Thus if a single parasite enters the body and survives, it will be able to produce millions and billions after a sufficient lapse of time, just as a single ear of corn will cover a whole country with its progeny. Moreover, just as all the plants in a field of corn reach maturity at about the same time, so, as Golgi showed, do all the members of the same generation of malaria parasites. Hundreds of millions of them produce

and liberate their spores within about an hour of each other; and, more important still, it is just at this moment when all the spores are liberated together that the patient will be attacked by the ague fit followed by fever—symptoms so characteristic of malaria. Still further, Golgi and others showed that there are several varieties of malaria parasites, which differ, not only so markedly in their appearance that we can easily differentiate them under the microscope, but also in the length of their developmental cycle. Thus one variety takes seventy-two hours to develop, that is, to produce its spores; so that as all the parasites sporulate simultaneously and as the patient is attacked with fever at the moment of sporulation, it follows that he will tend to have an attack only every three days. Here then was the full explanation of the classical *quartan fever*. Secondly, another variety takes only forty-eight hours for its development, producing an attack of fever every other day—the classical *tertian fever*. Lastly another species sporulates every twenty-four hours—producing the classical *quotidian fever*. By pricking a patient's finger and examining a minute quantity of his blood under the microscope, it is usually easy to tell, not only the variety of parasites which infect him, but their numbers, and the degree of ripeness which they have attained—so that we can generally advise him when he may expect the next attack of fever. Of course many patients may harbour two or even three varieties of parasites simultaneously, or may possess more than one generation of parasites of the same kind—points which cannot be discussed in this brief recital.

But we now ask, how is it exactly that these organisms can produce such symptoms as the shivering or cold fits, followed by high fever and then profuse perspiration? Each minute parasite, when it breaks the shell of its containing corpuscle and scatters its spores in the blood, liberates at the same time the refuse-matter which has hitherto been stored within its little body. Some of this refuse is the malarial pigment referred to above, and with it there must be some poisonous chemical agent which produces the symptoms. Thus, at the moment when the swarms of invaders scatter their spores in blood, the patient is suddenly poisoned by their combined refuse-matter—is seized with chill, nausea, headache, shivering and fever. Presently, however, the wonderful and not completely understood antitoxic mechanism of the body comes into play. The poison is attacked, altered, neutralised and eliminated—probably to a great degree in the perspiration; and the patient is much relieved, and often thinks himself cured. The parasites, however, are not killed (though probably

millions of the spores perish); another generation reaches maturity, and another attack comes on, thus producing the characteristic intermittent fever of malaria. Sometimes, especially early in the case, before the antitoxic mechanism is roused into full vigour, the second paroxysm may commence before the poison from the first is altogether eliminated, and in such cases the fever remains continuously for some days, producing what is called *remittent* malarial fever. Next, after weeks, months, or years, the parasites themselves may diminish in numbers, and permanent recovery may ensue. But as a rule the improvement is at first only temporary, and, especially if the patient takes a chill or is subjected to great heat, fatigue or other conditions, the parasites become once more numerous enough to cause illness. There must be a constant battle between them and their poison on the one hand and the germicidal and antitoxic mechanism of the blood on the other hand. Death and recovery are the two definite issues; alternating sickness and improvement, the suspense of battle. Vacillating Niké hovers over the well-fought field, and the dull mind, enthroned in her palace and knowing nothing of the contending armies, feels only the shocks of the conflict, which she calls illness.

The researches on these points, due originally to Laveran, Golgi, Canalis, Marchiafava and others, were speedily checked and confirmed by scores of workers, whose books and papers on the subject amount to several hundreds. And many other points were examined. I ought to have mentioned that even before Laveran's discovery, Gerhardt had shown that a small quantity of blood taken from a patient and inoculated into a healthy man will produce a typical malarial infection, thus proving that such blood contains a germ of some kind. After Laveran's discovery, Danielewsky demonstrated similar parasites in the blood of birds, Koch in monkeys, Dionisi in bats, and Vassal in squirrels, while Danielewsky, Smith and Kilborne, Ziemann and many others have found more distantly related organisms in numbers of animals. One of the most important advances, due to Ehrlich, Romanowsky and Ziemann, was a method of staining microscopical specimens by which we can ascertain the exact cytological structure of our minute adversaries. Another discovery, and a most startling one, due principally to Koch, Daniels, Stephens and Christophers, but made much more recently, was that in many tropical countries a large percentage of the native children, though apparently in good health, contain the parasites almost constantly in their blood. Nearly all the children become infected soon after birth, and those that survive retain them

for years, gradually becoming inured to them, until finally, as the child approaches puberty, the parasites die out, leaving the young adult comparatively immune against them. This explained why adult natives of tropical countries are often so little susceptible to malaria as compared with Europeans ; and at the same time demonstrated that the prevalence of the disease is more enormous even than our statistics had indicated. We knew before, chiefly from military returns, that the annual number of admissions into hospital for malaria in the tropics equals from a third to a half the number of people under consideration ; but we now learnt by the most exact microscopical methods that the disease hangs like a cloud over the tropics, prostrating or slaying every year untold millions of human beings, especially of the young ; crippling, not only the native, but the pioneer, the soldier, the trader, and the administrator ; and shutting out civilisation from many of the most fertile tracts of the world.

It is curious that in the whole of this history, up to 1898, there is not, so far as I know, a single instance of any government having paid a penny in order to advance researches on malaria. Let the chorus of Ironical Spirits speak here for a moment. The whole work was done by enthusiasts—nearly all medical men—who spent their leisure on their self-imposed task with no prospect of reward. Yet malaria is a disease which, on account of its economical bearing, is of profound importance to local administrations. All governments admit that it is their duty to prevent disease : why then do they not try to learn how to prevent it ? While they spend large sums on the salaries of legal and administrative functionaries, they are apt to pay little attention to the plagues which are decimating their subjects and perhaps ruining vast tracts of country. Again, so far as I am aware, no philanthropist ever helped this cause up to the date I mention. Yet every year philanthropists give or bequeath enormous fortunes to hospitals and other charities. If they would help to cure the sick, they should certainly help us in learning how to cure them. Lastly, I believe that not one of the men who worked out this great problem has ever received any adequate thanks, much less reward, for his strictly professional work. A doctor who treats an individual patient is supposed to receive his fee in payment ; but a doctor who treats the World must expect nothing. The World is rather short-sighted in this respect, and it is he himself who suffers most for his ingratitude. His medical attendants (on these terms) are few and far between, and he therefore continues to die on a large scale from preventible diseases. Meantime the honour rests with those

who did the work. They are not known to general fame, but it is their greatest glory that their work is more glorious than their names.

But to proceed. Very numerous and exact researches had thus shown that malarial fever is caused by certain protozoal parasites of the blood, but a second great problem now appeared in the background—a problem on which the whole theory of the prevention of the disease must depend. Where do these parasites live in external nature? How do they effect an entry into the human body? Those who remembered the old and well-established theorem that the disease is connected with stagnant water assumed at once that the parasites must live in such water, and that they must enter the body either by inhalation of mists containing them or by ingestion of the water itself. Experiments were rapidly undertaken, especially by Agenore, Calandruccio, and Celli, to test the question by causing healthy persons to drink water or to inhale air brought from malarious places. These were absolutely negative; though numerous experiments of the kind were made, they failed to produce the disease. Later Grassi and Feletti thought that the marsh amœba called *Amœba guttula* must be the free form of the parasite; but they gave little evidence in favour of this view.

There was, however, another hypothesis in existence. As early as 1883, A. F. A. King in America had suggested that the infection is caused by the bites of mosquitoes which bring the poison from the marsh to the man.* He gave no less than nineteen ingenious arguments in favour of this view, based mostly upon concurrences, such as the facts that mosquitoes and malaria abound mostly in the same localities and at the same season, that infection takes place chiefly at night when mosquitoes are most apt to bite, and so on. Next year, both Laveran and Koch independently made the same suggestion without giving reasons; and ten years later Dr. Manson (now Sir Patrick Manson) added a strong argument to the hypothesis. Many kinds of parasites are known to transfer themselves from one species of animal to another which preys upon it, as, for instance, from the mouse to the cat, the deer to the tiger, the pig to man; and several phenomena in the life-history of the malaria parasites suggested that they may pass similarly from man to the mosquito. But experience shows us how frequently such conjectures go astray, and rigid proof was demanded before we could accept them. In 1891, when I was Staff

* Vide *Popular Science Monthly* (New York), September 1883. The mosquito theory in a vague form is really much older than this, having been known to several savage tribes, and also to the Cingalese, some centuries ago.

Surgeon at Bangalore in India, I had been struck by the hollowness of the dogma which attributed malarial fever to aerial emanations from marshes or the soil, and had been drawn towards an investigation of the problem by its importance and intellectual interest; but, owing to the difficulty of obtaining scientific information in that country, was able to do little for several years. In 1894, however, Manson told me of his hypothesis; and early next year I commenced a critical experimental examination of it, by allowing mosquitoes to bite infected persons and then endeavouring to trace the development of the parasites within the insects, and by other methods. The inquiry, however, turned out to be one of great practical difficulty, and I was obliged to modify both the methods and the working hypotheses. After two and a half years of fruitless efforts, I began to despair of success, when there occurred one of those remarkable dramas of the laboratory which probably affect human life more than many battles. On August 20, 1897, while examining a mosquito of a new species, and when on the point of giving it up, I observed in its tissues the bodies I was in search of. The problem was really solved; but before I could obtain formal proof, all my work was broken and interrupted by my medical superiors, who, in spite of my having reported my discovery to them, ordered me off to a place where there was little or no malaria. Next year, however, the Government of India made amends by taking the exceptional step of placing me on special duty to continue my studies. Owing to the "plague scare" in Calcutta, I could not advance with human malaria, and therefore attacked that of birds; and in a few months was able to clear up the mystery. When mosquitoes of the proper species suck the blood of infected men and birds, they draw in with it the parasites of malaria, which enter their tissues, live and grow in them, and ultimately produce spores which find their way into the insects' salivary glands, and from there down the proboscis into the blood of any fresh victim, thus infecting him. Hence the mosquito takes the parasite from an infected person, and after a week or more conveys it into the blood of a healthy one. Not only was every step and detail of this scarcely credible migration figured and described, but a number of healthy birds were infected under experimental conditions, while numerous control experiments demonstrated the accuracy of the various inferences. The formality of repeating the same work with the human parasites remained to be done; but I was now ordered to undertake other researches. Appeals for assistance were made in vain; I was obliged to leave India; and it was not until the autumn of

1899 that I completed my task in Sierra Leone, whither I went for the purpose in the service of the newly-founded Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine.

Meantime my researches had been published step by step and were quickly and fully confirmed by Geheimrath Professor Koch, and Dr. Daniels. At the end of 1898, owing to the frequent interruptions of my work, several Italian observers, especially Dr. Bignami, of Rome, were able to anticipate me in the extension of my experiments to human malaria, and actually caused the infection of several healthy persons by the bites of mosquitoes, just as I had done previously with birds. The doors were now not only unlocked, but flung wide open, and from all sides scientific workers entered in order to collect the revealed treasures. Schools of Tropical Medicine and special societies were founded in numbers of States ; numerous expeditions were despatched to the ends of the earth ; innumerable books and papers on the subject were published. Great collections of mosquitoes were made and described in admirable volumes. Healthy persons who volunteered themselves for the experiment, mostly medical men, were infected by the bites of mosquitoes, even in the middle of London. Others worked out minutely the smallest details of the new learning. I cannot here describe their labours : there is no space for a full treatment of them, and a cursory one would be unjust to many.

The net results were as follows. Mosquitoes are of course nothing but gnats, the former name being one which is popularly used in the tropics. These insects pass their larval stage in water—canals, tanks, tubs, drains, pots, ditches, ponds, puddles, streamlets and marshes. Those that carry human malaria belong to the group of Anophelines and breed mostly in terrestrial waters, that is in marshes or marsh-like puddles. Hence the full explanation of the fact ascertained by the ancients, that malarial fever is connected with marshes. But the poison which causes the fever, that is the parasite discovered by Laveran, does not itself live in the marsh, and is not taken from it either by the ingestion of drinking water or the inhalation of mists. It is the *carrier* of the parasite, the gnat, which lives in the marsh and rises from it. Where the appropriate marshes exist, there, as a rule, the insects abound. They swarm into the neighbouring houses, living for weeks or months, and biting the inmates every few days. If one of the inmates happens to have Laveran's parasites in his blood, the mosquitoes which bite him become infected, and after a week or more inoculate the spores into fresh persons. From these again the parasites are spread to others. If a stranger enters a house where infected mosquitoes are living he is very likely

to become infected himself, and will then probably attribute the disease to the air rising from the marsh. He will be quite right in effect ; but the infecting agent is not the air, but the gnats which fly in it. Such is the simple and yet unexpected solution of the great problem. It is often asked whether there is not another method of infection. First, there is no reason why there should be, as the known method explains all the facts. Secondly, there is no evidence in favour of such a view ; and, thirdly, there are many complex parasitological reasons against it. Exposure, chills, heat, and so on, often cause fever, but only in the form of relapses occurring in persons already infected. So far as we know, the parasite is introduced into the blood only by the bite of the gnat. It is often stated that malaria exists where there are no mosquitoes ; but mosquitoes exist almost everywhere in the tropics, though unobservant people sometimes do not notice them. Again, it is said that mosquitoes abound where there is no malaria. That may be and often is the case—for the simple reason that the mosquitoes are of the wrong variety. The kinds which do not carry malaria are, in fact, the commonest in most places.

These discoveries led at once to the suggestion of exact methods of suppression of malaria. The first was that recommended by myself early in 1899, namely, reduction of the mosquitoes in the principal centres of population by drainage and other treatment of their breeding-pools. This was, in effect, the method of the ancients, only rendered more precise, and therefore cheaper, by our present exact knowledge of which waters are really dangerous (that is, those which breed Anophelines), Later, Koch suggested that if the parasites were destroyed by treatment of all the patients in a locality, the mosquitoes would no longer be infected, and therefore dangerous ; Manson showed, by an experiment in the Campagna, that mechanical screening of a house from the entry of the insects would do much to protect the inmates ; and Stephens and Christophers suggested that Europeans in the tropics should segregate themselves as much as possible from native children, who are the principal source from which the mosquitoes carry the virus. All these methods are certainly efficacious ; but I have no doubt that the first one is that which will be principally used in the future. It will benefit all classes alike; it can be carried out by local authorities without attempts to persuade or force the public to take an unpleasant drug, or to furnish their houses with expensive window-screens; it will reduce not only malaria, but other mosquito-borne diseases, and also the irritating flies themselves; it encourages general cleanliness throughout a town ; and though it may sometimes

be somewhat expensive, yet, for the amount of good effected, it will probably cost less than the other methods. It has been adopted with more or less success in a number of towns or small settlements—most notably so at Ismailia on the Suez Canal, and at Klang and Port Swettenham in the Federated Malay States. At Ismailia, where exact statistics have been kept for many years, the cases of malaria used to amount to about two thousand per annum, now (1906) the Suez Canal Company reports: "Depuis 1902, la fièvre paludéenne est entrée en décroissance manifeste, et depuis 1903 aucun cas nouveau de paludisme n'a été constaté à Ismailia." Similar success has been obtained at the Malayan towns just mentioned. The reader who may wish to study the subject for practical application must be referred to the medical Press, where he will find innumerable details from 1898 onwards. The other measures also have been successful, especially in Italy. I may add that Manson long ago showed that the worm which causes elephantiasis is carried by a gnat, and that, since the completion of the malaria work, Finlay, Reed, and others demonstrated that yellow fever, the scourge of America, is conveyed by the mosquito called *Stegomyia fasciata*. The prevention of mosquito-borne disease has therefore now become a part of all scientific tropical sanitation and administration; and the mere knowledge that the insects may produce disease has certainly diminished sickness in the tropics, if only because it has induced sensible people to be more careful in their use of mosquito nets.

But the story of malaria contains other elements than those of sanitation. It reveals facts which cannot but sadden the philanthropist who would like to conceive man as a being that strives, by reason, towards improvement. I have already referred to the early remissness of the public towards the investigation of a disease which must, I suppose, destroy every year a population equal to that of London. But even when the investigations were carried out by amateurs little use was made of them. For nearly twenty years after Laveran's discovery, governments and the public ignored it; medical men who were called upon to treat every day dozens of cases of the disease very frequently failed to study the subject; and the public medical and sanitary services, which should be models of scientific organisation, did nothing to enforce the study among their officers, or even to provide them with microscopes. Still later, we have had a great battle in attempting to get the tropical colonies to adopt any preventive measures. The efforts have often been met with insane ridicule in the Press, and with complete indifference by local officials who are paid to attend to such matters. Had

the preventive measures been commenced when they were proposed seven years ago, the disease would have been practically banished by now from most of the principal tropical towns, as it has been banished from Ismailia and Klang, and hundreds of thousands of persons would have been saved from lingering illness and often from death. But with a few brilliant exceptions, such as Sir William MacGregor, Prince d'Arenberg, General Leonard Wood, Drs. Gorgas, Watson, Travers, Pressat, and others, local officials have not exhausted themselves with the work. Want of funds and of conviction are always given in excuse ; but stupidity and indolence are the true causes of the neglect.

And here the story of malaria merges into a larger history, that of all rational movements for the betterment of mankind. Our sufferings are largely due to the fact that, individually or collectively, we do not submit ourselves readily enough to the guidance of those plain earthly teachers, reason, work, and discipline. We indulge too much in philosophies which expressly inculcate irrationalism and inutilitarianism, and in politics which organise, not prosperity, but games of party football for the amusement of the public. Our house is unkempt and dirty, because, lost in many speculations, we despise the humble broom. Man's first duty is to clean up his premises ; but, like the Asiatic, he prefers to sit and watch the jugglers playing in the courtyard, and the dervishes howling at the gate. In reality, man does not know enough yet to be a philosopher. But he can always wash up.

But I am not a pessimist in these matters, and hold that the international struggle for existence will gradually force us into more reasonable ways. The Colonial Office has recently taken most important action towards generalising anti-malarial sanitation. Vast improvements have been effected in two of the public medical services, and, when the old nescientists who hold responsible posts are superannuated, the advance will be still more quick.

This history would not be complete without a thankful acknowledgment of the great services rendered to the cause by Mr. Chamberlain, and by numbers of men of affairs, such as Sir Alfred Jones, who have given their time and their money to advance it. Personally, though I grumble at the past, I think that the great science and art of tropical sanitation is about to enter upon a glorious future. Like Columbus, it will give to man

The godlike gift of half a world.

RONALD ROSS.

THE ATTACK ON THE ALIENS ACT

AFTER a lengthy and uphill fight against ignorance, prejudice and apathy, the Aliens Act, long overdue, was added to the Statute Book last summer. It is still customary among the classes who, prior to, and even after, the General Election, accepted the statement that the Chinese in the Transvaal were slaves, to say that the Act was the outcome of a manufactured agitation originated and supported for personal and party ends without any solid justification. It may, therefore, be worth while once more to remind the public that the formidable modern movement of aliens into this country had been the subject of inquiry by a House of Commons Committee appointed in 1889, and that this Committee, in its Report, recognised the necessity not for immediate but for future legislation to control the inflow if it continued, as it has continued in steadily increasing volume; that the subject was exhaustively discussed in the Press and at political meetings during the next dozen years; and that in 1902 the whole controversy was submitted to a Royal Commission which sat for upwards of a twelvemonth and examined 175 witnesses, whose answers to questions numbered in all 23,639. It would tax the *aplomb* of even the hardiest radical orator to say that that inquiry was not exhaustive.

By a majority of five to two, the dissentients being Lord Rothschild and Sir Kenelm Digby, the Commission reported, as most people are aware, in favour of an Act to regulate and restrict Alien Immigration. Unquestionably this decision was in accordance with the weight, the overwhelming weight, of evidence. A Bill, embodying the recommendations of the Commission, was introduced in 1904, was referred to the Grand Committee on Law, and was then wrecked by the obstruction of a group of Radicals led by a few Conservative renegades. A modified Bill was introduced in 1905 and passed into law. This was gratefully accepted by Unionists as a valuable advance

in legislation. But the modifications which had been introduced into the second edition, and which were apparently due to influential private representations made to the Government, impaired the efficiency of the measure, especially as a remedy for overcrowding in the East End of London, and rendered possible serious evasions of the enactment which will certainly have to be met at the right time by an amending Bill.

The Act was necessarily elastic in its provisions, and left a wide discretion to the Home Secretary, whose duty it is to enforce it. Consequently, its efficacy depends to an exceptionally great extent upon the regulations governing its operation which he sanctions. The regulations which were drawn up by the late Home Secretary, Mr. Akers-Douglas, erred, if at all, in showing too anxious a leniency in delivering from the grasp of the new law any alien who had the least pretext for pleading that he was a worthy subject for compassion. These regulations were, when the Unionist Ministry resigned office, adopted and issued by his successor, Mr. Herbert Gladstone.

Then what happened? The majority of the Radical Party had opposed the Aliens Act in spite of the evidence laid before the Royal Commission and its finding, their opposition being simply and solely due to the fact that the measure was introduced by a Unionist Government. The Jewish community had opposed the Act because they considered that their racial patriotism called upon them to keep this country open to all their co-religionists without discrimination as to character, means or health, it being the only land which offered an absolutely unconditional asylum to aliens, whether honest and capable or the reverse. A section of the Labour Party was opposed, on sentimental grounds, to the exclusion of any destitute individual, their impression being apparently that all poor persons are oppressed and that all laws controlling the movements of an indigent class are oppressive, and further, that all persons arriving from abroad as steerage passengers have been victims of tyrannous foreign government.

I say advisedly that a *section* of the Labour Party was opposed to the Aliens Act, for there is a very distinct and very interesting line of cleavage in the opinion of the working classes, or I should, perhaps, say among the leaders of Trade-Unionism, upon this subject. The sentimental objection to excluding foreigners only sways those who have not felt the pinch of the competition of aliens nor suffered from their presence. Those who know from the bitter experience acquired in their own

trades what industrial effects the inrush of aliens has, are at one with those who have been expropriated from their dwellings to make room for aliens, or, if they have maintained their foothold in their homes, have been compelled to pay enormously increased rents, becaused the space they occupy would give a bigger yield if packed with foreigners to whom unnameable conditions of overcrowding are a matter of indifference. Every one of the industries into which the bulk of our immigrants swarm sent its official representative to the Royal Commission to demand the control and restriction of immigration; the witnesses deputed by the great organisations in the tailoring trade, the shoemaking trade, and the cabinet-making trade, all had the same tale of lowered rates of pay, lowered standard of production, and lowered conditions of life, to tell. The grievance of the Scottish Miners' Federation, somewhat different in form, was the same in substance. It is only the working man who has not himself suffered from free trade in sweated foreign labour who has the excessive and uninstructed sentimental fondness for the alien, and who prefers the cause of the foreign worker to the cause of the men of his own race.

Exactly the same principle of cleavage appeared in the Bill, excellent in itself and embodying a legitimate demand of the whole working class, which was lately promoted by the Labour Party (and most unfortunately and unwisely rejected by the House of Lords) with the object of excluding from the country in times of strikes alien workers imported to take the place of British hands. Every working man can see the menace to himself in alien labour imported to break up a strike in his own trade. But what is the logic of excluding the supplanter from abroad on the rare occasions of industrial strife, and admitting him, year in, year out, while he gradually but steadily and completely absorbs whole industries formerly manned by British workers? In the one case the whole working class feels that its interest is tangibly affected, and the sentimental enthusiasm for the foreigner collapses; in the other case, the wrong is only felt within a certain sphere, and those outside it remain content in their old prejudiced ignorance.

The classes which I have named being united in their opposition to the Aliens Act, the journals which express their opinions commenced an agitation against it as soon as it came into operation on January 1 last. This agitation had a double object—to justify the opposition of the Radical Party to the Act before it became law and to cause a diversion of attention, by

means of an attack upon a Unionist measure, from the difficulties of the newly formed Radical Government which was embarrassed by the electoral exaggerations about Chinese labour, and still more by the conflicting demands of various sections of its supporters, each of which was pressing for early legislation to its own separate and particular advantage.

With the possible exception of the Chinese labour campaign, there never was a more palpably and disgracefully insincere and mendacious agitation than that which was organised against the Aliens Act. From first to last it was based upon two mutually destructive assertions, which were urged simultaneously by the same speakers and the same papers with an effrontery that showed a really surprising contempt for the perspicacity of the public. These assertions were :

(1) That the Act inflicted cruelty upon genuine political refugees, who, having escaped from their persecutors in Russia, were delivered up to them again by its operation, and were then shot, or, at the least, subjected to the most horrible experiences.

(2) That the Act was a farce, offering so many loopholes for evasion that it did not succeed in excluding from this country one single person ; that it was incapable of being worked effectively ; and that therefore the machinery set up for its enforcement was a useless expense and an unnecessary burden on the taxpayers.

One would imagine that it would be clear even to the meanest intelligence that if the Act was a sham, and excluded and could exclude nobody, it could not be the means of hounding back to their death in Russia a number of deserving, or undeserving, political refugees ; and *vice versa*, if it closed the doors of this country to immigrants fleeing from persecution, it could not, whatever its other faults might be, have proved inoperative, and a mere legislative farce. Yet I have read in the same Radical paper, in the same issue and even in the same column, flaming accounts of Russian political refugees driven back by the unspeakable brutality of the Act to certain execution in Russia, and circumstantial accounts, approvingly quoted from the mouths of the men concerned in stultifying the Act, of organised methods of evading its provisions, which were declared to have secured that not one single person rejected by the inspectors and Immigration Boards had failed to enter the kingdom, in defiance of the purpose but without infraction of the letter of the law. It is certainly a flaw in the enactment as passed, that persons refused admission to this country when they arrive as steerage passengers are frequently and openly brought in a few

days subsequently as first-class passengers, subsidised for the purpose by moneylenders or others interested. First-class passengers are not subject to the examination prescribed by the Act. It is urgently needed that any attempt to introduce rejected aliens should be made an offence, and that such aliens, if they return, should themselves be subject to a penalty.

As both these contentions were put forward with every semblance of seriousness and authority, I propose to examine each briefly. Certain specific instances were quoted in all the leading Radical papers in which it was alleged that genuine political refugees had been refused admission at various ports on the sole ground of their destitution, and had been conveyed back to Russia. Mr. Walter Rothschild capped these assertions by declaring as a fact that a number of the deported refugees had been shot on their arrival at the Russian frontier.

By means of questions in Parliament, sometimes put from the Unionist side and sometimes by Liberal or Labour Members, the facts in all the leading cases were elicited ; I supplemented the information thus obtained by private inquiries at the ports and elsewhere; the result was to substantiate the conclusion that no hardship had been inflicted upon any person, and that no one who could even colourably be described as a genuine political refugee had been refused admission to the country. I invite any one who doubts this statement to read the replies given by Mr. Gladstone to the questions put when the agitation was at its height.

An independent inquiry undertaken by the *Manchester Guardian*, which has from the first been opposed to the principle of the Aliens Act, and was in sympathy with those who denounced its operation, showed that the complaints made by the agitators were illusory. Parliament had inserted in the Act a clause expressly safeguarding the privilege of asylum for political refugees, and the representative of the *Manchester Guardian* found that the Immigration Inspectors and Boards were carefully respecting that provision, and were administering the new law humanely and with the most praiseworthy discretion. They had lists of the districts in Russia which were then disturbed, and any person who showed that he came from those districts received full sympathy in establishing his claim to benefit by the refugee clause.

Mr. Walter Rothschild explained that he was unable to give the names of the rejected immigrants who were shot at the Russian frontier on their return or that of his informant; I need hardly say that I do not question Mr. Rothschild's good faith, but I believe that he was misinformed. In a letter to the papers,

I urged him to supply the dates and the places at which the alleged atrocities took place, a course to which there seemed to be no objection. But he did not give these details. The Russian Embassy in London denied the story. But the most startling comment upon Mr. Rothschild's assertion is supplied by the action of the Jewish Board of Guardians, which is, in its own words, "the custodian of the interests of the Jewish poor in London." This wealthy and influential body, controlled by the leaders of the Jewish community, has been for years repatriating to Russia and Poland not scores nor hundreds but thousands of immigrants who would otherwise become a burden upon Jewish charity in this country; the persons sent back are of the very same class as those rejected under the provisions of the Aliens Act; the Board of Guardians was continuing to repatriate those people at the time when the agitation against the Act was raging, and it is repatriating them now. It has no compulsory powers. The immigrants are sent back with their own consent. Is it credible that the Board would despatch them, or that they would go, to be shot on their arrival on the frontier?

Nor does the action of the Jewish Board of Guardians in this respect conflict with the policy and wishes of the leaders of the Hebrew community in other countries. In the winter of 1904 a conference which dealt with the subject of Jewish immigration was held at Frankfort. Every important Jewish organisation in Western Europe was represented. It was resolved to discourage with the utmost thoroughness the emigration of Jews from Russia and Poland to the West of Europe and to America on account of the bad economic conditions in which, owing to the volume of previous emigration, the new arrivals inevitably find themselves. And, though the Russo-Japanese War was then in progress and martial law was at its strictest in the Russian service, it was resolved to take all possible steps to induce Jewish deserters who had fled from the country to return to the Colours. Of course, it was well known that they would not be executed even at that time.

Yet, insincere and unjustified as the agitation against the Act manifestly was, Mr. Gladstone yielded to it. He destroyed the efficacy of the statute by means of two changes in the administration of it. When the Bill was before Parliament the number of third-class alien passengers which a vessel might bring to this country without becoming an immigrant vessel as defined in the measure and thereby coming within the scope of its provisions, was fixed at twenty. The Bill passed with this number

incorporated in it, but subsequent inquiry showed that the number was too high, and that the adoption of it would prompt and facilitate evasion of the Act by rendering it profitable to bring small batches of less than twenty undesirable immigrants who would then pass into the country without examination of any kind. Mr. Akers-Douglas therefore reduced the number, as the enactment empowered him to do, to twelve. Mr. Gladstone again raised it to twenty, thereby supplying inducements and opportunities for evading the Act which he was subsequently obliged to recognise and to counteract by special measures in a particular case.

The other step taken by Mr. Gladstone to appease the agitators was much more mischievous and of a far more questionable character. The Act provided that a person who could not satisfy the Immigration Inspector or, on appeal from him, the Board that he was in a position decently to maintain himself and his dependents, if any, should not be admissible; at the same time it provided for the exemption from this clause of a person who *proved* that he was a refugee from political or religious persecution. It was most important to insist upon proof in such cases. The vast majority of destitute aliens who arrive at our ports are Russian and Polish Jews of the poorest class. The want of veracity among these people is notorious, has frequently been commented upon by our Police Court Magistrates and County Court Judges, and is admitted by some of the ablest advocates of their case who are also their co-religionists. Nothing is easier for any penniless rogue or hopeless wastrel coming from Russia or Poland than to *say* that he is a refugee from persecution; if he knows that he belongs to the class that the Act was intended to exclude and will not gain admission to this country without making that assertion, it is natural to him to make it. Under Mr. Akers-Douglas's regulations, if he could not substantiate his assertion by reasonable corroboration, he was not allowed to land. Mr. Gladstone issued an order to the Inspectors that they were to reject no immigrant *if there was any doubt whether he was a political refugee or not.* In fact, the immigrant no longer had to prove his case, and as there is necessarily a doubt in every instance when an immigrant from a country like Russia declares himself to be a refugee from political or religious persecution, unless and until his case is sifted, it follows that the Inspectors could never declare themselves sure that an applicant for admission on this ground was not what he professed himself to be. To reject any alien from the Czar's dominions, it would be necessary for the Inspector to prove that he was not in reality a refugee. Manifestly this is an impossible

task. The *onus probandi* was effectually shifted by Mr. Gladstone's manœuvre, and the Act became a dead letter as concerns a very large class in which the proportion of undesirables is particularly high. Recently there have been signs of improved and more effective administration at the ports, but the Home Secretary may at any moment yield to the clamour which is again being raised on behalf of undesirables posing as refugees and annul the useful work which the Immigration Officers and Boards endeavour to do.

Mr. Gladstone's arbitrary action in stultifying the Act has raised a most important constitutional question. It has always been the healthy and honourable tradition of this country that successive Governments, though opposed in politics, shall respect and administer the laws which they find in force on accession to office. It is unprecedented and a disastrous new departure that a Minister of the Crown should resort to an administrative measure to nullify an Act of Parliament which it is his duty to enforce. Lord Halsbury, speaking with the great authority of one who has been at the head of the legal profession for many years, declared Mr. Gladstone's act to be unconstitutional. He said that the Home Secretary had set aside the legislation of Parliament by indirect means, and that his procedure was contrary to the Act of Parliament; he had exceeded his authority. How, he asked, could the Secretary of State direct persons under his immediate control to disobey a Statute ? I understand that the present Lord Chancellor admitted, in conversation, at the time of the debate in which Lord Halsbury expressed the opinion just quoted, that there was, in fact, no reply to this indictment. And this deplorable manipulation of the law was resorted to in order to appease an agitation of the most blatant and unfounded character. It was a distressing exhibition of Ministerial cowardice.

I have mentioned a case in which Mr. Gladstone was forced to recognise the efficacy of the Act when firmly applied. Not long ago batches of German gypsies of a very undesirable sort were being imported into Scotland, where they caused general indignation and alarm by terrorising the inhabitants and looting property throughout the course of their wanderings. Why, it was asked, was not the Aliens Act applied to exclude such immigrants ? Then, upon investigation, it was found that certain steamers were being used to bring over these people in batches of eighteen and nineteen. There was systematic, deliberate evasion of the Act, under the new regulations sanctioned by the Home Secretary. The Scottish Press and public insisted upon the application of an effective remedy and were, as it is their custom to be on such occasions, in earnest. Mr. Gladstone,

by virtue of his wide powers under the statute, fixed two as the number of immigrants which the offending vessels could carry without being classed as immigrant ships under the Act. This brought the owners to their knees at once. They gave the requisite undertaking as to their future conduct, the nuisance was stopped, and they were freed from the embargo. Evidently the Act is not a farce when those charged with its administration are determined that it shall not be treated as one.

It is instructive, too, to glance at the number of aliens to whom leave to land was refused during the first three months of the present year. For January the figure was eighty-nine. This, of course, does not in the least represent the number prevented from coming to this country by the operation of the Act. Under its provisions the master of a ship who brings an undesirable alien to this country is bound to take him back, after rejection, free of charge. Accordingly, so long as the law was duly enforced, the owners and masters of vessels exercised the greatest vigilance in declining to receive as passengers aliens who were likely to be left upon their hands at the end of the voyage. The experience of the United States, whose legislation against undesirable immigrants is much more drastic than ours, has fully proved that restrictive enactments produce almost the whole of their effect in the aliens' country of origin, not at the port of debarkation. And it is particularly worthy of remark in this connection that, while the mildest legislation to protect our fellow countrymen against the inrush of foreigners for whom we have, and can have, "no use" is denounced as retrograde, cruel, and criminal, the very persons who make the denunciations never have one word of blame to utter against the American laws, for the simple reason that they know the public across the Atlantic will not be moved by manifest bunkum.

In February fifty aliens were rejected under the Act. Mr. Akers-Douglas's regulations were still in force. What, then, did this decline in the numbers mean? In January the Act was new, and foreign steamship owners did not understand its application—they were somewhat inexpert in eliminating from among those whom they carried the immigrants that this country would not receive. By February they had learned the lesson. Few undesirables were turned back at the end of their journey, but many were prohibited from starting.

In March, the number of aliens rejected sank to twenty-nine. But now a new cause was in operation. Mr. Akers-Douglas's regulations had been withdrawn in favour of Mr. Gladstone's. The foreign companies (and only about eight per cent. of our

alien steerage immigrants are carried in British ships) were quick to appreciate their advantage. They could pass practically any one in as a political refugee. The salutary power of the Immigration Inspectors and Boards had been taken from them. And, as the *Times* Commissioner, who lately made a most careful and thoroughly impartial inquiry into the subject discovered, impudent youths of criminal appearance, and persons with "shifty faces and shiftier tales" were pouring in again. They threatened the Inspectors that they would "appeal political" if admission were denied them. In that threat they had the influence of nearly the whole of the great Radical Party behind them.

And by this same party a constant endeavour is made to fasten charges of inhumanity and anti-semitism upon those who advocate the restriction of immigration. In making these accusations they conveniently ignore the conditions prevailing among our own working classes and the alien population already here. To satisfy an unreasoning sentimentalism they would add indefinitely to the appalling sum of misery, destitution, disease, and unemployment, by vast importations from abroad. In no way affected themselves by this policy, the burden of which is cast upon the poorest of our people, they are content so long as this country is open to all who choose to come to it or whom other nations elect to send here.

As to what happens to these people after their arrival, the sentimentalists care nothing. Their conscience and smug self-esteem are satisfied so long as they know that every one is freely admitted. Whether the newcomers live human lives or starve afterwards is a matter of no concern to them. They shut their eyes to the well-known facts which are again emphasised in the recent annual report of the Medical Officer of Health for Bethnal Green.

Dr. Bates, the authority in question, points out that alien immigration continues unchecked. Many whole streets and blocks of buildings in Bethnal Green are full of Russian Jews, to the entire exclusion of English people. These particular people, says the doctor, when they settle in London, herd together in colonies, where they retain their filthy habits and customs, and, as they do not trouble to learn the language of their adopted country, it is difficult to teach them better. The Medical Officer continues, "I did hope that the effect of recent legislation would have placed some check upon the influx of these undesirables, but, unfortunately for East London, the present Government appears to be swayed by sentimental rather than practical considerations, for their anxiety lest a few *bona fide* political refugees should be denied sanctuary has resulted in rendering the Alien Immigration Act of last Session a dead letter."

And when such immigrants as Dr. Bates has in view leave the ship which has brought them, to what economic conditions do they come? They swarm at first into a few trades, tailoring, shoemaking, cabinetmaking, which are already hopelessly over-

stocked. In the phrase of an authoritative witness before the late Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, they are "ready-made victims of the sweaters." They are unskilled and destitute, and must take what is offered to them, and seven shillings a week is a typical wage for a man with a family; one shilling a week for a woman earning her own "livelihood." It is these hapless people who prevent their fellow-aliens from attaining a decent standard of living, just as they evict British workmen from the trades which they follow by the deleterious cheapness of their labour.

Lately there was a strike among the alien tailors in the East End. They struck against the sweaters. What did they demand? A twelve-hours' working day and a standard of living low enough in all conscience, but such as could, with a little charitable laxity, be called human. They might attain their object if it were not for the ceaseless importation of helpless newcomers, unwilling "blacklegs," who are absolutely at the sweaters' mercy.

There are even some "philanthropists" among us who are horrified at the exclusion of such diseases as trachoma (a dangerous malady of the eyes, extremely common among the immigrants from Eastern Europe, and the third principal cause of total blindness in this country), and consumption. Yet they know that the contagion which originates with alien sufferers from these quickly spreading diseases must be propagated among the poorest of our own people—those who have the least knowledge of sanitary protection, and the least power to apply it—and will cause among them loss of livelihood, as well as loss of health; in fact, destitution and despair.

As to the charges of anti-semitism, does any conscientious Jew really believe that by allowing the unrestricted influx of their co-religionists into this country we are contributing towards the solution of the Jewish problem? The mere transplantation of the misery and squalor of the Russian ghettos to the East End of London effects nothing in that direction. The boundless charity of wealthy Jews is taxed and re-taxed to silence the ever-increasing clamour for mere bread, and in order to send back these unfortunate wanderers to the very Russian homes and conditions from which they have fled. Is it the deliberate opinion of Jewry in England, on the Continent and in America that this senseless game of battledore and shuttlecock played with human beings—this wasteful unproductive expenditure of money in the form of charitable relief—provides any present or ultimate solution to the great and ever increasing problems affecting their race?

No man who knows, as I do, the conditions in which masses

of poverty-stricken Jews live in the cities of the Russian Pale; no man who is aware of the risks they run simply because they are Jews, can be devoid of a deep sympathy for them. But I do protest against the selfish contention of the Radical Party in this country that the right remedy is to sacrifice the most helpless of our own people in order that the cries of those who suffer from misgovernment abroad may no longer offend the ears of British sentimentalists. That is not the true solution of the Jewish problem, and it is an atrocious injustice to those who are made the victims of it that such a solution should be attempted. It is a mere misuse of sympathy, which seeks to relieve distress abroad by adding to the congestion, misery and unemployment that already almost overwhelm our least fortunately situated fellow countrymen.

Is it not, then, high time that some steps other than the haphazard dumping of people into already overcrowded towns should be taken? The national aspiration of the Jews for the return to Palestine as a nation is at present as far from realisation as ever, and must long remain so. But in Mr. Zangwill's great project of territorial organisation we have a prudent, practical, statesman-like solution of the Jewish problem which demands the careful consideration of every man who knows what that pressing and terrible problem means.

Let those who denounce the iniquities of our moderate Aliens Act and charge its authors with prejudice against the Jews devote their misdirected energy to the doing of something useful and permanent for the welfare of the people for whom they express so much cheap sympathy. Let them aid Mr. Zangwill and his colleagues in their difficult but superb work of founding a free colony where the Hebrew race may learn again all that organised nationality requires of them, so that they may *be* ready for Palestine when Palestine at last is ready for them.

Let these fluent sympathisers try their hand at the provision of a suitable territory for the Jews and, if need be, of sufficient financial help to ensure the success of the colony. They have influence with the Government of the day, they are its supporters. What better use could they make of their power? Such an undertaking would be worthy of this country, and would constitute a monument of which any Government might justly be proud. It would afford a proof that our sympathy with the troubles and miseries of the race to which we owe so much puts forth better fruit than empty phrases, pharisaical sentiments and unintelligent denunciation.

WILLIAM EVANS GORDON.

KOREA, AN APPANAGE OF JAPAN

THE dream of Hideyoshi has come true: Korea is an appanage of Japan. To any one who has set foot on Korean soil, or to any one who has followed, even vaguely and from afar, the successive scenes in the Korean comedy of the immediate past, the fact admits of no dispute; and the Korean Emperor, despite profuse protestations of admiration and affection for the Japanese Resident-General, is perhaps the only living soul upon whose mind the obvious has as yet failed to dawn. Hidden away in a small room at the back of the least attractive of all the palaces of Söul, his Majesty still revolves impossible plans in his uneasy mind for the independence of his kingdom under an international guarantee. What passes in the mind of the Korean figure-head is, however, at the present day a matter of little interest and no importance to any one but himself; it is with accomplished facts and not with the airy speculations even of an imperial brain that the world is called upon to deal. Hence the text of this article—Korea, an appanage of Japan.

Geographical proximity inevitably drew Korea into the revolving orbit of New Japan. A powerful neighbour firmly established on the adjacent mainland, and in a position to descend at any moment upon the island shores, presented to the Japanese mind a state of affairs not to be tolerated, and strong in her belief in the vital importance of providing against any such contingency she did not hesitate in 1894 to go to war. A whole aggregation of circumstances, indeed, conspired to light up the hills and valleys of Korea with the devouring fires of strife, while a hereditary feud of some centuries standing with the Power that disputed with her the overlordship of the Hermit Kingdom gave an irresistible impetus to the policy which was rapidly driving her along the road to war. Nor had she been guilty of any miscalculation in estimating the relative value of her forces and those of her foe. The war very soon developed into a procession, and before many days

were past every Chinese soldier had been swept off the face of Korea.

But if the task of wiping out the soldiery of China proved a simple one, the ensuing task of reforming and reorganising the inept Government of Korea proved very much the reverse. Of all things in the world reform in any shape or disguise was the very last that appealed to the immutable conservatism of the Korean mind ; and after a brief though breathless period, during which measures of improvement fell like leaves in Vallombrosa, and with as little effect, upon the land, the reformer retired from the unequal contest, baffled by a stolid and unyielding resistance against which it was found useless to persevere.

But worse was yet to come. An almost bewildering succession of victories had attended the Japanese arms ; China, the hereditary foe, had been smitten hip and thigh and driven effectually from the unhappy country whose inability to manage her own affairs had been the ostensible cause of all the trouble ; but here the tale of triumph ceased. The statesmen of Korea were as incompetent as ever to conduct the affairs of their country to the advantage or satisfaction of any one but themselves, the troubled waters still made Korea an alluring pool for any one to fish in, and before many days were past another and vastly more formidable Power had stepped into the recently vacated shoes of China. Henceforth the whole force of Japanese diplomacy was to be concentrated in a wasting and protracted struggle against the inexorable advance of Russia.

Into the details of the events which followed upon this unpalatable *dénouement* it is not necessary to enter. Korea became the unfortunate shuttlecock in a fiercely contested game, and was hard put to it to decide which of the two players excited her bitterest aversion. War over her protesting and helpless body became once more an inevitable episode, and that it was with Japan that she was finally forced to come to terms was due to the greater preparedness of the latter and to the paralysing swiftness with which she struck the preliminary blow. By a protocol, signed a fortnight after the outbreak of hostilities, the Imperial Government of Korea agreed to place full confidence in the Imperial Government of Japan, and to adopt the advice of the latter in regard to improvement of administration in return for a guarantee by the latter Power of the safety and repose of the Imperial House, and of the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire. Eighteen months later, with the victories of Japan staring them in the face, the Korean Government agreed to accept the services of a Japanese

financial adviser, of a foreign nominee of Japan as diplomatic adviser to the Foreign Office, and further decided that they would contract no treaties with foreign Powers, and grant no concessions to foreign applicants, without first consulting the Government of Japan. The threads of the web were being carefully woven.

The future of Korea was sealed with the final victories of Japan. She had the bitter after-taste of the war of 1894 to warn her of the absolute necessity of firm and determined measures if the sacrifices which she had made at the altar of Hachiman were not to prove barren. She had ten years of national profligacy and international disturbance to point to in proof of the danger to the world from the prolonged existence of an unrestrained and untutored Korea, and, better than all, she had a trump card up her sleeve in the text of the newly-concluded alliance with Great Britain, wherein the recognition of England was given to her paramount position in Korea—backed by the cogent argument presented by the most powerful fleet in the world.

The conditions were as favourable as could be expected, and the way was paved on the conclusion of peace for a renewal of the diplomatic onslaught upon the Korean citadel. Nevertheless, it may well be doubted whether the veteran statesman of Japan, to whose lot fell the task of setting in order the Korean House, looked with any great satisfaction upon the legacy bequeathed to him by his life-long friend and predecessor, Count Inouye, who had repaired to the Korean Court with shovel and broom in 1895. However entertaining to the onlookers were the proceedings which now occupied the centre of the Korean stage, they can have been nothing but a source of intense strain and anxiety to the man to whom all Japan looked to carry them to a satisfactory termination.

The negotiations which led up to the Convention which was to sign the death warrant of Korean independence are worthy of being put briefly upon record.

Early in November 1905, Marquis Ito repaired to Söul, bearing gifts from the Emperor of Japan to his brother Sovereign of Korea, and *inter alia* a silver vase from the Empress to Lady Om—indirect testimony to the success which the schemes and pretensions of that ambitious lady had already achieved. On the 15th the Ambassador was closely closeted with the Emperor for upwards of three hours, a circumstance which aroused the suspicions of militant young Korea, who made abortive attempts at disturbing the peace by delivering perorations in front of the palace in favour of the independence

of their country. The way having been duly paved by the interview of the 15th, a document embodying important proposals was handed to the Government by Mr. Hayashi on the 16th—a proceeding which vastly fluttered the inmates of the Korean official dovecots. Both Marquis Ito and Mr. Hayashi exercised inexhaustible patience in explaining in detail to the Cabinet the imperative reasons for inaugurating a new state of affairs between the two countries. Korea's mismanagement of her affairs had in the past seriously jeopardised the relations between the two countries and imperilled the peace of the world. No such situation could be tolerated again. Such was the drift of a patient and prolonged explanation. The arguments used bore the impress of an irrefutable logic, the explanations were lucid and to the point; yet the Ministers displayed a paralysing reluctance to take the lead in assenting to the principles advanced. The Prime Minister, with exemplary modesty, excused himself on the plea of ignorance, inexperience and incompetence. Marquis Ito was quick to point out that while these deficiencies might justly have been pleaded as valid reasons for declining office in the first instance, they could scarcely be held as a justification for refusing to discharge the duties of office when once it had been accepted; and the Minister, quite unable to traverse the incisive logic of the argument, broke down and burst into tears. Still no one could be found to burn their boats behind them by actually signifying assent, and the difficulty was eventually solved in accordance with the best traditions of *opera bouffe*, by Marquis Ito declaring that he would put the question for, and accept silence as giving consent. This ingenious solution gave immense satisfaction to the Cabinet, who were thus spared all further exertion in endeavouring to make up their minds to speak!

On the 17th diplomacy—intricate and protracted—was the order of the day. The proceedings opened with a luncheon party, given by Mr. Hayashi to the Korean dignitaries, at which an animated discussion on the situation took place. Later in the afternoon the whole party, including Mr. Hayashi, repaired to the palace to report progress to the Emperor, who had been indisposed on the previous day as a result of the long and momentous interview of the 15th. Here the discussion of the detailed proposals of Japan dragged wearily on through the long afternoon, the Emperor, who remained secluded in another part of the palace, being kept informed at frequent intervals of the progress made. As hour after hour passed by the sands of Korean independence slipped slowly but inexorably

through the glass, and when at length at 8 p.m. Marquis Ito and General Hasegawa, who had been consuming their souls in patience until they received intimation that the psychological moment for their appearance had arrived, hurried to the palace, it was felt that the supreme moment in the life of at least one nation was at hand. The almost unimaginable vitality of Korean powers of procrastination, however, succeeded in rising to the occasion by one last superb display; and it was not until the cold grey hours of early dawn that the hardly-tried statesmen of Japan emerged from a night of strenuous trial, weary but triumphant, and happy in the knowledge that they took with them in their pockets the title-deed to all that they had sacrificed so much to secure. How the discussion waxed and waned; how, as hour after hour sped by, the Emperor sent solicitous messages to the Envoy of Japan, urging him to rest lest the great labour he was undergoing should impair his health; how the minister Li at length spoke out and deliberately declared that nothing remained but to accept *in toto* the Japanese terms; how a Cabinet crisis took place and the Prime Minister fell for refusing to countenance or affix his seal to any agreement calculated to impair his country's sovereignty; and how Mr. Min Yong Chol was thereupon instated in his stead—all these details of the momentous Conference transpired at a later date, as did also the full text of the hardly-won Convention. Under the provisions of this instrument a Residency-General has been set up in Korea, the interests and subjects of that country abroad have been placed in charge of the diplomatic and consular representatives of Japan, and the responsibility for her foreign affairs has been transferred from Söul to Tokyo.

The early reception of this revised edition of the Korean polity was not wholly encouraging. The temerity of the Minister Li in first assenting to the terms of the Agreement evoked a retort from patriotic Korea in the burning of his house; the students of certain schools who showed signs of unseemly commotion indulged in an enforced holiday from their work; a little harmless stone-throwing brought down upon its authors imprisonment and one hundred blows of the bamboo; and the air became thick with rumours of patriotic suicides, ministerial resignations, revolution and civil war. No little truth, indeed, ran through the tangled skein of sensational rumour that now enveloped the capital. The Cabinet handed in their resignation, the Emperor refused to accept it; the Ministers persisted, the Emperor was obdurate. Result: a Gilbertian situation characteristically Korean—a Cabinet on strike. A change

effected in the presidency by the substitution of Mr. Pak Che-Soon for Mr. Min Yong Chol, whose career as Prime Minister had been numbered by hours, failing to bring about any alteration in the situation, as did also a peremptory order from the Emperor for a resumption of work, Marquis Ito at the end of a week evolved the idea of a huge banquet, which device was successful in drawing the Ministers from their retirement, and in setting going once more the creaking wheels of the ponderous coach of State.

Various earnest if misguided patriots, chips of the old Korean block, achieved momentary notoriety by inspirited protests against the new *régime* not infrequently followed by suicide, a proceeding which received no small encouragement at the hands of the Emperor, who accorded the victims state funerals and flowery posthumous titles. As was remarked at the time, "if his Majesty persisted in distinguishing suicides in this enviable manner, he would not be unlikely to lose several of his subjects." A notable example of this attitude was that of Mr. Chyo Pyong-sik, an elder statesman and at one time special Ambassador to Japan on an abortive Mission for the Neutralisation of Korea under an international guarantee, who was early in the field urging the Emperor to impeach the Cabinet for concluding the new Convention. Failing in his object he collected a following of malcontents and proceeded to the palace, where he made violent remonstrance against the new order of things. The following day saw the leader and his band seated at the gate of the Court of Justice awaiting punishment. Towards evening a message of pardon was received from the Emperor, whereupon the stalwart hero proceeded from the Board of Punishments to the Board of Decorations to renew his protest, and was promptly relieved by the Emperor of all further concern in the Affairs of State. Within twelve days of the signing of the Convention his chief follower, Mr. Min Yonghwan, ex-Prime Minister and Chief Chamberlain, died by his own hand, to be followed twenty-four hours later by Chyo Pyong-sik himself, who "took opium" and expired on the afternoon of December 1.

At this juncture Mr. Yon Chhi-ho, acting-Minister for Foreign Affairs, tendered his resignation two or three times, but as no one appeared willing to accept it he gave up what proved to be a useless formality, and retired to the seclusion of his private residence, whence nothing would induce him to emerge. Plots for the assassination of Ministers became as plentiful as daisies in the spring, and a profusion of petitions denouncing the Convention flowed steadily in. The regularity, however, with

which these missives came to hand soon led to their being looked upon as purely formal affairs of which no notice need be taken. Despite such ominous symptoms, moreover, it was optimistically declared by the end of the year that tranquillity had been restored throughout the country—an assumption which was rudely traversed by subsequent events. Beneath the surface feeling seethed and bubbled, and the spring and summer months of the present year were remarkable chiefly for collisions in different parts of the country between the supporters of the new and the upholders of the old, secretly applauded, if not actually instigated, by the Court, for the suppression of which Japanese gendarmes and troops were not infrequently called in. Thus with many an expiring splutter did the flame of old Korea flicker slowly and painfully out.

The task of the new Resident-General was, indeed, no light one, and the statesmen of Japan were fortunate in persuading Marquis Ito to accept the office and so to carry forward the good work which he had successfully begun. An impoverished treasury accustomed to squander its slender funds upon a galaxy of palace sycophants and parasites was slow to acquiesce in the new restrictions of well-ordered finance, and when the Minister of the Household failed to extract from the reformed department funds which he considered adequate to meet the palace expenses at the time of the new year, he incontinently resigned. An inquiry into the palace *entourage* revealed a motley crowd of between five and six thousand petty officials and hangers-on, of which number it was decided, as a first step, to dismiss about 3000—a reform little calculated to add to the popularity of its author. With other sections of the populace reform in some of its manifestations met with considerable applause. Immense astonishment was created, for instance, by an intimation that men would in future be appointed to office by selection made with reference solely to ability and not at all to family connection and Court intrigue ; and when further several appointments were actually made in accordance with this novel plan, no little satisfaction was added to the initial sensation of surprise. An announcement, too, to the effect that the Crown Prince, whose first wife had died childless, would wed again, caused much fluttering in the bosom of many a Korean maid, while the general interest excited by the news was doubless greatly stimulated by the issue of an Imperial proclamation, which saw the light of day in March, prohibiting any wedding till the selection of a Consort had been made. By the late summer the number of candidates had been reduced by a process of elimination to seven, four more were about to

be rejected, and the final choice made from the remaining three.

Much criticism, partly extravagant and partly just, has been levelled against Japan in Korea. To criticise her presence there is obviously absurd. She is there, in the first instance, by right of might, but her position gained by might has received the recognition and the sanction of the world. The Portsmouth Treaty accepts it, the text of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement affirms it, the voluntary withdrawal of all the Foreign Legations from Söul acknowledges it. A *fait accompli*, sealed and confirmed by such practical and documentary evidence, is scarcely worth the trouble of assailing. She is there for an avowed and acknowledged purpose—the reform of the Government of Korea, a purpose in itself excellent in presence of the assurance which stares boldly from the pages of history that the Korean is unable to cleanse his own house; and it is only when we come to the methods employed that solid ground for criticism is reached. The red tape disease is acute in Japan, and is always productive of absurd and petty regulations. So in Korea. Despite the difference in longitude between the two countries Tokyo time must be used in Korea. The people must smoke short pipes, or again they must discard their immemorial robes of white for garments of a more dusky hue. Such regulations are ridiculous to a degree. They have been tried before and have failed. They will probably fail again. The Korean has an inexplicable but unalterable preference for white, and with or without the sanction of the law white garments he will wear. To-day as in the past the most striking feature of the streets of Söul is the leisurely, white-robed gentleman, with his quaint, black horse-hair hat, and his most noticeable adjunct is his elongated pipe.

Such things, however, are, after all, matters of minor importance; far more serious questions are those of the power and procedure of the military, and the attitude of the Japanese immigrants towards the Korean people. With the sacrifices of the late war still fresh in the memory, the attitude of the military party in Japan has been a source of no little anxiety to the civil authorities. In the early summer a stormy battle raged between the two factions in the Government over the question of the opening of Manchuria, and the eventual triumph of the advocates of the open door is said to have been far from palatable to the military junta. In Korea it is common knowledge that the feelings and the just claims of the natives meet with scant consideration where the military authorities are concerned. Land is taken regardless of any considerations except the supposed

necessities of military strategy, and such compensation only is paid as those who commandeer it choose to pay. It is, perhaps, unfortunate, in the light of the adverse criticism which such action has already evoked, that loopholes should have been given the military, in the recently issued regulations defining the position of the Japanese authorities in the protected country, for an escape from the salutary restrictions of civil control.

That the Resident-General appreciates the requirements of the situation, and is sincerely anxious to do well by Korea, is in no way open to doubt. Reform in the administration, strengthening of the country's finances, agricultural, engineering, and forestry improvements—all these find prominent places in the forefront of his programme. Nor is he blind to the failings of his own nationals in the country. "There has been much to censure in the conduct of our nationals hitherto in Korea," he admitted on a public occasion in Tokyo. "The greatest indignities have been put upon the Koreans, and they have been obliged to suffer them with tears in their eyes. . . . Now that this Empire has taken upon itself the protectorate of Korea, this improper behaviour calls for the utmost correction." When it is added that a rough outside estimate of the actual Korean population is 12,000,000, and that in the past year the number of Japanese has increased from 55,000 to 72,000, it becomes clear that as time goes on the country must fall more and more under the influence of Japan; and it is imperative for her good name and reputation as a civilised and civilising Power that she should leave no stone unturned to check and stamp out the high-handed and indefensible behaviour which has been a marked and unfortunate characteristic of her colonists in the past. The struggles of a weak and helpless people under the forceful guidance of a conquering power—even if that guidance be in the direction of improvement and reform—are at all times calculated to call forth the sympathy of the lookers-on. No one who has trafficked or travelled in the Far East can be blind to the fact that the victories of Japan conjured up a solid feeling among the Far Eastern residents of continental Europe hostile to the Mikado's Empire, and her people can ill afford at the present time to accentuate that feeling by any ill-advised or arbitrary action.

With a reformed and regenerated Government at Söul, with justice and reciprocity as the watchwords governing the social relations between the two peoples, with fair and equal opportunities for trade guaranteed to all, the world may well look with satisfaction upon the altered status of the country. It has been said that Japan is anxious to establish a Customs union

between herself and Korea. The mere fact that only so lately as November 1905 she accepted the treaties existing between the Powers and that country should be sufficient to contradict any such assertion. But a further guarantee is to be found in the perception and sagacity of the statesman now at the helm in Korea. "It is not with regard to Korea alone," said Marquis Ito, in addressing the members of the foremost political party in Japan, "but with regard to the whole problem of the Far East, that nothing opposed to the sentiment of the Powers should be done. No strong country whatever can march forward independently and at its own arbitrary convenience. If Japan, puffed up by her victories in war, should forfeit the sympathy of the Powers, she will be laying up for herself misfortune in the future."*

Japan is, indeed, fortunate in the possession of a statesman solicitous, above all things, of the honour and fair fame of his country; skilled also to steer her safely through the rocks and shoals of the international sea.

DALNI VOSTOCK.

* Speech to the Seiyu-kai, February 5, 1906.

IBSEN, THE REFORMER

> Reforms will surely be brought about some day, because ideas are stronger than men, and are always pressing forward.—FOGAZZARO.

THE reading world is pretty equally divided between those who laugh at Ibsen and those who take his every word as gospel—but the truth is probably to be found half-way between these extremes of opinion, and it is this reasonable point that we wish to arrive at. Were Ibsen's ideas untrue, absurd, unworkable, or had he really a message for his generation? These questions can only be answered after a careful study of the plays, a sifting of their contents, a dispassionate consideration of both their strength and their absurdities.

With Ibsen's historical plays we have no concern at present, for the essence of "Ibsenism"—the "message"—is to be found in that series of social plays which have made their author famous. This article will not attempt to discuss these exhaustively, or to give the exact date at which each play was published; it will only try to show what Ibsen's special theories were, and how he worked them out. Well, in the first place, what is Ibsen's much-talked-of "message," and how does it concern us all? It is a somewhat startling one, and may be given in his own words: "I would speak of the great discovery I have made . . . . the discovery that *all our sources of spiritual life are poisoned*, and that *our whole society rests upon a pestilential basis of falsehood*." *

Ibsen, you will observe at the outset, is nothing if not extreme in his statements; he holds no half-views; to him everything is dead-black or snow-white, the useful half-shades do not exist for him—"all" the sources are poisoned, our "whole" society rests on falsehood. Having taken up this extreme position it behoved him to do his best to mend such a sad state of matters, and here we have the key to all Ibsen's social plays; they are efforts to reform the world. This is one

* *An Enemy of the People.*

reason why the plays are so unpopular. For the world does not want to be reformed, it would much rather be let alone, and always calls the reformer officious, however needful his investigations may be. From the days of the cleansing of the Temple to those of the cleansing of the Chicago packing-houses it has been the same story, and always will be—the reformer need not look for popularity.

If then it is kept in mind that reform of one sort or another is the keynote of all Ibsen's social plays, it becomes comparatively easy to find out the individual lesson of each of them. Here the average respectable, steady-going reader will protest and declare that Ibsen has no message for him ; his life contains none of those dark secrets of which he writes, he does not need to be reformed. But this is exactly where Ibsen, if carefully studied, is so unanswerable. For he took upon himself a peculiarly searching kind of reform—one which we all need. Not content with showing the more obvious blots in our social system, he points out far more subtle transgressions ; he tells of failures in self-fulfilment ; of high ideals abandoned as impracticable and lower standards deliberately adopted ; of a wearied acquiescence in unworthy conditions of living, because it is disagreeable to make the initial changes which would lead to a better state of matters.

These and other such secondary offences against right living may be found in every one of us. *Brand*, perhaps the most beautiful of all Ibsen's plays, has this disquieting message for its keynote. Brand, the hero of the play, is a reformer, and his aim is to make men and women dissatisfied with themselves. His call is "to the Light-hearted, the Faint-hearted, the Wrong-hearted ; in the fall of these three trolds is the world's woe to be mended. If this generation can see *them* laid in their graves first, then the world's pestilence can be blown away." Then follows a classification, which is very searching; most of us can place ourselves in one or other of these classes : "The Light-hearted *led by his games along the brink of the sheerest gulf.* The Faint-hearted *going his slothful way because it is his use and wont.* The Wrong-hearted, of so wild a flight that *as fast as he sees evil it seems good to him.*"

Brand makes his appeal to these three types of character by his own life and example. He casts every joy behind him, sacrifices wife and child, and finally lays down his life in pursuit of his "call." The motto which he would have every one to adopt is "all or nothing." He is the type of the splendid fanatic by whose divine self-abnegation the gross world is saved. "Answer me, oh God, in the Gulf of Death," he cries, "cannot

he *quantum satis* of man's will merit a particle of Redemption?"

The weakness of our so-called beliefs and their powerlessness to affect our practice, are mercilessly scourged in this play. "To *be* is no man's concern," he tells us; "your endeavour is to raise your souls, not to live a complete and thorough life. For such dilly-dallying you want a God who will peep through his fingers. This generation's God, like itself, must be getting grey, and should be painted with a bald pate and skull-cap." Plain speaking this, but to the point, in a dilly-dallying generation. Ibsen has caught hold of the obvious, yet constantly ignored truth, that what we profess matters wonderfully little compared with what we are. Only the men and women who "are" move on the world at all. Ibsen preaches this doctrine sternly, in its most extreme form. He considers that to "be" involves the sacrifice of everything to the individual call.

For the purposes of an evangel, *Brand* stands alone: the almost horrible severity of its message constitutes its strength. It is a trumpet-call to the half-hearted, and such calls must be loud and imperative; for if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to battle?—a truth which Ibsen, clever craftsman that he was, was quick to see and act upon. Only by a certain amount of exaggeration could he get desired emphasis into his message. So he magnifies the character of Brand into something un-human, super-mortal—and this exaggeration is, of course, misunderstood by those who do not apprehend the artistic reason for it. They think Brand an unnatural, wrong-headed, provoking fanatic, while all his talk of "being," "self-fulfilment," "the call," and "all or nothing" is to them only nonsense.

Let such readers lay down the book: they can learn nothing from it.

This doctrine of self-fulfilment, or Individualism, appears and re-appears in many of the plays; but *The Doll's House* pushed the doctrine to its extremest conclusion, and thus gave occasion to the enemy of Ibsen to blaspheme. It seems almost foolish to recapitulate the plot of this well-known play. Yet for the sake of clearness it is best to do so.

Nora and Helmer were a married couple who had lived in apparent contentment and happiness for years, till a chance circumstance revealed to Nora that the foundatious of her life were insecure. Years ago she had forged a cheque under singular temptation: her husband was ill and required a change of climate, and her father, a rich man, was dying. Without troubling the last moments of her father she could not obtain

money for her husband, so Nora forged the signature of the dying man and saved her husband's life. The forgery had never been detected, but suddenly she is threatened with discovery. "Do you mean to tell me," she cries, "that a daughter has no right to spare her dying father trouble and anxiety? —that a wife has no right to save her husband's life? I don't know much about the law, but I'm sure you'll find somewhere or another that that is allowed." But Helmer, the husband, takes a very different view of the case when he finds out about it—he abuses Nora roundly for what she did for his sake; calls her a hypocrite, a liar, and a criminal, an unprincipled woman who has ruined his whole career. Nora listens to all this in silence and dismay; she had thought so differently of Helmer. Then, at this crisis, a note is handed in from Krogstad, the man who had threatened to disclose the forgery. The letter saves her, for it encloses the proofs of the forgery, and tells that Krogstad will reveal nothing. In a moment Helmer's mood changes:

HELMER: We won't think of that horror [he exclaims], it's over, all over! I have forgiven everything. I know that what you did was all for love of me.

NORA: That is true.

HELMER: You loved me as a wife should love her husband. It was only the means that, in your inexperience, you misjudged. But do you think I love you the less because you cannot do without guidance? No, no. Only lean on me; I will guide you and counsel you. . . . You must not dwell on the hard things I said in my first moment of terror, when the world seemed to be tumbling about my ears. I have forgiven you, Nora; I swear I have forgiven you. . . . There is something indescribably sweet and soothing to a man in having forgiven his wife—honestly forgiven her from the bottom of his heart. She becomes his property in a double sense . . . at once his wife and his child. That is what you shall henceforth be to me, my bewildered, helpless darling. Don't be troubled about anything, Nora; only open your heart to me, and *I will be both will and conscience to you.*

The man has revealed himself once for all in his colossal selfishness, and Nora realises his true character in one terrible moment of insight. "You have never loved me," she tells him; "you only thought it amusing to be in love with me."

So far the sympathy of the reader is all with Nora; but at this point in the story comes that anti-climax which has brought the play into disrepute. For Nora, wakening from her long dream, finds that she has to begin life afresh, at the very beginning—hitherto she has been playing at life: "how have I prepared myself to educate the children?" she asks, "I must try to educate myself—you are not the man to help me in that. I must set about it alone. *And that is why I am leaving you.*" She adds further, "I must stand quite alone if

I am ever to know myself and my surroundings, so I cannot stay with you."

HELMER: This is monstrous! Can you orsake your holiest duties in this way?

NORA: What do you consider my holiest duties?

HELMER: Your duties to your husband and children.

NORA: I have other duties equally sacred.

HELMER: Impossible! What duties do you mean?

NORA: *My duties towards myself.*

HELMER: Before all else you are a wife and mother.

NORA: That I no longer believe. *I believe that before all else I am a human being;* just as much as you are—or at least that I should try to become one.

This then, is the weak point of *The Doll's House*. For individualism and self-fulfilment are, in this world, continually brought to a standstill by the great, powerful, prosaic factor of commonsense. If this had been applied to Nora's situation, the issue of the play must have been very different—Nora must have sought for self-fulfilment where she was, instead of leaving husband and children in search of it. But although the lesson of individualism is so stringently taught in *The Doll's House*, there is another lesson underlying it. For Nora goes on to explain to Helmer, more of her reasons for leaving him.

NORA: When your terror was over—not for what threatened me, but for yourself—when there was nothing more to fear—then it seemed to you as though nothing had happened. I was your lark again, your doll, just as before. . . . Torwald, in that moment it burst upon me that I had been living here these eight years with a strange man, and had borne him three children. Oh, I can't bear to think of it! I could tear myself to pieces!

HELMER: . . . An abyss has opened between us—but can it never be filled up?

NORA: As I now am, I am no wife for you.

HELMER: I have strength to become another man.

NORA: Perhaps—*when your doll is taken away from you.*

So the curtain falls on the fortunes of the Helmers, and we see that Ibsen wishes to point out in this play that marriage, as well as many another social institution, often rests on "a pestilential basis of falsehood." As has been shown before, it is his method to illustrate his theories by the most extreme instances; therefore to convince his readers of the worthlessness of such a marriage as that of Nora and Helmer, he makes Nora leave her husband as the only way of retaining her self-respect. The ideal marriage must include the highest development of the individual, whereas the ordinary, unsatisfactory union means self-effacement on the part of the wife, and a foolish sinking of her individuality in that of her husband.

Ibsen, in fact, tries to show that each woman should be a personality, not merely a being of the female sex. His theory is excellent, only its application in *The Doll's House* is at fault. But we must remember that though the letter killeth, the spirit giveth life, and that it is quite possible to accept the truth of some of Ibsen's doctrines while rejecting their absurdities. It would be a sad day if all the Noras of England were to desert their husbands and children in an effort after self-fulfilment and self-respect; yet it can scarcely be denied that an infusion of Ibsen's doctrine is needed in many homes. The "average woman"—and she, after all, constitutes the bulk of the community—is far too apt to have no personality. She does not share the views of that clever woman who exclaimed, "As well have no clothes as no opinions," for it is her custom to take all her opinions from her husband. It is less troublesome to do this than to think out things for herself. Now it is to this very common type of woman that such a play as *The Doll's House* should speak. Let her learn to think for herself, to act, within reason, for herself, to develop any personality that she has. The play has, of course, the usual disquieting Ibsen note, for it inevitably suggests difficult questions: "How many marriages are of the Nora and Helmer order?" "How many people are imagining themselves happy when their happiness has no solid foundation?" And these were the very questions Ibsen wished to get people to ask. He wished to rouse public attention on this point. He shows that the business of marriage may be carried on for years with counterfeit money, yet the fraud may never be suspected till some run on the bank of Love makes it known.

The Pillars of Society strikes another familiar Ibsen note. It is the story of prosperity arrived at through a lie—one more example of the "pestilential basis of falsehood" upon which he thought society was founded. In almost every one of Ibsen's plays there is one character who fills the *rôle* of truth-teller, and is in this way the author's own mouthpiece. Lona Hessel, a woman, is in this instance the truth-teller of the play.

"A lie, then, has made you the man you are?" she asks Bernick.

"Whom did it hurt, then?" he replies.

"You ask whom it hurt? Look into yourself and see if it has not hurt you," she says.

And Bernick retorts angrily: "Look into any man you please, and you will find at least one dark spot that must be kept out of sight."

"And you call yourself pillars of Society!" Lona says contemptuously.

"*Society has none better*," Bernick avers.

That this was really Ibsen's conviction can scarcely be doubted, for again and again, in one or another of his plays,

he harps on this string—the falseness and corruption that underlie social life. The final and most arresting expression of this belief is to be found in *Ghosts*. You will have seen by this time that nothing bright or pleasant is to be found in Ibsen's work; but "the Scandinavian conscience-awakener" (as *Die Gegenwart* once named him) is at his gloomiest in *Ghosts*.

The Doll's House had taught sufficiently serious truths, and *The Pillars of Society* awakened dark suspicions; *Ghosts* had a message of even darker import. The plot of this horrible play gave Ibsen the opportunity of airing one of his favourite theories—the far-reaching misery that is brought about by trying to conceal evil.

The transmission of moral and physical weaknesses is the *motif* of *Ghosts*, and a plot of peculiarly horrible complexity is built up on this basis. That such a play should be welcomed by the reading and play-going public was impossible—it touched them too nearly; but whether it might not be salutary is quite another question. Nordau, in his would-be-damaging criticism of *Ghosts*, goes into very unpleasant medical details to prove the plot an absurdity; yet all that he says cannot touch the inherent truth of the play. In detail Ibsen may have erred—probably did, for he was not careful in detail—still the main point of his position is unassailable; the iniquities of the fathers are unfortunately visited very often upon the children, whatever Nordau may choose to aver to the contrary. This unpalatable truth, when presented in dramatic form, was met by a veritable chorus of horrified protest. Wherever *Ghosts* was played, the same reception greeted it. In truth, the play is too painful to appear upon the stage; but to name it "gross, loathsome, blasphemous, and disgusting," as many critics did, is quite wrong and untrue.

Reforms are brought about in time by the ventilation of such unpleasant subjects as are dealt with in *Ghosts*, and happily, for the progress of the world, a few men with the militant reformer's spirit appear in each generation. Ibsen is clearly one of those; he does not shrink from the painful task of investigating social horrors, though he is perfectly well aware that it is a most thankless one. The cold—or, rather, the too hot—reception which *Ghosts* met with, is the key to that exquisitely amusing play, *An Enemy of the People*, one of Ibsen's most brilliant satires on social conditions. Dr. Stockman, the "enemy" of the people, takes upon himself the disagreeable task of telling the truth to his fellow townspeople. The town is a rising watering-place, and Dr. Stockman discovers that the baths and the drinking-water are contaminated, and will injure

the invalids who are making the prosperity of the town. He at once decides to make this discovery public, but when he consults with a few of the leading townspeople on the subject, they meet his proposal with horrified opposition. "What will become of the prosperity of the town?" they ask; the invalids will all be frightened away; the town will be ruined. Dr. Stockman is begged to keep his suspicions to himself, or, if that is impossible, at least to proceed with "moderation." But moderation is the last quality Dr. Stockman possesses.

"Who the devil cares whether there is danger or not?" he exclaims. "What I do, I do in the name of truth and for conscience' sake." He goes on to explain that this is "no mere question of water-works and sewers—the whole community must be purged, disinfected . . . all the old bunglers must be sent packing . . . its young and vigorous standard-bearers we must look for; we must have new captains at all the outposts." This affair of the baths had, in fact, been only a touchstone by which to try the character of the townspeople. If they were disinclined for reform that might cost them dearly in this matter, they would be equally against any other reform—their ideas were atrophied, self-interest was the god of their idolatry. "It's a citizen's duty when he has conceived a new idea, to communicate it to the public," says Dr. Stockman; and the Burgomaster replies, "Oh, the public has no need for new ideas. The public gets on best with the good old recognised ideas it has already." Dr. Stockman goes full tilt against these "good old recognised ideas," and in his tirades we find a great deal of fully developed Ibsen doctrine. In his opinion the "old" is not "better," but is synonymous with unenlightenment. "Old" ideas are to be left behind—the intelligent men and women, who form the minority in every community, are to press forward to new ideas. He speaks of

> The individual among us who have made the new, germinating truths their own. These men stand, as it were, at the outposts, so far in the van that the compact majority has not yet reached them, and there they fight for truths too lately born into the world's conscience to have won over the majority.

In an outburst of contempt, he inquires:

> Who make up the majority in any country? Is it the wise men or the fools? I think we must agree that the fools are in a terrible, overwhelming majority all the world over. But how, in the devil's name, can it ever be right for the fools to rule over the wise men? . . . The majority has might—unhappily—but right it has not. . . . The minority has always right.

Here, indeed, are subversive ideas—when opposed to the principles of the British Constitution and government by the majority!

Dr. Stockman, in fact, is Ibsen under a thin disguise—Ibsen trying for half a lifetime to waken people up to some sense of moral responsibility, instead of continually looking out only for their own advantage—Ibsen, who is begged not to mention such things, who is laughed at, and called an enemy of the people. In Stockman's final retort to his townspeople, Ibsen sums up his own position very acurately: "*You may shout me down, but you can't gainsay me.*"

So far we have followed the slow working out of Ibsen's peculiar and sombre genius. In the plays we have examined —*Brand*, *The Doll's House*, *The Pillars of Society*, *Ghosts* and *An Enemy of the People*—the very essence of his beliefs are shown. He has urged self-fulfilment; has advocated "truth at any cost," and the healthfulness of turning out every dark corner of our social life to the light of day; going a step farther he has preached the terrible doctrine of responsibility, leaving nothing unsaid. But now, in *The Wild Duck*, that curious, brilliant, mysterious and melancholy play, we come to something quite different. Like many of its predecessors, the play is a satire—a satire partly on life, but mainly upon his own methods. The hopelessness of the tasks he had been essaying seems to have overcome Ibsen at last, and here we find a hint of his later and more obscure method—for what *is* this wild duck?

> Ah, this wild duck! [Francisque Sarcy cried, in an access of critical irritation.] No one, no one in this world, neither you who have heard the piece, nor Lindenbaum or Ephraim who have translated it, nor the author who wrote it, nor Shakespeare who inspired it, nor God, nor the devil, will ever know what this Wild Duck is, or what it is doing in the play, or what it signifies, or what is its rhyme or reason!

This is severe criticism; but it must be confessed that several interpretations may be put upon the mysterious bird. The whole play seems to be a wearied admission from Ibsen, that life, when all is said and done, cannot be lived on the stark lines of truth which he had advocated in his earlier plays; and *The Wild Duck* may symbolise one of those harmless illusions by which we all live. Up to this date Ibsen had wished to brush aside anything like illusions—here he admits that by all these things men live, and in all these things are the life of the Spirit. The play tells of men and women who lived on illusions: Gregers Werle thinks that he is helping others by his quite unpractical counsels; Hialmer believes that his useless invention will be world-famous; Old Ekdal the hunter in his dotage plays cheerfully at shooting big game in the garret, and thinks his hunting days are not over; while little Hedwig cherishes the Wild Duck. Towards the end of

the play we find a conversation which throws some light upon the obscurities of the plot :

GREGERS : Hialmer is ill, is he ?
RELLING : Most people are, worse luck.
GREGERS : And what remedy are you applying ?
RELLING : My usual one ; *I am cultivating the life illusion in him.*
GREGERS : The life illusion ? I didn't catch what you said.
RELLING : Yes, I said illusion; for illusion, you know, is the stimulating principle. . . . *Rob the average man of his illusions, and you rob him of his happiness at the same stroke.*

This then, after a lifetime of truth-telling, is the cynical conclusion arrived at by Ibsen. His efforts at social reform had been received with abuse—men wanted to be left alone : if their marriages were unsatisfactory they thought it better not to realise that it was so ; if their children were weakly and diseased it was more comfortable to lay the blame on God than to take it on their own shoulders ; if their prosperity rested on a basis of falsehood, it was well to leave the lie unrevealed ; if their purposes were infirm, their personalities undeveloped, surely it was better not to acknowledge such weakness—only by cherishing some illusions can man stumble along the uphill road of life with any measure of light-heartedness. All this Ibsen saw and acknowledged in *The Wild Duck;* but though he made this cynical expression of failure, and in his later plays gave up to some extent the *rôle* of reformer and turned to more purely mystical writing ; still his work had been done and cannot be undone, his message had gone forth and could not be recalled. A certain residue will be found to have remained from all the doctrines he preached so ardently, and this, purged by the wholesome criticism of common-sense, will turn into workable material for future generations. All that is valuable will remain—what was extreme and ridiculous will be forgotten.

This article does not pretend to deal with Ibsen's later and more obscure works : in the trite American phrase, we have " no use for them " ; but far be it from us to say that there is nothing of value in these plays. There was *something* in everything Ibsen wrote ; whether we are able to perceive it, is quite another question.

There is often much need for humility among readers : they are too ready to think that because they cannot see the meaning of certain books there is no meaning in them. Let them rest assured that it is they, not the author, who is at fault—and let them, where they cannot understand, at least have the grace to keep silent.

J. H. FINDLATER.

SERMONS

THE clergy come in for a good deal of comment nowadays ; it is the penalty of activity and effectiveness. They are, moreover, unjustly criticised in many respects, in most respects. I declare I think a man is little short of a hero who will settle down in a small country village, on a wholly insufficient income, and play a difficult, delicate, and not wholly popular *rôle*. He must be friendly, without being either condescending or familiar ; he must be inside, and yet keep outside of, petty local politics ; he needs patience and kindness, tact and faith ; and my own experience is that, as a rule, a country clergyman does possess many of these qualities, and is generally a very good fellow indeed ; where he seems to me as a rule to err, when he does err, is in forcing the ecclesiastical pace. We are not an ecclesiastically-minded nation ; we do not, as a rule, care for altars and incense ; we prefer pews and paraffin lamps. We had the ecclesiastical sense once, no doubt, but we have somehow lost it ; and it is a strangely pathetic thing to find, in village after village, a church which is so often a little gem of native, instinctive, religious art, which seems as if it must have sprung originally out of some delicate and beautiful sensibility, out of an emotion which appears somehow or other to have evaporated, and which does not seem likely to return.

But of all the points in which the clergy are criticised, there is nothing in which they are more severely criticised than for their sermons. A layman, even a pious layman, is apt to talk of the necessity of sitting through a weekly sermon with a sort of shudder. And yet conceive of the difficulty of the situation ! To address the same people, twice a week, on religious subjects for, say, twenty years ! And the difficulty is increased a hundredfold by the fact that if a clergyman makes his sermons practical, drawing them from his daily experience, he is sure to be accused of preaching *at* some one or other. The truth is that to preach effectively to the same congregation twice a Sunday, for twenty years, a man needs to be a saint, and a

man of the world, and a literary man, and an orator, all in one. And then, too, from the point of view of the listener, how few speakers there are whom one desires to hear at all! There are perhaps a dozen parliamentary orators that one would take the trouble to go and hear, once in a way; but I can recall no orator, living or dead, to whom I would willingly listen twice a week for the remainder of my life. If I had to take my choice between hearing, say, Chrysostom, or Bossuet, or Newman, twice a week for the rest of my life, and never hearing them at all, I should not hesitate to choose the latter alternative.

My experience is that the clergy, as a rule, instead of neglecting this branch of their work, expend an almost pathetic amount of trouble on their discourses, and search very diligently after impressive, interesting, and lucid ideas. Of course the net result is often not very satisfactory, for the simple reason that the expression of any sort of truth, the exposition of any subject, is a thing which, to be effective, needs a personality behind it endowed with a certain kind of charm and force, which is by no means a common thing. Then, too, the difficulty is immensely increased by the character of the congregations. A village congregation consists, perhaps, of a few cultivated people and a few of some intellectual vigour, but the majority are neither intellectual nor cultivated; there are men, women, and children of all ages and all temperaments; and how is a man to find the common denominator for all these?

Then, too, many clergymen feel bound to devote a good many sermons to doctrinal teaching, and doctrinal teaching is a very difficult thing. It is metaphysical, psychological, and moral at the same time; it deals with subtle mysteries and remote mental conceptions. Moreover, the historical and traditional position of Anglicanism is a very delicate affair; it is evangelical and Protesfant on the one side; it is sacramental and Catholic on the other. There may be good enough reasons for remaining an Anglican; but if one were unattached, and had to choose a Christian denomination, it would be difficult to give cogent reasons for choosing Anglicanism, without presenting a conception of intellectual and religious liberty which requires a mind of considerable range to grasp.

And then, too, the very elasticity of Anglicanism creates another difficulty. In a Church like the Church of Rome there is a solid core of faith which must be accepted by its adherents. But in the Anglican Church it would be almost impossible to state what the core of the faith is. A man may be

a good Anglican, and yet not accept the whole even of the Apostles' Creed, in the literal sense in which it was framed. Thus, in a parish, a village pastor of strong Calvinistic views may be succeeded by a man of high sacramental views, and there need be no continuity of teaching.

But it is easy enough to analyse difficulties. The question is whether any scheme of practical reform can be suggested. I should in the first place like to see the number of parochial sermons halved ; one sermon a Sunday, at the evening service, is ample. The congregation is apt, in a country church, to be far larger in the evening than in the morning ; and then, too, the morning services are so ponderously agglutinated, that the time consumed by a morning service, with the addition of a sermon, is a depressing factor in the situation. Moreover the evening, with the lamps lighted and the gathering darkness outside, is a much more suitable time to entertain rhetorical and imaginative suggestions. There is apt to be something comfortless about English Sunday Matins ; it is a service which does not lend itself, either for the priest or the people, to hortatory exercises.

And then, too, I can never understand why the reading of the discourses of great preachers is not encouraged. If Robertson, or Newman, or Kingsley have written persuasively and enthusiastically about some point of the Christian life, why should we not be allowed to listen to their words, rather than to the words of a tired and possibly dispirited man who preaches because he must, and not because he has any very urgent message to deliver ?

And then, too, I should like a far wider variety of discourses. There is nothing which so holds the attention of old and young alike as a biographical lecture ; why are not sermons more biographical ? Why should not one listen to a simple narrative of the life of some hero or saint ? Why is it justifiable to attempt to spin a sermon out of the meagre and attenuated records of the life of St. Matthias or St. Jude, and not to preach about Gordon or Father Damien ?

Then, too, surely the parable, the story, is sadly neglected. With the example of the Saviour before us, why may not His disciples make a simple tale the vehicle of divine teaching ? I declare that Hans Andersen's parable of the flax, or if one must be more historical, the tale of the Monk Telemachus in the Colosseum, are worth a hundred expositions of high doctrine. For the truth is that it is not doctrine that we live by, but great examples, glowing hopes, simple affections. It does not really help to change a man that he should under-

stand the doctrine of consubstantiation, though that may be an important piece of scientific theology, but that he should desire to be different, that he should see in a flash the hardness, the meanness, the coldness of his life, and its greater possibilities.

Again, a good deal might be done in the direction of trying to make people realise, in a picturesque and vivid manner, a Biblical scene. The words of Scripture are so familiar that we grow up hardly knowing what they mean. That was part of Spurgeon's extraordinary power, that he could describe a scene of Scripture as if it were being enacted before the eye. And the Bible has a whole treasure of simply indicated incidents of incredible dramatic force. Such occasions as the meeting of Joseph and his brethren, the flight of David from Jerusalem, the supper at Emmaus, the preaching of St. Paul at Athens, are scenes which only require to be retold, with a certain amount of easily obtainable colour and detail, to transport a hearer into a noble and romantic region.

It may be said that such things require a pictorial and descriptive gift, which is rare. So no doubt it is. But there is no reason why some experiments should not be tried; and if the clergy cannot make such scenes vivid to their congregations, it can only be that they are not really vivid to themselves, or that at least they might easily be more so.

And there is assuredly one region in which more experiments might be tried. If there is one subject which attracts hearers, it is the shrewd delineation of human character. An observant man, fond of humanity, may find rich material for perception in the quietest country parish. But the clergy are far too apt to dwell upon a conception of Christian meekness and submissiveness, which are not the most attractive human qualities to the minds of ordinary people; they uphold the dove-like harmlessnes of the Christian character, rather than its serpentine wisdom. The morality of the pulpit ought not to diverge from the morality of ordinary life. If it is right to be adventurous and bold, if it is right to be ambitious and popular, if it is right to make money, to fall in love, to play games, to strive after equality or supremacy, it is right to preach about such things. There is a right way and a wrong way of doing most of them, a Christian way and an un-Christian way. I would go some considerable distance to hear a sermon by a kindly and shrewd old parson, who had lived an honest and simple life, on making money, or on falling in love; and the more that sermons deal with universal experiences, the better for pastor

and flock alike. One does not want sermons to aim at transporting one into a different region ; one does not desire to be conducted into the courts of an imaginary and not very interesting heaven, so much as to be brought face to face with the Kingdom of God on earth. My belief is that most people are interested in morality and conduct, and not many in the development of Christian doctrine ; that most people have a sense of religion, not very many a sense of liturgical worship. The latter is, surely, a branch of æsthetics, and not a function of life. I do not in the least believe that religion is losing its hold on the minds of Englishmen, but I do believe that ecclesiasticism is failing to obtain a hold, and it is not wholly to be regretted. I do not believe that clericalism will ever get a strong hold in England, and it is not desirable that it should ; but it is very much to be desired that the clergy should have their share in influencing national life, and I believe that they have a great opportunity of doing so, if they will go out into the highways and hedges, to seek and save, rather than uphold a type of character which is alien to British instincts, and offer a meek and artistic welcome to temperaments which, when all is said and done, are not of a very robust order.

ARTHUR CHRISTOPHER BENSON.

The Bishop of Bristol, to whom we submitted Mr. Benson's article, contributes this very interesting criticism :

A BISHOP seldom has time to write a sermon. For important public occasions, when reports of what he has said are sure to appear, he makes time to write it down beforehand. On one such occasion this year, the Dean of a great Cathedral Church, in writing a note of thanks, added this to his reasons: that the preacher had not only preached a written sermon, but had done so quite openly, with no attempt to hide the fact.

In another communion there is an order of preachers who are very carefully trained in the arrangement and manner of their discourses, and from the nature of the case cannot enter upon the regular course of public preaching until, after long preparation, they have reached an adequate standard in both respects. It is said that the present Archbishop of York does not allow his deacons to preach their own sermons. He authorises the use of certain volumes of printed sermons during their diaconate, direct from which they must preach when their turn comes, and requires them to write a sermon of their

own each week, and send it up for criticism by himself and his chaplains. The laity would have reason to be thankful if like care could be taken in other dioceses ; and bishops would be thankful if they could make time to follow so admirable an example.

Forty years ago, a well-known clergyman, of the stiff school of Anglicanism, with an immense church, made a point of producing only one sermon of his own each week. For his second sermon he took a volume into the pulpit, and having announced who it was whose sermon he was about to read, proceeded to read it with great emphasis. He was himself a learned and concise preacher, whom the more thoughtful of his congregation would gladly have heard twice in the day ; but his method was highly approved, and the comparison of style, arrangement, and so on, was interesting and useful to his people.

One bishop, at least, is engaged upon a scheme for issuing a list of approved modern homilies by well-known preachers of recent times, to be used by all deacons in the diocese till such time as their own manuscript sermons, sent to him for criticism, reach a standard which is not unfit for public utterance, and to be used at will by priests who have to preach more than one sermon on a Sunday. He would much like to see some discussion of the question whether, in the case of priests, the use of the printed homily should be openly avowed. So far as his thoughts have gone, he thinks that it should. The avowal would tend towards such activity of parish work during the week as would in the judgment of the congregation justify the use. Another point that might be discussed is whether the homily should come in the morning or in the evening; probably the prevailing opinion would be that the morning is the better time for it.

G. F. Bristol.

AMERICAN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, *Oct.* 12, 1906.

FOR the second time in less than a decade the American flag flies over Cuba, and American troops occupy the island. Very few Americans are surprised that the experiment of Cuban self-government has proved a failure, and the majority of Americans have heard the announcement with undisguised satisfaction. When the United States evacuated Cuba and turned the control of affairs over to the Cubans, a few persons, principally the "Anti-Imperialists," who are the American "Little Englanders," saw in this action a vindication of their principles and a justification of the doctrine of American continental isolation. Cuba was free and independent; Cuba would feed on the metaphysics of the Declaration of Independence and reach the full stature of that intellectual and moral growth that can only exist in a Republic; Cuba would be an inspiration to all the other Latin American Republics, and if Cuba was autonomous, why should not the Philippines be given their independence and the United States retire from its experiment of governing subject races? To most persons this was as fantastic as all the rest of the Anti-Imperialist programme. Experience has taught Americans that Latin Americans have not yet reached that stage of political and social development which fits them for self-government, unless they are governed by a dictator; and they feared that of all Latin Americans the Cubans were the least fitted to make the experiment a success.

Cuba has always been the vineyard on which the Americans have cast covetous eyes. Geographically it was so close to the United States that to the average American it was a perversion of nature that it was not American territory, and it was the one spot separated from the mainland of America whose commercial exploitation the Americans were willing to undertake. The American has been too busy at home and has found too profitable return for his capital in the established lines of foreign trade to

risk much on ventures in untried fields. He has been content to see the trade of South America monopolised by the English and Germans, and he has made almost no effort to be, as he ought to be, the master there commercially. But Cuba was different. It is nearer to New York than the West; it requires less time to send a shipment from New York to Havana than it does from New York to San Francisco, and it is all water transportation, which is a great economy. Cuba held a monopoly of two articles of daily use which the United States must have. Its sugar and its tobacco were inexhaustible gold-mines that excited the cupidity of Americans.

When the American flag fluttered down over Moro Castle and the last American artilleryman embarked on an American transport and Estrada Palma was formally inaugurated as the first President of the Republic of Cuba, many Americans said it would be only a short time before the flag was once more there, and the guns were again manned by American soldiers. It was a disappointment to these persons that the United States had evacuated; but as the United States had formally pledged itself in advance of the war not to retain the possession of Cuba (a declaration at the time many persons considered to be unnecessary and foolish) in honour bound it was forced to respect the obligation. But although Cuba was no longer under the protection of the United States, that country still held the island in its grip. Cuba was given her independence, but only on condition that she would grant to the United States the right to intervene whenever it was necessary to maintain order, or whenever it was made clearly manifest that no government existed capable of fulfilling its international obligations. This so-called "Platt Amendment," because it was offered in the Senate as an amendment to the Army Bill by the late Senator Platt, of Connecticut, was incorporated in the form of a permanent treaty between the United States and Cuba, and makes the United States the real government of Cuba.

The Republic of Cuba and the Presidency of Palma lasted longer than most people anticipated, but it could not endure because traditions were opposed to its perpetuity. Cuba has always been a land of revolution; its people have always opposed constituted authority, and voiced their opposition by means of the torch and the knife. There was scarcely a year during all the long years of Spanish misrule when a rebellion of more or less magnitude was not in progress and Spanish troops were actively in the field restoring order. To expect a people nourished on these traditions to become by a change of flag submissive to

authority, and content to accept the will of the majority, was as absurd as to suppose that a boy in his first form suddenly become heir to a large fortune and given free hand in its use would at once lose his taste for lollypops, or for choice read Darwin rather than play cricket.

The Cubans were no doubt justified in resisting the authority of Spain and trying to overthrow it, but one cannot find the slightest justification for the revolt of last month that led to the armed intervention of the United States. Never had they been more prosperous. The treasury was filled to overflowing, which is always dangerous in a Latin American Republic, as it offers a prize to make revolution profitable ; many millions of American capital had been invested in the development of the island, Americans feeling that as Cuba was under American protection their money was safe. The assigned cause for the revolution was that the election by which Palma was elected President for a second term was vitiated by fraud, and that Palma was not the free choice of the majority of the Cuban electorate. Probably this is true, as Cuba is not the only Republic in which election frauds are known ; but the real reason was that the opposition longed for power, and in Latin America the political weapon of the opposition is revolution.

President Roosevelt's course throughout has been eminently correct. He did not seek intervention, rather he did everything in his power to escape it. The correspondence has been published that passed between the American Consul-General at Havana, who was the diplomatic agent of the American Government in the absence of the Minister, and the State Department, and it shows that the first request for intervention came from Palma, who acted on his own responsibility, and without the knowledge or consent of his Cabinet. President Roosevelt, through the State Department, pointed out the ultimate end of intervention, and showed extreme reluctance in taking that step. Palma, realising that his power had gone, and preferring American intervention to witnessing the triumph of his opponents, deliberately adopted a policy that made intervention unavoidable. Had Palma been possessed of a grain of patriotism or the smallest measure of foresight, he could have prevented the establishment of an American military protectorate ; but, either through cowardice or treachery, he persisted in a course of action that forced the hand of the President.

In his proclamation assuming the Provisional Governorship, Secretary Taft, speaking for the President, announced that :

the Provisional Government hereby established will be maintained only long enough to restore order, peace and public confidence by direction and in the name of the President of the United States, and then to hold such elections that may be necessary to determine on those persons upon whom the permanent government of the Republic should be devolved. In so far as it is consistent with the nature of a Provisional Government established under the authority of the United States this will be a Cuban government, conforming with the constitution of Cuba.

The President clearly indicates that it is not his purpose to retain the permanent possession of the island, or to remain in occupation longer than is necessary; and in the course of conversation he has frankly said that he does not desire the annexation of Cuba, and hopes that the Cubans will be sensible enough to avail themselves of the last opportunity for the preservation of their independence. A great many persons think it was a mistake for the President to hold out this encouragement, and that it would have been more politic not to have made any promises; but they are generally agreed that even if Cuba does pull herself together and makes another attempt at self-government, it will not be long before there is another revolution, and once more intervention by the United States, which would be for the last time. Public opinion would not sanction a continuous state of turmoil, nor does it regard it as the legitimate function of the United States to keep the ring and see fair play between the contending factions. If the Cubans show that they are unfitted to manage their own affairs, they will be taken over by their trustee.

The political sensation of the day is the nomination of Mr. Hearst, of whom Englishmen have heard as the proprietor and originator of some of the most sensational, unreliable, and disreputable newspapers in the country, as the Democratic candidate for the Governor of New York. The fame of the "Yellow Journal" has travelled to England; and Mr. Hearst, thanks to the fact that he had a millionaire father willing to gratify him, has been enabled to indulge his love for the sensational to the utmost. Hearst's nomination is important, because it is the answer to the question that has so frequently and anxiously been asked during the last few years, whether the United States is becoming more radical. For several years Mr. Hearst has been preaching through the columns of his various newspapers the doctrine of class hatred; he has made a certain element of society believe—and in America, where every man has the ballot, one man is as good as another, irrespective of social standing or intellectual attainments; and the ballots of two

illiterate negroes are equal to the ballots of an Edison and a Rockefeller—that their only hope to escape from the grasps of the trusts and the monopoly of wealth is by revolution. Mr. Hearst's propaganda might have languished had it not been for the unexpected assistance that it has received from men most bitterly opposed to him, and whom he most vehemently assails.

Mr. Roosevelt is Mr. Hearst's antithesis, yet "it is Mr. Roosevelt that has made Mr. Hearst possible," the New York *Times* observes. Mr. Roosevelt undoubtedly quickened the moral conscience of the American people, he has continuously demanded that the power of the corporations should be shackled, and that certain limits should be placed upon the accumulation of wealth. What Mr. Roosevelt has advocated and what Mr. Hearst has proclaimed differs only in the manner of expression, but not in principle. "The fact that Mr. Roosevelt prepared the way for Hearst may be pointed out without any implication of blame, and without in any degree holding him responsible for the vagaries and perils of Hearst," the New York *Times* continues, whose sympathies are more closely affiliated with capital than with the great mass exploited by capital. Both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hearst war on money illegitimately gained, both see in the concentration of wealth the menace that threatens the Republic. Many persons who believe in Mr. Roosevelt as they never before believed in any man cannot differentiate between the remedies proposed by Mr. Roosevelt and those proposed by Mr. Hearst. If Mr. Roosevelt has done good and made reform possible, then why, they ask, may not Mr. Hearst equally be the means by which good is to be accomplished?

The American people are in a curious frame of mind at the present time. It is that mental condition that made it possible for Mr. Hearst to be nominated. It would not have been possible a few years ago. I do not know whether Mr. Hearst will be elected; it would be foolish for me to attempt to predict because I have not been able at this time to secure any information that is of the least value, and in a few days after this is read, early in November, the election will be held and the figures will be more impressive than any speculations I may indulge in. But even if Mr. Hearst should be defeated, and it is the general impression that he will be, his defeat will not destroy the cause that he represents; indeed, it would be better for the opponents of Mr. Hearst if he were elected, for his election is perhaps the easiest way to show his adherents that he has promised to do many things in the name of reform that he knows are incapable of accomplishment. His defeat will only tend to convince more

firmly than ever thousands of men that he was the victim of treachery made possible by the shameless use of money, and this belief will make them more firm in their conviction that he has been crucified because of his love for the people. Mr. Hearst is stronger to-day than he was a year ago when he was elected Mayor of New York, but defeated by fraud. When a man can be made a martyr and give of his blood to water the seed of the Church and yet carry around with him his corporeal body unweakened by prosecution, he is to be envied. Mr. Hearst may feel grateful to his prosecutors.

The most amazing, perhaps the most disquieting, thing about Mr. Hearst's propaganda is the support it receives in quarters where it would be expected least to be welcomed. Hearst's supporters are not alone the rag, tag, and bobtail ; the lazy, the shiftless and the vicious are not the only social elements that believe in him. In every class Hearst's adherents are to be found, and the professional man who does his own thinking, and the shopkeeper who is conservative by instinct and has a respect for property, and the self-respecting steady artisan who draws good wages, is not more zealously his supporter than the mouthing demagogue airing his views to a select audience at a corner saloon to whom "all property is robbery" and clean linen the sign of infamy. The extent to which Hearstism has permeated society is evidence of the general spirit of unrest that pervades the American people in this day ; it is the sign that they know conditions are wrong, and is a proof of a passionate desire to remedy them, but the means to be employed they know not. That is why Hearst is such a dangerous symptom.

I have said I do not know whether Mr. Hearst will be elected governor of New York or beaten by an overwhelming majority, which is the prediction made by his opponents ; but it is interesting to note that the most astute politician in the United States, whose conclusions are intuitive rather than the result of deliberate judgment, Theodore Roosevelt in fact, regards Mr. Hearst's candidacy neither as a joke nor a thing to be sneered at. He recognises how serious it is, and appreciates fully the forces that Mr. Hearst represents. Mr. Roosevelt is vitally interested in the election because the loss of New York would be a serious blow to the Republican cause, and might entirely change the complexion of affairs two years hence in the Presidential election. If Mr. Hearst is elected next month he, and not Mr. Bryan, will be the Democratic Presidential candidate ; and if the State of New York is radical from end to end it would be a safe presumption that the rest of the country is in the same

frame of mind. In that case Mr. Roosevelt might defeat Mr. Hearst, but it would be by no means a sure thing. Of more than usual importance, therefore, is the New York election next month.

Secretary of State Root returned to Washington a few days ago after having spent nearly three months in visiting the principal Latin American Republics. Mr. Root is the ideal ambassador. Combined with intellectual attainments of the highest order are a charming manner and exquisite tact; he possesses the rarest of all gifts of being able to say gracefully the right thing on the proper occasion; he convinces by the force of character. It was only natural that he should have been enthusiastically received throughout the length of South America, and that from the time he landed until he departed his progress should have been a continuous ovation. But Mr. Root undertook the long journey with an object more important than merely to make a good impression on his South American neighbours. He went to gain results, and the belief exists in Washington that his mission was successful.

It must not be imagined from this that I am hinting at alliances or treaties between the United States and South America.

> Our traditional policy in the United States (Mr. Root said in a speech at Buenos Ayres) is to make no alliances. It was inculcated by Washington. It has been adhered to by his successors ever since. But, Mr. President, the alliance that comes from unwritten and unsealed instruments, as that from the convention signed and ratified with all formalities, is of vital consequence. We make no alliances, but we make an alliance with all our sisters in sentiment and feeling in pursuit of liberty and justice, in mutual helpfulness.

Here, in a short paragraph, is the explanation of Mr. Root's visit; and Mr. Root, I believe I am correct in saying, is the only American Secretary of State who has officially visited South America, and the only Secretary of State I can now recall, who has gone outside his country during his term of office. It is almost as much a part of the unwritten Constitution that a member of the Cabinet shall not leave the country while he holds office, as it is for the President not to set foot on foreign soil.

Mr. Root went to South America to try to remove some of the deep-seated suspicion and dislike that the people of South America have so long entertained for the United States, and also to ascertain from personal observation what manner of people these were and the countries in which they lived. Notwithstanding the geographical relation of South America to the United States, the

close commercial relations that ought to exist between the two countries, and the political guardianship that the United States has assumed by virtue of the Monroe Doctrine, it is a fact that the United States knows almost practically nothing of its Southern neighbours, and has made little concealment of the contempt it has for them.

I do not know what opinion Mr. Root entertained before he went to South America, but I have every reason for saying he has returned a firm believer in its future and a strong admirer of its people. The common belief existing in the United States that all of South America is perpetually in the throes of revolution he found to be a popular fiction. Revolution, of course, is still one of the chief industries of some of the South American countries, but what impressed him was the fact that in the more progressive and enlightened Republics the people were proud of their stability, and look upon revolution with as much disfavour as do the people of a more temperate zone. Mr. Root was anxious to impress upon them that they had nothing to fear from the United States, that the United States did not desire their territory, and was only interested in their welfare and advancement.

There are no political questions at issue between Argentina and the United States, he said in his speech at Buenos Ayres. There is no thought of grievance by one against the other. There are no old grudges or scores to settle. We can rejoice in each other's prosperity. We can assist in each other's development. We can be proud of each other's successes without hindrance or drawbacks, and for the development of this sentiment in both countries nothing is needed but more knowledge.

This was the burden of his speech in every capital he visited. Look upon us as your best friends, trust us as you would yourself, feel sure that you have nothing to fear and everything to gain by our friendship, he said in substance.

South America ought to be very close to the United States of America, but as a matter of fact the two continents are widely apart. New York and not London ought to be the clearing-house of the Latin Republics ; New York is naturally the place for them to come for credit and to buy and sell. But so great has been the dislike and prejudice of South America for North America that the South Americans have preferred to trade with Europe rather than with the United States, and they have only come to this market when they could not otherwise help themselves. Brazil is quite willing to sell to the United States coffee, and Argentina to sell hides, and other States to dispose of their surplus natural products that they know the United States must

have, but they care for no closer commercial alliances than that. The Monroe Doctrine, that was supposed to be for their protection and to save them from the rapacity of Europe, they feared was a device to enable the United States to assert its over-lordship of the American continent, and make its weaker neighbours mindful that they existed solely because the United States permitted their existence. Secretary Root has made no new definition of the Monroe Doctrine, although doubtless many of the statesmen of South America would be only too glad if he would authoritatively state the exact scope and terms of that cardinal principle of American policy. But no American statesman worthy of the name would do anything so ridiculous, and Mr. Root least of all. The Monroe Doctrine, like the British Constitution, is an instrument of wonderful flexibility, always expanding to keep pace with modern requirements and never complete, because the last enactment is never written. The Monroe Doctrine can be made to suit almost any emergency, and to apply as circumstances may require. Frequently in recent years the Secretary of State has been asked to give a more explicit declaration of the Doctrine than is to be gained by a mere reading of its text, but he has invariably declined, because it would be foolish and prove embarrassing if an interpretation given to-day had to be modified to-morrow or next year. Its vagueness, enforceable only at the will of the United States, makes the Doctrine of far greater value to the United States than if it were written into the law of nations and accepted without dissent, rather than as now simply acquiesced in because nations have not considered it prudent to challenge its validity.

Mr. Root has been able no doubt to remove some of the misapprehensions and fears that exist and has paved the way for more intimate relations between North and South America if there was less junkerism in the American Congress. But Congress, the Senate especially, treats all attempts at freedom of commercial intercourse to be resisted ; it will make no reciprocity treaties or modify tariffs which would lead to the expansion of foreign commerce without injury to home industries. The Americans are sharp but not far-seeing traders. They care more for the profits of to-day than they do in building up for the future.

Under Mr. Roosevelt's Presidency the Monroe Doctrine has been still further expanded to the dismay of South America. Mr. Roosevelt has spoken in pointed language to those Republics. "The adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine," he said in his message to Congress two years ago, "may force

the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrong-doing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power." In pursuance of that policy the United States took charge of the finances of San Domingo, much to the dismay of South America, which looked upon that step as the entering wedge to the general regulation of South American affairs. It was because of that fear that the recent Pan-American Congress, which Secretary Root attended, spent so much time in the discussion of the "Drago Doctrine," which is intended to be an offset to the Monroe Doctrine, and is an attempt to pledge the Great Powers not to employ force in the collection of the debts of their nationals from defaulting South American States. Were the Drago Doctrine to be incorporated in international law the Monroe Doctrine would have fewer terrors for South America, and the spectre of the United States exercising "an international police power" would be banished. It is this fear of the display of power by the United States that keeps the two continents apart.

The City of Atlanta, one of the most prosperous and important in the South, which has boasted of its cultivation and refinement, has written the latest and most horrible chapter in the irrepressible conflict between the black and the white races in the United States. The Southerner holds to the comfortable theory that no one not Southern born is capable of understanding the "negro question," and as every Southerner approves of the Southern method of disposing of the "negro question," that is the lynching and burning at the stake of negroes to satisfy the lust of a white mob, all the rest of the world is precluded from offering criticism or suggestion. Distasteful as it may be to Southerners to have an outsider discuss one of the greatest sociological problems of the day, the massacre in Atlanta and the indiscriminate killing of negroes in all parts of the South during the last few months make it impossible for the impartial recorder of events in America to ignore a subject so vital as this.

The Southerner justifies lynching. The white women of the South, he says, are the victims of the unrestrained passions of the blacks; summary punishment is the only atonement for the crime. With this view we may agree. It is precisely what Englishmen would do in Africa or elsewhere if they were in the minority and the blacks constituted the overwhelming majority and no woman was safe from assault. But is it true, and are not the whites or the South largely, if not entirely, to blame for the existing state of affairs? Let me convict Southerners out of their own mouths.

The Atlanta slaughter was so wanton that when the passion of the mob had cooled, and from all parts of the country the newspapers denounced the shame of Atlanta in the most severe terms, its representative men felt it necessary to enter a defence. Mr. John Temple Graves, one of the leading men of Georgia and the editor of the Atlanta *Georgian*, through the columns of his own newspaper, makes this apology and explanation. After telling of the numerous cases of assaults or attempted assaults during the last few weeks, he proceeds :

> It is utterly impossible to reach an explanation of this tidal wave of crime. Whether it be due to the lust begotten by the sultry and torrid weather, whether it be due to the remarkable increase of the cocaine habit among the negroes, whether it has been stirred by the revolutionary harangues of a local newspaper ; whether it has come from the frequenting of low liquor dives on Decatur Street in which are exposed the pictures of nude white women, or, as is more likely, from all these causes combined, it is certain that Atlanta or any other Southern city has never passed through such a horrid carnival of the unspeakable crime as during the closing weeks of the present summer.

According to the last United States Census Atlanta had a population of 89,872, of whom 54,145 were whites and 35,727 were blacks, so that the whites outnumbered the blacks by more than 50 per cent., and were in no danger of "negro domination," which the whites pretend to fear ; especially as they controlled the police, the courts, and the State militia. Mr. Graves is not sure whether the increase of crime among the negroes is due "to the revolutionary harangues of a local newspaper," or "the frequenting of low liquor dives on Decatur Street, in which are exposed the pictures of nude white women." Does any one require anything more than the lame excuse offered by the chief apologist of Atlanta to prove the responsibility of the whites for the lawlessness of the blacks ? The harangues of the local newspaper, to which Mr. Graves refers, is not, as the uninformed outsider would naturally imagine, a newspaper edited by blacks for the edification of blacks, inciting them to crime and violence ; but is a white man's paper, nominally respectable, controlled by a member of the Governor's military staff, who is a vice-president of one of the leading banks of the city. Of this newspaper, the Atlanta *News*, the grand jury which was called to investigate the riot said in its presentment :

> That the distribution by the Atlanta *News* of sensational extras on Sunday night among the excited men and boys greatly inflamed the crowd and promoted the formation of the mobs, therefore—
>
> *Resolved*, that the sensationalism of the afternoon papers in the presentation of the criminal news to the public prior to the riots of Saturday night, especially in the case of the Atlanta *News*, deserves our severest condemnation, and we trust that in the interest of law and order in Fulton county there may be a cessation of such journalistic methods.

It may further be added that this same newspaper, a few weeks before the riot, lauded the action of a South Carolina mob which lynched two negroes in the presence of the Governor of that State, who was earnestly pleading for the due observance of the law; the *News* at the same time offering a reward of 1000 dols. for every negro lynched in Atlanta. So much for newspaper responsibility and the respect of the whites for the law.

The pictures of nude white women in low drinking saloons frequented by the negroes, Mr. Graves offers as one incitement to criminal violence. Possibly he is correct; but why were those pictures permitted to be put on view, and why were the low drinking-places allowed to exist? It was easily within the power of the municipal authorities of Atlanta, in the exercise of their police authority, to cause the removal of indecent pictures, and properly to regulate, supervise and control places in which liquor is sold. But that is not the American way. The indifference of the American to the proper enforcement of law, and his seeming incapacity for correct and honest municipal administration, are two of the most striking and inexplicable traits in his character.

Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, stands pre-eminently as the savage denunciator of the negro, and the most rabid upholder of white supremacy, no matter the means employed. "The white man of the South should go ahead and do what they believed was right in this matter, regardless of all the Yankees between Cape Cod and Hell," he said in a recently delivered address to a Southern audience. But Senator Tillman, like every other Southerner, in attempting to defend and justify the "superior race" proves its responsibility. In the address referred to he said: "Amalgamation is the hope and ultimate purpose of the negroes. White men are rendering them great aid in this by intimacy with negro women;" and commenting on this statement the Springfield *Republican* remarks:

> Two things, aside from its violence, stand out in the reports of Tillman's speech. One is the reference to the intimacy of white men with negro women. Tillman condemns it as leading to race amalgamation. He might have condemned it as provocative of that crime which Southerners claim to be the basis of the trouble between the races. It is a fair inference that, if negro women were not debauched by white men to the extent which seems sadly to be the case, there would be fewer crimes by negro men against white women.

Perhaps enough has been said to enable the unprejudiced reader to draw his own conclusions. Mind you, I do not wish to be understood as saying that the negro is entirely guiltless. He is not, but he is less guilty than the whites of the South

would have the world believe. Negroes are lynched not for the one unmentionable crime, but for offences that a civilised community punishes by fine or imprisonment. A few hours before the mob killed and maimed innocent negroes the Atlanta *News* brought out an "extra" telling of "two more unspeakable crimes." Independent and reliable investigation has conclusively established that one of these crimes was a menace by a half-drunken negro boy. In some parts of the South a negro who is impertinent to a white man is in danger of being killed; death is the punishment of a negro who steals or who is under suspicion as being a bad character. In Mobile in the State of Alabama a few days ago a white mob lynched two negroes and then burned their bodies. Is it to be wondered at, in view of this treatment of the negroes by the whites, that the inferior race should have only hatred for the dominant race and should attempt to avenge its wrongs?

There are more than 10,000,000 negroes in the United States. They cannot all be lynched. They are an economic factor; their labour is necessary for the cultivation of the cotton and rice and tobacco plantations of the South. Southerners of the Tillman school advocate their segregation or expatriation, but that is absurd and impossible. The negro will remain in America, chiefly in the South, which is his natural habitat, revenging himself on the children of the third and fourth generations, for the wrongs inflicted on his race by the ancestors of the men who were responsible for the hideous institution of African slavery. It remains with the whites, and only the whites, the whites of the south, to prove whether they are in fact the "superior race" as they claim to be, or whether they admit their unfitness to govern and elevate an alien race, and by that failure bring shame upon the United States. There is no middle ground. The blacks must either be raised by the influence of the whites, by the respect which the white man shows for law and ethics, or the black man must retrograde, and with that retrogression drag down still further the civilisation of the white men of the South.

A. Maurice Low.

FREE MEALS FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

SINCE I last wrote on this subject in the *National Review* (December 1904) public opinion has made a great advance along lines of action I then advocated. A Special Committee has found* that, in the last resort, underfed children should have meals provided for them out of public funds, and that the provision should be a duty laid on the local education authorities. It is practically certain that these two recommendations will be accepted by the House of Commons without serious opposition. I, for my part, heartily welcome them.

But there are other matters in the report, one so important as to be almost vital, as to which, with regret, I find myself in disagreement; and in which, for the sufficient reasons that I think I can adduce, I trust Parliament will not follow the lead of the committee.

To begin with, the committee recommends a mid-day meal; that is to say, dinner, not breakfast. I wish to speak with respect of a committee constituted as this is constituted, but the recommendation seems to me to be in accordance neither with the reason of the thing nor with the weight of evidence. I am sorry to have to make so sweeping a criticism, but it is forced upon me by the facts.

Dealing first with the common sense of the matter, I may perhaps be allowed to recall a sentence or two from my former article. I then said:

> I have, for the purposes of this article, sent to the headmasters and mistresses, thirty-seven in all, in charge of the schools where these breakfasts are given, a paper of questions with the view of obtaining their latest conclusions or impressions. One question asked was, "If only one free meal were given, would you, as a teacher, prefer that meal to be breakfast or dinner?" With the exception of two only, and these speak but doubtfully, all are unanimous and emphatic in favour of breakfast. Many good reasons are given, but I select three: (1) That otherwise the children would get nothing to eat from tea-time overnight till dinner-time next day, about seventeen

* The Report of the Special Committee on the provision of meals for school children.

hours; (2) that the parents, living literally from hand to mouth, often earn enough during the morning to provide some sort of dinner; (3) that all the heaviest school work is done in the morning

I should have thought (1) would have been sufficient alone; but enforced by (2) and (3) it seems irresistible. The advocates of dinner say that parents, too lazy to get up and give breakfast, will yet prepare dinner. But surely those who (2) cannot give breakfast, but can give dinner, are more than a set-off against these; and, moreover, such lazy ones can be dealt with. Besides, I thought we were all agreed that the children whose parents *cannot* feed them had the more indisputable claim.

Now, turning to the witnesses, I will take first the evidence, such as it is, for dinner. In an appendix to the report, we are presented with a list of the conclusions supported by evidence; and under each head a reference to the evidence in support. There is a heading, "Dinner should be given." In support, two references only are offered. The compiler first quotes the words of Miss Grant (2473), "If it is on any large scale the meal must be at mid-day." But in answer to the next preceding question she had said, "Children need breakfast after a long fast and before mental effort." Her view in fact is that breakfast is best for the children—a point on which she speaks with authority—but that it cannot be given on a large scale—a point on which I venture to think I could convince her. To find herself set down as preferring dinner to breakfast for the children would certainly be a surprise to her. The other reference is to Mr. Mill's evidence (4278) that Miss Flora Stevenson's breakfasts were given up in Edinburgh because it was found that "most children had had a meal in the morning"—meaning, I suppose, most of the underfed children. I can only say, however true this may be of Edinburgh, it is lamentably untrue of analogous English towns; and I venture a suggestion that oat-meal porridge is at the root of the difference. At any rate, this evidence constitutes the sum total that a diligent and zealous compiler could find in favour of dinner as against breakfast.

But the diligence and zeal of the compiler do not end here. Conscious, as he must have been, of the extreme weakness of that *totum nil*, the direct evidence, he, on this occasion only, is at pains to summarise for us what he would have us believe to be the indirect; and accordingly we find under the head, "Dinner should be given," this singular note in parenthesis—("Assumed by the majority of witnesses"). I think I am justified in calling this an extraordinary proceeding on the part of the appendix. It is, as a matter of fact, as inaccurate as it is gratuitous.

The majority of witnesses had assumed nothing of the kind. Many, no doubt, had assumed that dinner *would* be given—a very different thing. Whether dinner *should* be given was a point to which they had not been asked to apply their minds. An appendix ought not to go out of its way to give its support to this or that conclusion.

It is also matter for remark how few witnesses were asked this very necessary question at all. The total roll was twenty-eight, and thirteen had been heard before it was put. Then it simply had to be put. The fourteenth was Canon Barnett, Warden of Toynbee Hall, and his *précis* made its longer postponement impossible. His evidence is throughout emphatic in favour of breakfast ; but I have so long been in exact accordance with his views, without knowing it, that I must give myself the pleasure of quoting his reasons. He advocates breakfast, because (2283) it is cheaper, and a simpler meal to provide ; because (2290) children require at the beginning of the day sustaining food for the day's work ; because (2324) it can be served within the school buildings without the objectionable consequences of dinner ; lastly, he recommends that breakfast should be publicly provided, dinner, where needed in addition, left to voluntary agency—this method of separation being, as I tried to impress on the inter-departmental committee, the only method of saving the voluntary subscriptions. Canon Barnett adds (2296, 2410–11) that the dinner would increase the number of mothers who go out to work—a most important consideration that I had overlooked, but which I think will not be overlooked by the Labour Members. As a director of a company employing thousands of women and girls, under conditions intimately known to me, I earnestly support the testimony that this is among the most evil tendencies of our time. Our aim should be to do everything to check, nothing to foster it. We owe our thanks to Canon Barnett for calling attention to it ; it is most important ; of itself it should condemn *cantines scolaires*. Breakfast, I may interpolate here, is calculated, and is found, to improve attendance.

The evidence of Dr. Kerr is at least as striking as any heard by the committee. Signs of exceptional force and of scientific habit of mind are everywhere to be discerned in it. He was Medical Officer to the London School Board, and now holds a similar position under the County Council. To his conclusion on the main issue, holding, as he does, that the public provision of meals, as contemplated, is a thing of doubtful wisdom, I am, naturally, strongly opposed ; and I could quote the experience of teachers in Birmingham as to the manifest *effect* of a good

breakfast on the physical and mental tone of scholars to whom it was a new thing, that would in fairness have to be set against some of his conclusions. Further than that I need not re-argue the case here. At the same time I cannot but admit the great force with which he urges his point; and in a suggestion that I shall make later, I shall do my best to meet him, at least in part. Certainly on the medical side of the inquiry he speaks with exceptional authority, and I can only express surprise that his advice should have been so lightly set on one side by his hearers. Dr. Kerr, though a later witness than Dr. Barnett, was not asked the question, but volunteered the following as a "final suggestion": "I think if the money is to be spent to the best effect to remedy ill-nutrition, it would be better to feed them early in the day rather than to give dinner. I would give breakfast rather than dinner" (3005).

I have but little knowledge of such matters, and am not sure whether a committee of this kind is meant to report in accordance with the evidence, or merely to record its opinions, altered or unaltered, as the case may be, by what it has heard from witnesses. If the former, the present report is surprising indeed; if the latter, one wonders what evidence would have sufficed to modify its opinions, if the evidence cited, and to be cited, was insufficient. In other words, why have taken evidence on these points at all? To what end such waste of energy?

Miss Clara Grant is headmistress of an infant school under the L.C.C.; and her evidence reveals a teacher of great experience and exceptional devotion to her work. Her qualities drew from Dr. Macnamara a generous tribute. I have already quoted her answers (2472–3) to the effect that breakfast is needed after the long fast and before the mental effort. At 2544–5 she confirms this; "I should give breakfasts and not a mid-day meal . . . on the whole I think breakfast is the more" beneficial. (The context shows that "on the whole" does not imply any doubt as to breakfast being best for the children.)

Mr. Scott, headmaster of Wood Close School, L.C.C., the only other witness asked the question, said (2688–9), "If food is to be given, give breakfast. . . . I think the fast is too great without breakfast."

This is all the evidence. For dinner, as far as concerns England, it vanishes on inspection: for breakfast, it could not well be stronger, since it must not be forgotten that those who give it are just those who have the best right to be heard—teachers actually in charge of schools, and the medical officer. Yet it is all set on one side. The pre-judgment of the committee is unshaken by it; dinner is recommended without reference made

to it, solely on the strength, as it would seem, of an impertinence in the appendix—I use the word in its Parliamentary sense—as much beside the mark as it is out of place.

To pass to another point. The committee recommend "that the local education authority should, as far as possible, associate with itself and encourage the continuance of voluntary agencies in connection with the work," a recommendation that can only be described as pious, in view of the great unanimity among the witnesses that, if a rate were levied (and a rate is contemplated) the voluntary fountain would "dry up." Mr. Allan (4401–4) says "People will not give money voluntarily to relieve the rates," as, of course, it is not in nature that they should. Others say the same thing in other words. Mr. Wyatt (1200–1) and Mr. Crowther (1730) testify that the drying-up has already happened, or is happening, in Manchester and Bradford; and I can add my own testimony that it has shown itself in the most decisive manner in Birmingham.

Certain witnesses, my friend Dr. Osmund Airy among them, are quoted as giving evidence that voluntary agencies might co-operate with the local education authority in the matter of meals. I feel pretty sure that he would not have said this had he known that a rate was contemplated. At all events it is a fact, of which he is no doubt aware, that the free-dinner society, of which he was himself chairman, recently held a meeting and dissolved itself, on the ground that it would be futile to attempt to maintain a subscription list in relief of the rates. So that the obvious is already confirmed by the experimental.

We have continually been assured that the two things go together in Paris. Among them, the witnesses made short work of the supposed example. Sir C. Elliott (182) quotes the report of the Municipal Council for 1902, which speaks of the voluntary part of the total as *contributions dérisoires* (they are under 2 per cent.); and Msgr. Brown (1027), though not wishing to attribute unworthy motives, reminds us that "there is no poor law in France . . . they subscribe to avoid a poor law"; so that, as it would seem, in his opinion, even that mockery of a contribution that Paris exhibits must not be counted on in England.

Hence, when it recommends "a combination of public authority with voluntary agency," we feel that once more the committee is not taking us into its confidence, not trusting us with its true and inward reasons for superseding the evidence. In this case, possibly, its proceeding may be attributable to the attraction that compromise possesses for so many minds. But compromises are often like traps or snares; innocent in appearance, fatal in operation. Should Parliament follow the

committee in leaning on the broken reed of voluntary agency, we may easily find ourselves involved in an expenditure which will be resented as excessive, when it is found, as it inevitably will be found, to fall exclusively on the rates.

But we must look more closely at the terms of the recommendation. The education authorities are to be empowered to "raise loans and spend money upon the provision of suitable accommodation and officials, and the preparation, cooking, and serving of meals." In addition, they may levy a rate "for the provision of the cost of actual food," "in extreme and exceptional circumstances and cases." And then we have this ominous intimation that "having regard to the experimental character of the recommendation the rate is not to exceed ½*d.* in the pound." So that we have first the loan; secondly the ½*d.* rate; thirdly a contemplated increase in the rate of, say, another ½*d.* Shall we say 1½*d.* in all? or £18,000 to £20,000 a year for Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham?

Now what do readers of this *Review* imagine is meant by "extreme and exceptional circumstances and cases?" Well, they are to be considered to arise when it is shown that "neither the parents' resources nor local voluntary funds are sufficient to cover the cost." Really this committee was not wanting in nerve. Experienced witnesses agree in telling them that voluntary sources will be dried up, and are being dried up, by public liability to provide; and that this will be the general or even universal rule. Unmoved, the committee calls this the "extreme and exceptional case." As to the parents' resources, that matter can soon be disposed of. Either they cannot pay, and there is no more to be said; or they can pay, and are to be forced to pay—for we must not forget, as the committee forgets,* that these parents do not *wish* their children fed, if they are to pay for the feeding. But the forcing costs more than the feeding. The parents' resources are a liability, not an asset.

Once more, in the light of the cost, set breakfast and dinner side by side. I showed in my former article that a halfpenny rate will handsomely cover the total cost of breakfast; and beyond question it is better for the children. Dinner served in special buildings will cost three times as much, and is not so good. In the one case, as I have shown, 80 per cent. of the total outlay should reach the children in the shape of food; in the other, as the present evidence shows, barely 50 per cent. And all this

* This is shown by the reference to the Roman system in the report. The circumstance that in Rome parents who can pay *wish* their children fed is overlooked. It is not very likely that those who have been reported as neglecting to feed would pay in advance. (See results at Bradford, p. 229.)

waste and extravagance is seen to arise out of the preoccupation of the committee with dinner and *cantines scolaires*.

But, when all is said and done, the matter will largely rest with the Labour Members. They speak with more knowledge of the habits and needs of the working class than all the rest of the House put together. If they prefer dinner—the seventeen hours fast involved notwithstanding—it would, no doubt, settle the point. But I expect a strong word from them insisting on breakfast. Similarly with regard to canteens. The Englishman's ideal, unlike the Frenchman's, is centred in the home. I do not think it will be found that *cantines scolaires* have the fascination for the British workman that they have for the committee.

I now come to the detail which at the outset I spoke of as vital; but, though vital, it can be treated very briefly. With regard to it I perceive that the committee and the witnesses and the public are at one. All are anxious, in language used in Parliament, to "go for the parent for all he is worth" in the matter of recovering from him the cost of meals. This is to be taken as decided. My object, therefore, will be merely to point out the necessary consequence, if the method pursued under L.G.B. order is pursued under the new Act: and here I must refer to what has happened in Birmingham. To make a long story short, the Guardians accepted my offer to feed at my own cost the children for whom they were liable, along with the fatherless and deserted children for whom, strange to say, they were not liable: the meal being breakfast. I reckoned, according to the census of which I gave an account in my former article, that in January I ought to receive at least 2000 children from the Guardians. I never received 500; and I may say that the officials of the Guardians are now in agreement with me as to the cause. The parents, as soon as they have grasped the fact that they are to be made liable for the cost, *will not allow their children to come*. The process is pretty much as follows: The teacher reports a child underfed; an officer of the Guardians calls on the parent; he denies the fact, or promises to feed; the child remains unfed; the teacher reports again; then follow abuse and threats for the teacher, so that many wash their hands of the business altogether; and, in addition, the child is forced to declare that he has been fed. Mrs. Burgwin (3425) supplies the formula: "You dare tell your teacher that you have not had any food. You will get your father locked up if you do." What is to be done when the child declares that it has had a good breakfast? There is no greater certainty than that, if the same method is pursued under the new Act, the Act will fail in 75 per cent. of the cases for which it is intended. This I call vital.

I regret to say that I am unable to suggest an alternative method that has no drawback whatever. It is a choice of evils, and we must choose the least. What I propose is roughly this : the teacher should make a first selection. The selected children should be submitted to a medical man. Not for this purpose only, but for many purposes, a nurse, not necessarily a separate nurse, should be attached to every school. She, being in daily attendance, would greatly assist the doctor ; who, where he is convinced of the necessity, would *order* a meal for a month or a longer time. Parents who felt aggrieved could invite inspection of the home by the nurse. The teachers would be relieved of responsibility and odium ; for the parent to force the child to deny the truth would be useless ; the money could be recovered—where it could be recovered. Some injustice would be done, but we can roughly see the limits of it, in this way ; at least one-third of the cases are the children of widows and deserted women ; we should probably not want to "go for" these. In more than half the remainder, as I am led to believe, one or both of the parents drink ; we shall not be tender about them. We are left with about one-fourth of the total. The doctor and nurse will have to be wrong in 10 per cent. of their cases to affect 2½ per cent. of the total—one parent in forty unjustly, but temporarily, harassed to set against practical failure of the Act. Otherwise, *i.e.*, if the method adopted under the Order is continued under the Act, it may be taken as certain that we may feed the child or we may pursue the parent ; but we shall not do both. The parent will take care of that.

Surely the law should be obligatory not permissive. It is a national affair, and it would be monstrous, after we have decided that a child has a right to be fed, that it should be at the option of a local authority to feed it or not. Also a time limit should be fixed. If breakfast, say, six weeks from the passing of the Act : if dinner, six months might be necessary ; but it will hardly be dinner.

In conclusion, are the meals, or are they not, to be confined to necessitous cases ? Although the limitation is clearly recognised in the earlier paragraphs (2-3-7-8) of the Report, the recommendations are silent upon this fundamental point. The ambiguity, it is to be hoped, is accidental ; but one cannot help remembering that *cantines scolaires* are not for the necessitous only, as public opinion will require these meals to be.

GEORGE HOOKHAM.

A CONVERSATION WITH SHAKESPEARE IN THE ELYSIAN FIELDS

I AM well aware that, in these realistic days, people will ask, on seeing the title of this paper, how, not being either an Æneas or a Dante, I came to be admitted to an actual sight of the Elysian Fields, and will not be fobbed off by any imaginary explanation such as used to satisfy the more unsophisticated reader of former times. I therefore hasten to satisfy their exacting curiosity by saying that I happen to have done a good turn of late to the Pagan gods—not forgetting the goddesses, whom one should always have on one's side, since they hold the keys of the position equally on earth, in the air, and underground—and they made their acknowledgments to me by letting me know that I might have my choice of an interview with any one, but only one, of the personages among those who are now disporting themselves in the other world. At first, I was rather tempted to name Eve, in order that I might get an intelligible account from the most trustworthy source of the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Good and Evil. But I thought perhaps she would know as little about them as myself; so I thought I would ask for an interview with either Helen of Troy or with Cleopatra, when it suddenly struck me that I should probably find both one and the other not very unlike women I had already come across here in this upper world. So, anxious to know whether or not there ever was a real flesh-and-blood Shakespeare, and explaining that, if there was not, I had not the smallest desire to have a talk with my Lord Verulam, I said. "Let me have a colloquy with Shakespeare, the wisest, sweetest, wittiest, largest-hearted, biggest-brained of human beings;" and, almost before I had finished the sentence, I found myself in the Elysian Fields.

At first, I forgot what I was there for at all, in my amazement at the place itself. Though I am a tolerably close observer of external Nature, I could not for the life of me surmise what season of the year I was in, and finally perceived

that I was in all the four seasons at one and the same time. Primroses and bluebells were to be seen side by side with roses and irises, with meadowsweet and traveller's joy, grass ready for the scythe not far from swaying wheat and heavily-burred hop-gardens; while, well within view, I could see slopes of virgin snow, and folks making ready to go tobogganing on them. It was just the same with bird-life. Stormcock, nightingale, cuckoo, corncrake, woodpecker, robin redbreast, were all singing together, yet there was no discord in the concert.

"You want to see me, I am told," I heard some one say behind me, and, turning, I at once perceived that it was Shakespeare, not from the striking resemblance to any of the portraits or busts, Drushout, Chandos, Stratford-on-Avon, or other effigy, but by his seeming to be compounded of them all, with something superadded that I could recall in none of them. Similarly, he did not seem to be of any particular age, neither of youth, early manhood, middle-life, nor yet elderly, but compounded of all the years, at once young and engaging, in the grand climacteric, and withal full of mellow wisdom. His eye glowed with fine frenzy, withal was tender and melting as that of a boy-lover! I could not fail to observe this extraordinary combination of ages and qualities; yet they did not strike me as in any way incongruous, any more than I had found incongruity in all the seasons being contemporaneous, and blossom and fruit subsisting together. I had expected to be rather embarrassed and somewhat overawed on first coming across this king of men; but his manner was so simple, so frank and friendly, that he put me at my ease at once, and I ventured to inquire if, in the Elysian Fields, they had any knowledge of what was going on in the world they had once inhabited.

"Ample knowledge," he replied, "though we are not troubled with newspapers, nor yet tormented by telegrams or telephones, but confine our regard to what interests us."

"Have you happened to notice," I asked, "that *A Winter's Tale* has recently been produced at His Majesty's Theatre?"

"Yes, and all the more because that indefatigable manager and all-embracing actor, Mr. Tree, has not taken a part in it. He would have rendered Autolycus very suitably."

"Perhaps," I went on, since I now felt on a footing of the most friendly familiarity with one I had hitherto always thought of at a respectful distance, "perhaps you have observed some of the criticisms on the play."

"To tell the truth," he replied, "I have not. There were few such things in my time, save by the audience; and my

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recollection of what few there were does not dispose me to read fresh ones. But, if they have said anything instructive or amusing, I shall be most happy to hear it."

"I am afraid," I said, "they are more amusing than instructive."

"Then let me have them, by all means. The only thing one is sometimes tempted to find fault with in the Elysian Fields is that its denizens are a trifle too serious ; being just as much inclined as ever to say, when I find myself in the company of my fellow creatures, 'With mirth and laughter let me play the fool.'"

Thus encouraged, I said that one critic had pronounced the play to be as dull as drama, and inferior as poetry ; Autolycus to be a bore, yet by no means the only tiresome feature in the play, the plot to be a succession of gaps and puerilities ; and that another observed what a pity it was you had made Leontes a lunatic, a raving manaic, and a nuisance. As I recounted these opinions, I could see no sign of annoyance on the face of the playwright, but only a philosophic smile illumining his tranquil features.

"I seem," he said, "to have heard that some time ago, and that some one commented on the meanness of the fable and the extravagant conduct of it, and declared the comedy caused no mirth, and the serious portion no concernment. I daresay there is truth in the first part of the criticism, but, in regard to the second, I seem to remember that, at the *Globe*, there was a good deal of mirth at the lighter scenes, and no small attention at the grave ones. But perhaps audiences in my day were different from audiences in yours. I am by no means sure that I wrote the whole of the play ; indeed I am pretty certain I did not. My chief share in it was the love-scene between *Florizel* and *Perdita*."

"Which I have always thought very beautiful, and the very opposite of 'inferior as poetry.'"

"Very good of you to say so ; for I much enjoyed writing it. For the rest, I suspect that a change has come over audiences, and still more over those people whom you call critics. From what I have heard, they appear not to confine themselves to appraising what is offered them, but want authors to offer them something quite different, which is scarcely reasonable. Moreover, they impute to an author motives he did not entertain, and ends he did not have in view. For instance, I am supposed by them to have been a rather successful delineator of character ; overlooking the fact that I over and over against cast character to the winds, in favour of the situation,

to which one surrendered oneself only too willingly, because in doing so one was enabled to indulge one's humour and temperament more freely and fully."

"Am I right," I asked, "in thinking that your humour and temperament lay chiefly in a keen enjoyment of rural nature, the delineation of love between men and women, and philosophic reflections on the various passions of human beings?"

"You put it rather flatteringly," he said. "But I will not deny that what you say concerning one's disposition is true. The external world is so beautiful, loving and being loved are so delightful, and human beings are so interesting, that it is a writer's own defect if he does not make them appear beautiful, delightful, and interesting to others, no matter in what form he presents them. If he has what you call the way with him, he will make you accept as true almost any story, so long as he is telling it, no matter what you may think of it afterwards. As a famous poet and critic said long ago, *Incredulus odi*. Men naturally turn away from what seems incredible. But what seems somewhat incredible when only read, appears credible enough when acted, if acted well; and Ellen Terry is so attractive and winning in her behaviour to Polyxenes, that the conjugal jealousy of Leontes becomes almost intelligible."

"That was exactly what I myself felt the other day, when I went to see the performance," I said. "But I observe you quote Horace, though many persons have maintained that you had little Latin, if any."

"Rather a mistake, that; arising, I imagine, from their not knowing what Grammar Schools were like in my time, when we were taught something more than the rudiments of Latin, with the assistance of prompt corporal chastisement if we showed a disinclination to master them. Nowadays, I see, the birch, the ferule, and the cane, have fallen into disfavour, with the result that many English boys, at schools supposed to be very superior in the education they provide, refuse to learn anything except cricket and rowing; two excellent accomplishments, but not quite covering the whole ground of a liberal education."

"May I inquire," I said, "if you, among others, had a liberal application of the cane?"

"My fair share," he said, "but not for refusing to learn, since I enjoyed being taught, and, still more, teaching myself; and a very little learning, though some people have said it is a dangerous thing, goes a long way if you only know how to turn it to account. My thrashings, which were richly deserved, were given for being behind-hand of a morning because I had loitered with some rustic sight or sound that arrested me, and

suchlike irregularities of conduct. But what was taught us was taught thoroughly, and I have sometimes thought that men deemed poets may be taught and learn too much, as, for instance, my good friend Ben Jonson, who has been justly compared to a heavy galleon, though a very well trimmed and steered one, but which perhaps would sometimes have benefited by a portion of its dead weight being cast overboard. Still he was a rare poet all the same."

"Who is that, may I ask, with the pointed beard, that has just been joking with a rubicund friar whom I no longer see, and then more gravely with a seemly and tender-looking young woman, also vanished 'into air, into thin air,' while he now stoops to gather daisies from the grass? I seem to know his face."

"That is a delightful fellow, perhaps of all my companions here the most congenial; the morning star of English song, Geoffrey Chaucer. *He* could, and did, delineate character consistently if you like. I think it is his cheerful, kindly sense of humour that recommends him so strongly to me. But a nearer contemporary of mine in the other world whom you see there, wearing an aspect of stately distinction, essentially what English folk call a perfect gentleman, likewise enters much into the study of my imagination. See! Now he turns his face towards you."

"Surely, it is Edmund Spenser, is it not?"

"Yes, the Poet's poet. His verse is at once so natural and so noble, as to be irresistible. I often repeat to myself two exquisitely musical and briefly descriptive lines of his:

> "'A little lowly Hermitage it was,
> Down in a dale, hard by a forest side.

"No amount of elaboration and detail would enable one to see the Hermitage better, or, indeed, as well; and the lyrical freedom of the ostensibly iambic verse gives to it an irresistible charm."

"And, over and over again, if I may say so, gives to the blank verse of your dramas the same magical quality that a more stately treatment of it can never confer. But where is Milton?"

"One sees him but seldom," he replied; "and when Chaucer and I do catch sight of him, we behave rather like truant schoolboys, and put on a grave face, especially if he finds us in one of our lighter moods. We are all rather in awe of him, for he never stoops to playfulness; and Chaucer, who is rather irreverent sometimes, says he is so uniformly sublime as now and then to be ridiculous. But, in our hearts, we greatly

revere him. To tell the truth, I think he prefers Wordsworth's company to ours; and we find more congenial society from time to time in—look! that handsome youth, who carries his head with unconscious pride, and even here seems half-discontented. The best was never good enough for him, and he could not be deluded even by his own illusions, poor fellow!"

"It's Byron," I said, "is it not?"

"Yes, there is no mistaking him; part man, part god, part devil. I believe there was some doubt about admitting him here, lest he should rouse even the Elysian Fields to mutiny, and a question whether he should not have an enclosure all to himself. But he is a man of the world, and knows how to behave himself when he chooses; and, when one of his misanthropic moods comes over him, he wanders about scowling and muttering like a gathering thunderstorm. I am told he breaks bounds sometimes to go in search of Sappho. There would be a pair of them, would there not? What an explosive power there was in him! for in the mind, as in your melanite, force packs small."

"And Shelley? Where is Shelley?"

"Where the bee sucks, I suspect; for he is the very Ariel of our company; ever, even here, in search of the unattainable! But he is a great favourite with all of us, he is so lovable."

"And the poet who has delighted my own generation," I inquired. "Surely he is among you."

"Not yet," he replied; "though I have not the least doubt he will be, in due course. No one is admitted here until he has been dead for fifty years; Time, the door-keeper and guardian of Eternity, being more deliberate than the janitors of Westminster Abbey, who, you must allow, make some rather ludicrous blunders in admitting, on the very morrow of their decease, at the importunity of friends and associates, persons for whom, half a century later, no one will dream of claiming any special posthumous distinction."

"I fear that is so," I confessed. "We have been rather fussy and feverish of late, and attribute to notoriety an enduring power it does not possess."

"Just so. Notoriety is one thing, Fame quite another. Will not the result be that men who may without presumption entertain a humble hope that, as our lofty friend Milton puts it, Posterity will not willingly let die all that they may have done or written, will feel a distaste for these precipitate distinctions, and even take precautions against them. We notice that something of the same kind is taking place among you in regard to what you call Honours, since they have become so

common, and are lavished on such undistinguished persons, as to be no longer valued by the truly distinguished."

"That is so," I said; "but it is inevitable in these days, and probably useful to the State, satisfying a number of small ambitions."

"I understand," he replied; and I thought to myself, of course he does, he who understood everything. "In these days it is more important to satisfy the many," he went on, "than to content the few, and persons of real distinction must always be few; and, after all, if these are wise as well as distinguished, they must be content with anything that ministers to the welfare of the community at large."

It was so interesting to me to hear this great dramatist and supreme poet talking wisdom in this familiar manner, like any ordinary being, that I made the most of my opportunity, and asked him if he thought what he had just said served to explain the magnificent manner in which his plays are presented to modern audiences, and if he approved of such presentation.

"I should approve," he replied, "if there were no danger of the mounting of the piece diverting the attention of the audience from the play itself, and if it did not appear necessary to modern stage-managers to cut out whatever does not easily lend itself to spectacular devices. I quite understand their motive; for, having been in my time not only an actor, but part-proprietor and part stage-manager of theatres, I do not forget that they must take into consideration the material results of their enterprise. But my colleagues and I contrived to make a fair livelihood out of our theatres without any large outlay on the scenery or the dresses. Apparently, your modern audiences would yawn at, and not understand, speeches that not only the courtiers of Elizabeth, but the citizens of Blackfriars and the Chepe, listened to with rapt and straining ears. We observe that you pique yourselves upon what you call the progress you have made during the last three hundred years, and some of us are rather amused at the self-complacent claim; and, though you travel much faster, live much more luxuriously, and blow each other to pieces more successfully than we did, it may be doubted if men's minds have made much advance, or if their intellectual qualities are not, notwithstanding the increase of what you deem education, poorer and more stinted than when the bulk of the nation read less, but reflected more."

"In one respect," I ventured to say, "you can hardly withhold your sympathy from the claim of our having made progress. We no longer regard actors as vagabonds."

"I am not quite so sure of that," he said, with a significant smile. "Myself an actor as well as an author, my utterances in the second capacity respecting the former are not particularly flattering; and the fuss you have of late made over actors and actresses, as over millionaires and transatlantic heiresses, is perhaps evidence less of admiration than of self-interest, and an appetite for diversion."

"But," I observed, "an actor was recently buried, with the customary honours, in Westminster Abbey."

"But did everybody approve of it? Milton took care to inform me that many did not; but my withers remained unwrung, and I playfully replied that I was rather disposed to think that special form of posthumous acknowledgment might not unsuitably be reserved for actors and politicians—the author of *Paradise Lost* was every now and then, an active politician, was he not?—since the two have much in common, both appealing to their audiences by voice, intonation, gesticulation, and pursuit of popularity, and enjoying a wide but ephemeral notoriety."

I remembered the passage in *Henry the Sixth* where he says that he hates "the loud applause and *aves* vehement" of the many, and of his little esteem for those who "affect" such, and I followed up that silent recollection by saying:

"And, after all, Milton, Pope, Byron, Wordsworth, Keats, lie far away from that edifice; also, I might add, one deemed greater than any of them—yourself."

"Dear old Stratford-on-Avon!" he said, as though he were musing rather than addressing himself to me. "I am well content to be sepulchred there. How I loved it! How I love it still! And how much I owed to it! My works, such as they are, have in your ingenious age been attributed to one much more nobly born, more highly educated, more deeply read, more erudite, than I. They who started, and those who have accepted, that theory, little understand that no such man could have written them. Whatever may be their merit or demerit, their author could only be one who, born in a modest condition, began by having the closest touch with frank unaffected human nature, and for whom life and society expanded by degrees, until, though still preferring the life removed, he could tell sad stories of the death of kings, find books in the running brooks, and good in everything."

As he slowly uttered these familiar but majestic words, he faded from my sight; and all that was left was an enduring recollection of that privileged interview.

* * *

THE PROBLEM OF THE GOLD RESERVE

CREDIT to be good and permanent must have a solid and permanent foundation. In financial transactions, credit is given on the basis of very widely differing classes of securities ; but, whatever may be the nature of the security engaged, an essential condition is that it shall, if necessary, be readily realisable in gold. This is axiomatic, but it is sometimes useful and important to insist on axioms and to direct attention to their full import and consequences.

The ever-increasing tendency in business is to seek profit from small margins on a large volume of business, rather than to wait for larger returns on fewer and more prolonged operations. Time is ever becoming a more important element in business transactions. In days gone by, trade profits on individual operations were often enormous, and the merchant could well afford to lie out of his money for twelve months or more, whilst his ship sailed to the Indies, disposed of the cargo, and returned laden with valuable merchandise, realising quite possibly one hundred per cent. or more on the original investment. To-day, competition, favoured by the development of communications, has so cut down profits that it is only possible to secure fair returns on invested capital by accepting narrow margins on a rapidly repeated turn-over. In ordinary circumstances, the merchant cannot afford to wait anything like twelve months for the completion of a transaction and the realisation of profits which competition has reduced to a very small percentage. He must close the transaction and realise his profit as speedily as possible, or, at least, take steps at once to free the bulk of his capital for fresh operations. If goods are sold to a firm abroad, the seller draws on the firm immediately on shipment, and sells his draft to realise his engaged capital, or, if the goods are not already sold when shipped, he at least frees a very large proportion of his capital by raising money on the security of the

bill of lading. In every step of a trade transaction, credit and the facilities offered by an elaborate system of credit, are properly used to the fullest possible extent.

The more complicated and delicate the whole system of credit becomes, the greater the damage done by the slightest shock to its stability. In ordinary times vast transactions are carried through by the use of numerous and various instruments of credit, such as drafts, bills, cheques, bank-notes, &c., all of which are treated as directly representing gold; periodically, however, at uncertain intervals, and often with short warning, a requirement for actual gold sharply tests the convertibility of these instruments, and if difficulties are experienced in effecting the conversion, credit is seriously disturbed. At all times, a varying amount of gold is required to be in circulation, since a certain class of payments must always be made in specie; but when, as for instance, for harvesting exceptionally bountiful crops and bringing them to market, unusually large specie payments are involved in particular countries, then it becomes necessary to ship gold to such countries, and if the requirements for the metal are very large and sudden, a strain is felt in all the money markets of the world. Requirements of this class are the more frequent cause of large movements of gold; but, apart from such demands, if, at a season when general credit is strained, the balance of transactions makes one country the heavy creditor of one or more other countries, the necessity arises for a transmission of gold to balance accounts. Merchants, however, do not keep and are not expected to keep a stock of gold themselves; they carry on their business and settle accounts almost exclusively by means of the ordinary instruments of credit, and when gold is required the bankers are called upon to find it. If the bankers have difficulty in finding it, they must soon curtail credits usually given, and must refuse advances on all but the most promptly and certainly realisable securities; and if the curtailment of credits becomes very severe and general, a financial and commercial crisis is provoked with most serious results.

Without the enjoyment of modern credit facilities, business on modern lines must come to a standstill, and it is therefore a matter of the greatest national importance that credit should always be obtainable on first-class securities at cheap rates. The more certainly and quickly a security can be converted into gold, the cheaper the credit obtainable thereon. The assumption that a security can be converted into gold involves, however, the prior assumption that gold is held by persons willing to part with it in exchange for the security; in other

words, that a fund of free gold exists which can be immediately drawn upon in case of necessity. The need for such a fund has always existed, but of late years various causes connected with our modern elaborate system of credit appear to have increased and emphasised its importance and necessity. The writer proposes to examine these causes and to consider to what extent and in what manner the requirements of the present time can best be met.

The permanent incentive to the development of the present wonderfully ingenious and complicated system of credit lies in the ever keener appreciation of the simple fact that reserves of gold in a vault, like the talent in a napkin, yield no returns. The import of this fact, once fully grasped (and in many Oriental countries it is not yet grasped), it follows that no man will keep a stock of gold who is not imperatively obliged to do so. And the trader feels no such obligation, as long as he can obtain from his banker gold, or credit representing gold, on the deposit of documents representing merchandise, or other securities presumably readily saleable for gold. A certain number of traders doing very large business do indeed hold, as a reserve for seasons when credit is strained, a stock of securities which have no connection with the circumstances or risks of their business, but which are selected as exempt from serious fluctuations in value, and, therefore, presumably always most readily saleable. Securities of this class are commonly known as gilt-edged securities. Such reserves of gilt-edged securities are, however, relatively rare in the hands of traders. Reliance for help in time of need is generally exclusively based on a belief that the banker will at all times be ready and able to give such assistance as may reasonably be sought, on ordinary trade securities not partaking of the nature of permanent investments, and the only anxiety felt arises from the fear of possibly high charges for accommodation in periods of financial stress. It must here be noted that gilt-edged securities only differ from the general run of other securities, in so far as they are assumed to be more certainly saleable, that is the more readily convertible into gold. The moment they lose this distinctive character their special value disappears.

Thus, the steady prosperity of trade is in the long run inevitably dependent on the capability of bankers to produce gold when it is required. The business of bankers, and more especially that of English bankers, is, as a rule, mainly based on the use of money and the instruments of credit held in trust for their customers. Their own capital is only a proportion, and generally a small one, of the resources they employ;

indeed, their own capital may often be more properly considered as merely a reserve guaranteeing their depositors' and their own safety in times of stress and sudden demands for realisation. The paramount importance of such a reserve is evident ; but in England there is no law, or even custom, fixing the manner in which this reserve is to be held, or even fixing approximately its proportion to liabilities. Now, bankers are not philanthropists in business, and where there is no compulsion to hold gold, it is only natural that they should hold as little as possible. The well-known practice is for bankers to hold a very large proportion of their reserves in interest-bearing securities assumed to be readily convertible into gold, that is in gilt-edged securities, and to rely on the great central banking institution, the Bank of England, to make advances on such securities in times of financial pressure ; or, should the pressure become so acute that securities have to be sold outright, it is again the Bank of England which in the end would be expected to find the gold to enable investors, tempted by low prices, to make purchases and thereby relieve the strain on the money market. The responsibility of bankers for the protection of credit is thus finally always shifted on to the Bank of England.

The power of the Bank of England to sustain credit depends on the possession of reserves of gold, or the means of acquiring sufficient gold to be able to make advances freely on high-class securities ; it also depends on the readiness with which investors can be found to purchase first-class securities at prices slightly below normal market values. Experience, as on the occasion of the Baring crisis, has abundantly demonstrated that the gold reserves held by the Bank of England have been inadequate to meet requirements in periods of abnormal financial difficulty. It may possibly be suggested by the *laisser faire* school that although normal arrangements failed to immediately provide for all requirements in an exceptional crisis, yet, by the intervention of Government and by extraordinary measures the crisis was met without serious disaster to general trade, and that there is therefore no need for anxiety or for modifying our banking system. But, that this opinion is not held by the majority of those interested and competent in such matters, is clearly proved by the recent discussion of the question in the public press ; it has also been strongly emphasised by the uneasiness displayed in financial circles throughout the current year, and by the relatively high rates maintained for credits beyond the shortest terms, in spite of the fact that the position of the Bank of England has until lately been much

stronger than in some previous years when the bank rate was lower. Although the causes of the prevailing uneasiness have been much discussed, they nevertheless remain somewhat obscure, partly because they are many and complex, and partly because they are sometimes of a sentimental rather than of a directly practical character ; and in all matters of credit, sentiment plays an important part.

The stoppage of the supply of gold caused by the South African War was held by many to be responsible for much of the depression felt during the continuance of the war ; but peace has now prevailed for four years, the world's annual supply of gold is about 25 per cent. greater than before the war, and, nevertheless, anxiety is unabated. In 1896 the world's gold production is estimated as having been approximately 40½ millions sterling, in 1899 it was 61¼ millions, and in 1905 76¼ millions, whilst the total production during the ten years 1896 to 1905 inclusive exceeded 580 millions, or an average of, say, 58 millions sterling per annum. These figures are taken from an interesting article on the Scarcity of Money, which appeared in the *Statist* of June 23. In the same article it was pointed out that the reserves of gold held by the banks and establishments which are under the control of the Governments in various countries had increased from about 432 millions sterling in 1896 to some 692 millions in 1905, or by about 260 millions sterling in ten years, that is by an average of some 26 millions per annum. On the basis of the figures quoted, it follows that during the period under consideration some 32 millions sterling of gold were annually available for consumption in the arts and for new coinage, and this amount has doubtless been amply sufficient for these purposes. We may safely assume that requirements under these heads in the British Isles have been fully met, but the fact nevertheless remains that little or nothing has been added to our banking reserves out of the very large balance of £260,000,000—which passed into the banking reserves of other countries; indeed, the average amount of gold held by the Bank of England at the close of each year of the last three years of the decennial period has been fully two millions less than the average held at the close of each of the first three years of that period. Meanwhile it is interesting to note that during the same ten years the United States Treasury and National Banks have added approximately 134 millions sterling to their reserves, and the Bank of France upwards of 38 millions. It has been argued that since the note circulation of the Bank of England in the hands of the public is now only approximately 29 millions sterling, as

compared with a note circulation of about 180 millions in France, of about 120 millions in Russia, about 75 millions in Austria, and about 67 millions in Germany, these countries enjoy no special advantages by reason of the very large holdings of gold which their enormous note circulation compels them to maintain, but which cannot be considered as free for general purposes. This argument is, however, open to serious criticism. In the first place it may be observed that the gold reserves held by the Bank of England at the end of last September were equal to somewhat less than two-thirds of the circulation which they guaranteed, and those of the Bank of France, the Austro-Hungarian Bank, and the Bank of Germany, to approximately the same proportion, whilst those of the Russian Imperial Bank (including silver) were slightly in excess of the Russian note circulation.* Moreover, it seems evident that the larger the circulation of notes, the smaller is the proportion of cash required to secure the convertibility of such as may be presented for encashment. It is evident that if an issue were confined to a single note, its full equivalent in cash must be held in reserve to ensure its constant and immediate convertibility; whereas, if a million notes be issued, it is incredible that all could be presented for encashment within a very limited period of a few days. Time is of the utmost importance in all credit operations, and, therefore, with a large issue, the proportionate reserve may be safely diminished. Secondly, it must be pointed out that although the circulation of Bank of England notes is very small in comparison with the similar circulation in other countries, bank-notes are in England replaced by cheques to an extent quite unparalleled outside the British Isles. And it is clear that it is as imperative to maintain the convertibility or exchange value of cheques as it is to maintain that of bank-notes.

It is a curious fact that, as a consequence of the very great facilities afforded by the use of cheques, the British public has gradually and, so to speak, accidentally secured for itself a privilege which outside the United Kingdom is almost exclusively enjoyed by banks having the right to issue notes. A deposit, or a credit with a well-known bank, secures for its customer the advantage of issuing paper-money payable on

* It is to be observed that the Russian reserves constitute the sole guarantee for the exchange value of the vast volume of the silver rouble currency, as well as for the note issue. Where silver is the staple currency, the security of its convertibility is as important as is that of bank-notes. In India a special gold reserve fund was established in 1901 to guarantee the exchange value of the silver, token, rupee currency.

demand, and representing the exact sum which the issuer desires to pay to some other person (an advantage not conferred by the use of bank-notes) ; and this class of paper-money passes from hand to hand nearly as freely as bank-notes. To such an extent is the cheque system developed that the value of the cheques passed through the London Clearing House in 1905 was approximately 12,000 millions sterling. Assuming the average currency of a cheque to be only two days, and that an equal value of cheques is issued on every one of the approximately 300 working days in the year, the cheque circulation is equivalent to a circulation of bank-notes to the value of about 80 millions sterling. If this value be added to that of the bank-notes actually in circulation the total would, however, still fall far below that of the note circulation of 180 millions in France, where cheques are little used. Our cheque circulation is of course nominally secured in great part by the deposits in the private and joint-stock banks ; but, as explained above, these deposits are themselves for the most part only guaranteed by the banks' holdings of high-class securities and not by gold. It is, therefore, apparent that our gold reserves represent but a very small proportion of liabilities, which, including the combined bank-note and cheque circulation, certainly exceed 100 millions sterling. It can hardly be doubted that this very serious situation is one of the more important causes of financial uneasiness.

Inconveniences arising from too small a proportion of gold reserves to liabilities must increase if the value, as instruments of credit, of those securities which are constantly used to guarantee advances, should depreciate in public estimation. Such a depreciation has occurred as regards Consols and other gilt-edged securities which have hitherto been considered by bankers as advantageously replacing gold in their so-called "liquid" reserves. This depreciation of gilt-edged securities is certainly another very important factor in the present situation, and it may, therefore, be useful to consider its causes.

Since the reduction in the rate of interest and the heavy fall in the price of Consols, investment in these securities has been practically limited to the requirements of our home market and to a very small class of investors in that market. Formerly, besides the constant demand for banking reserves, and the heavy purchases made on account of a large and steady Sinking Fund, considerable investments were made by trustees, and by foreigners. But of late years, the Sinking Fund has not been maintained, and the situation has been further compromised by the immense issues of stocks by Colonial Governments

and by Corporations and other public bodies, which have been accorded the legal privileges of "Trustee Stocks." Trustees now have abundant opportunity of investing in first-class securities bearing an appreciably higher rate of interest than British Government Stocks, and their investments in such Stocks have therefore naturally fallen off most seriously, and threaten to cease to be of any importance as regards supporting the market. Investments by foreigners appear equally bound to diminish. French Rentes and the stocks of German, Scandinavian, and other Governments must certainly be accepted as very first-class securities, at the same time that they all yield higher interest than Consols, and are readily realisable in the money markets of their respective countries; moreover, the foreigner is frightened out of British investments by heavy income-tax and succession duties. It is thus manifest that no advantage is offered by investment in British Government Stocks sufficient to compensate a foreigner who has no special predilection in favour of England, for accepting an appreciable loss in interest. Even for bankers, the special value of Government Stocks has in recent years sensibly diminished, for the reason that they no longer possess the essential quality of being readily realisable without serious fluctuations in price. Unfortunately, Consols have for some years been liable to considerable fluctuations in price, with a steady downward tendency, whilst every financier knows that no really large sum could now be realised on the sale of Consols without such heavy loss as might entail the gravest consequences. Even in the current year the price of Consols has varied between $91\frac{1}{4}$ and $86\frac{1}{4}$, a difference and possible loss of 5 points on a stock which during the same period returned less than $£1\frac{7}{8}$ in interest. Moreover, if the yield of the various classes of Government, and Government Guaranteed Stocks be compared it will be found that Consols are the least profitable class of investment. According to a calculation given in the *Times* of July 16, the yield of Consols on the then prices was only £2 17*s.* per cent., whilst Irish $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. Guaranteed Stock gave £3 2*s.* per cent., and the National War Loan (allowing for redemption in 1910) gave £3 5*s.* 8*d.* per cent.

The above-mentioned facts, as well as other minor but well-known causes, have led to a very serious restriction of the market for British Government securities and particularly for Consols. Naturally cause and effect act and re-act on one another; the more limited the market, the greater is inevitably the depreciation, and the greater this depreciation the more nervous the investors, and consequently still more limited

becomes the market. It is clearly therefore of the highest importance that any measures adopted for the relief of financial pressure and uneasiness should, if possible, include steps for the rehabilitation of Consols.

There is apparently only one remedy for the present admittedly unsatisfactory financial position, and that is the creation and maintenance of a reserve of gold which could be freely drawn upon in times of pressure, and which should be sufficient to meet, with an ample margin, the largest demands which can reasonably be expected in times of financial difficulty. And here it may be observed that the confidence engendered by the existence of such a fund would have a powerful influence in checking, if not preventing, the recurrence of serious monetary difficulties. But, such a fund as is required cannot be held without considerable cost to the holder, and the question arises as to the agency which can properly be called upon to defray that cost. It has been argued with much force that the private and joint-stock banks, which make large profits out of the deposits of their customers, have no right to shift on to other shoulders the burden of their responsibility for meeting liabilities to depositors, and that they should be compelled by law to maintain gold reserves bearing a fixed minimum proportion to the amount of the deposits on which they make their profits. It has also been suggested that in view of the enormous prestige and advantages enjoyed by the Bank of England through its position as banker to the nation, the Bank should, in the interest of the nation, be obliged to increase its gold reserves to an amount sufficient to meet all possible demands. Finally, it has been proposed, and the proposition meets with much sympathy from all bank shareholders, who, it may be observed, are a very powerful and influential class, that Government should amass and maintain the required fund at the expense of the taxpayers, and it is at the same time pointed out that, whilst the charge would be very heavy on private establishments, the cost to Government would be but a very trifling item in the national Budget.

All these proposals are vigorously rejected by the parties whose interests would be prejudiced by their adoption. The bankers ask why particular private interests should be taxed for an object which is a national concern, more especially when Government, which holds about 150 millions sterling of deposits in the Postal Savings Banks, holds no gold reserves to safeguard the interests of the depositors of this gigantic sum. As regards the position of the Bank of England, the Bank

shareholders can fairly say that whatever advantages may be derived from holding the national deposits, they are fully paid for by the self-imposed conservative policy of the Bank, which limits the profits of its shareholders to a nine or ten per cent. dividend, whilst average dividends of fifteen to twenty per cent. are paid by a large number of its more important and unfettered competitors. Lastly, it has not, so far, appeared that Government is very willing to incur the unpopularity which is the necessary accompaniment of any even small addition to the burdens of the taxpayer ; and in this case, an outcry would almost certainly be raised that money was being taken from the pocket of the general taxpayer for the special benefit of the wealthy class of bankers and bank shareholders.

The difficulty of the question of the apportionment of the charge for maintaining the necessary gold reserves should not, however, prevent an earnest endeavour to find an equitable solution ; and in seeking the solution, the essential conditions must be borne in mind that to fulfil their purpose, gold reserves must be freely available for sustaining credit in seasons of financial pressure, whilst their unnecessary dissipation in normal times or for speculative purposes must be prevented.

The Government Postal Savings Banks, the Bank of England, and the joint-stock and private banks which take money from depositors, are all equally responsible for the safety of the funds entrusted to them, and also to the general public, for taking proper precautions against the risk of provoking financial and commercial panic, by making default in meeting their liability to refund these deposits when legally called upon to do so. From this point of view it would thus appear equitable that all should bear a burden proportionate to their respective holdings of deposits.

The objection may be raised on behalf of the Bank of England, and the other joint-stock and private banks, that as long as they and their customers are satisfied with present arrangements, Government intervention in their affairs is both uncalled for and mischievous in principle. The reply, however, to this objection is that, since the failure of these arrangements might easily prove disastrous to the interests of the general public, and the public have a right to be protected, protection must be given in the only possible manner ; that is by the intervention of Government to minimise the risks of disaster. Further, it may be observed that the principle of intervention in banking affairs on behalf of the public interest is already admitted and practised without objection, as regards the conditions under which the issue of bank-notes is permitted.

Regarding the responsibility of Government itself, in connection with the Savings Banks deposits, the theory has been advanced that Government credit and Government facilities for making practical use of that credit are so infinitely superior to the resources of the highest class of banking establishments that, whilst it may be quite right to insist on bankers holding gold reserves for the protection of depositors in their banks, it is quite unnecessary for Government to hold special reserves to safeguard the interests of depositors in the Postal Savings Banks. The consequences of the acceptance of this theory, should a crisis prove it to be unsound in practice, might be so very serious, that it calls for the most careful examination, and the writer trusts that he may not be considered presumptuous for calling it in question.

What is the nature of the security actually provided to guarantee the deposits in the Postal Savings Banks ? It is, in the first place, the holding of Government Stocks purchased with the funds deposited. But, as has already been shown, the fluctuations in value to which these Stocks are now subject are so considerable, and the market for their absorption is so limited, that it would be impossible to face the loss and the disorganisation of the money market which must inevitably result from any attempt to realise the value of even a limited proportion of the enormous sum held as security for some 150 millions sterling of deposits. The idea, then, of adequately meeting, by the sale of Government Stocks, the sudden demands of a rush of depositors clamouring for their money, may certainly be dismissed. There remains for consideration the possibilityof meeting such claims with the resources commanded by the general credit of the British Government. The power of Government credit to obtain the means of meeting all possible requirements may be admitted, but it must be remembered that prompt cash payments to depositors could alone restore confidence once shaken, and check a run on the savings banks. The element of time governs the situation, and although in the Baring crisis Government intervention quickly procured the sum of eight millions sterling in gold, sufficient to meet the requirements of the occasion, still some days were required for the delivery in London of the five millions sterling from France, and about a fortnight longer for the delivery of the three millions received from Russia. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that if we have no gold reserves in the United Kingdom, when a financial crisis occurs, the gold required must be obtained from foreign countries, and there is no guarantee that war, political influences, or other conditions, might not prevent

foreign countries from coming to the assistance of the London market. It is, therefore, improbable that measures dependent on the general credit of Government would prove efficacious in the event of widespread uneasiness among savings bank depositors. If either time, or the good-will of foreign countries failed, it would be impossible to avert a catastrophe. It is thus clear that to be safe we must be in a position to rely with confidence on our own home resources; and this means that we must hold our own reserves of gold.

The necessary reserves can be accumulated, if all banks, including the Government Savings Banks, accept the obligation to hold gold in a fixed proportion to the amount of their deposits. To avoid undue disturbance of the money market, the required amount must be gradually accumulated, and expert opinion must decide both as to the total proportion of gold to deposits to be held, and the proportion which could be conveniently and prudently acquired, year by year, until the necessary total had been secured. It must also be left to expert opinion to say whether, in view of the relatively small average value of individual deposits in the savings banks, the proportion of gold to be held by these banks must be as high as would be necessary to guarantee the individually larger deposits in other classes of banks. In this connection it may be pointed out that there appears to be no valid reason for maintaining the present relatively high permissible maximum for individual deposits in the Postal Savings Banks. Government in this business is at present competing with private banks at the expense of the taxpayer. If a lower and apparently more reasonable maximum were fixed for new depositors, the sum held in the savings banks would gradually be reduced to a more manageable figure, and the necessary proportionate amount of gold reserves would be correspondingly reduced. Thrift is an excellent thing, but it might probably be as much, if not more, encouraged if all deposits in the Postal Savings Banks exceeding a relatively low maximum were invested by Government in Consols for the account, and at the risk of, the depositor, instead of being, as at present, invested at the risk of the general taxpayer.

Assuming the principle to be accepted that all banks, Government and others, should be obliged to hold gold reserves to an amount bearing some fixed proportion to their liabilities to depositors, the means must be considered of making these reserves available in time of need. Unless automatically available when required, the mere existence of gold reserves in vaults would be of no assistance to the money market, and at the

same time it is not desirable that they should be free to be drawn upon arbitrarily and possibly in support of undesirable speculation. A simple arrangement which might meet the case would be to compel banks to keep their reserves intact up to a prescribed limit, until the Bank of England discount rate should reach a certain fixed figure; when financial pressure forced the rate up to that figure, all banks would be free to use their reserves to meet demands, until such date as the rate might again fall to the fixed figure, when it should be incumbent on the banks to replete their reserves under the same conditions and in the same gradual manner in which they were originally accumulated. The figure of the bank rate regulating the employment of reserves can only be fixed after careful inquiry and consideration; but the guiding principle in fixing it must be that it should be high enough not to facilitate undesirable speculation, and not so high as to permit the disorganisation of trade without affording relief.

The amount of the gold reserves to be maintained by the savings banks to guarantee the very important sum of the deposits which would continue to be held, even after such reduction as has been suggested as advisable, would be very large, and as any general run on the savings banks would certainly be preceded by very severe financial pressure, these reserves might properly be utilised, within defined limits, in the general public interest, before any serious demand arose from the bank's own depositors. Judicious employment of an important sum, at an early period in the growth of monetary stringency, might go a long way towards restoring public confidence, and would thus serve the interests of the savings banks depositors even before they had become aware that their interests were likely to be threatened. Employment of the savings banks reserves for any purpose other than the direct satisfaction of the demands of depositors, should be carefully restricted; but there does not seem to be any objection to their being used to make advances on British Government securities, when such advances were required in the general public interest. If the general principles of the scheme above outlined were adopted, it might be laid down that a proportion of the gold reserves held by the Postal Savings Banks should be utilised, when required, to make loans on Consols, through the Bank of England, at a fixed rate of interest. Whatever rate of interest might be fixed, it should be such as to permit of early assistance being given to the money market, in case of difficulties, without affording undue facilities for speculation. Such an arrangement would surely tend to confirm and encourage the

practice of holding Consols in the reserves of all banks and credit establishments, and would therefore assist the realisation of the much-to-be-desired end—the rehabilitation of the prestige of Consols in the estimation of investors and financiers.

In conclusion, I desire to emphasise the importance of a question which, although not directly connected with that of gold reserves, is of the highest importance as regards the general financial position, and that question is the continuous increase of stocks, issued by municipalities and other public bodies, which are accorded the privilege of ranking as "Trustee Stocks," thus directly competing with Stocks issued by Government, at lower rates of interest, for Imperial purposes, and consequently adding to the burden of the general taxpayer, for the benefit of the local ratepayer. It is surely high time that the increase of this most undesirable competition should be checked, and it might be at once confined to reasonable limits if the privilege of ranking as "Trustee Stocks" were withheld from all new loans issued at rates yielding more than 3 per cent., at par.

E. FG. LAW.

GREATER BRITAIN AND INDIA

CANADA AND NEWFOUNDLAND

THE people of Greater Britain must now be convinced that the "Imperial Government" of their everyday speaking or writing has ceased to exist. For the time being the fate of the Empire is in the hands of a British Government which is everything and anything by turns—pro-German, Pro-Zulu, pro-Nihilist, and Heaven knows what next—so long as it can possibly avoid even the appearance of pro-British sympathies. The attempt to interfere in the domestic affairs of Natal at the risk of provoking a native rebellion throughout British South Africa convinced the inhabitants of the self-governing Colonies of the Southern Hemisphere that neither justice nor courtesy was to be expected of the Celt with his unstable "parti-coloured mind" (to quote Marvell's fine phrase) and the parochial-souled talking delegate into whose sacrilegious hands the task of preserving our Imperial heritage has been given in a moment of mental aberration on the part of the English people. The abject surrender of Newfoundland's rights at the behest of the Gloucester fishing trust, a parasitic industry with a "pull" in the United States Senate, will convince our Colonies in the Northern Hemisphere that the power of direct negotiation with Washington is a necessity of the near future. President Roosevelt approves of the appointment of a Canadian Commissioner to the political capital of the United States, and even if the avoidance of an intolerable deal of circumlocution were the only advantage accruing from this fateful step the balance of argument would be in favour of the change. Both Sir Wilfred Laurier and Sir Robert Bond, who is the ablest and strongest Prime Minister Newfoundland has ever possessed, know that the political equation to be solved, whenever controversies between the United States and their Colonies come up for settlement, will be greatly simplified by the elimination

of the diplomatic middle-man, who must obey—reluctantly enough, I admit, in many cases—the instructions he receives from Downing Street. If we always had a statesman of the Chamberlain type at the Colonial Office, it might be possible to permit the continuance of the present system of a three-cornered diplomatic duel. But when the formulation of Colonial policy rests with an Americanised Tappertit of the Winston Churchill type it is high time to make a change. If Canada and Newfoundland were to deal directly with the American Government, the American people, who are capable of kindliness and generosity in their relations with obviously weaker communities, would see that no gain of apparent prestige in the eyes of other great Powers could result from a diplomatic victory gained by unfair means. Such immoral victories as the successful appointment of prejudiced politicians as "independent jurists" on the Alaskan boundary tribunal have always been regarded by the average American as surreptitious tail-twistings. If the Downing Street lion stayed at home and sat on his tail, leaving British North American interests to be guarded by Canadian and Newfoundland representatives, the game might cease to be alluring.

The term *modus vivendi*, which is the one scrap of Latin known to every person, literate or illiterate, in Newfoundland, has long since assumed an unholy meaning. There is a story of a Newfoundland fisherman, who threatened an opponent with diverse corporal penalties, and the climax of his discourse *ad hominem* was the terrible sentence: "Yes, and when I've done all that, I'll . . . I'll modus-vivendy you!" There has never yet been a *modus vivendi* arranged by the British Government as a temporary expedient for preventing the chance of a collision between the Newfoundlander and the foreigner who cuts into his chief industry, which did not grant the latter's most preposterous demands and remain in force years after the date fixed for its termination. Naturally the foreigner, having obtained all he asked for, and much more than he expected to get, was not at all anxious for a final settlement. The present *modus vivendi* concluded between Great Britain and the United States is intended to govern the herring fisheries in the Bay of Islands on the west coast of Newfoundland for the present fishing season only. But everybody in the island believes—and has good historic reasons for his belief—that it will be renewed from year to year until the concessions to the American fishermen have assumed the aspect of vested interests. Thus the *modus vivendi* governing the Alaskan sea-board of the Yukon Territory permitted the settlement of American

traders at the head of the chief "canal" or fiord, when the Klondike gold-placers were discovered and the descendants of Bret Harte's Argonauts stampeded into the new Eldorado, and their presence in the debateable strip of territory was then assumed to be a prior and effective occupation by the American Commissioners. There is no security—except the outspoken sagacity of Lord Grey, the "big Englishman" as he is called in the United States, where he is liked and respected—for the fulfilment of the promise of the British Government that this new arrangement will be finally abrogated at the close of the fishing-season in the Bay of Islands. Lord Grey, the first Canadian Governor-General to visit Newfoundland, has studied this question (which is of great consequence to Canada), and there need be no doubt that he will speak out his mind, when the psychological moment arrives, as vigorously as he did at the Pilgrims' banquet at New York. It is to be hoped that his opinion will prevail in the long run, but the gods themselves fight in vain against stupidity—and the words of a mere Governor-General will probably fail to effect anything against the invincible ignorance of a Campbell-Bannerman Administration. Meanwhile, under the terms of the *modus vivendi*, the American Government has conceded nothing except a nominal promise—not to be enforced in those remote waters—to abstain from fishing on Sunday. In return for yielding this microscopic point the Americans are granted the extraordinary privilege of fishing with seine nets, which the laws of Newfoundland have hitherto prevented on the ground that the use of these nets would in a few years result in the extermination of food fishes; and, furthermore, American fishing-vessels are permitted to ship Newfoundland crews, so that while nominally the vessels are American, as a matter of fact the fishing will really be done by Newfoundlanders. The effect of these concessions, it is stated, will be to give Americans a monopoly of business to the detriment of the Newfoundlanders.

Moreover, certain clauses of a Newfoundland law, which has already received the Royal assent, are to cease to be operative—a startling innovation in constitutional practice which, if it was ever likely to be accepted as a precedent, would deprive the privileges collectively known as "Colonial autonomy" of all legal value, and virtually transfer the Crown to the head of the British Prime Minister or the person who pulls his wires—in this case the Americanised Tappertit at the Colonial Office—for the time being. Finally, in order to irritate the patient Newfoundlander in the highest possible degree, the British Government has carefully refrained from informing the New-

foundland authorities of the terms of their iniquitous bargain. The full news of the surrender was cabled from the United States together with the amazed self-congratulations of certain American journals, and at the time of writing the Newfoundland Government has not yet been informed of the terms of a *modus vivendi*, which is supposed to be already in force along the west coast. Evidently the Cabinet in the course of exhibiting its pro-German sympathies has got as far as the emulation of the Bismarckian *grobheit* in its most flagrant form. Nothing can excuse this wanton wounding of the self-respect of a people who bore so patiently the incubus of the French *condominium* in order to avoid embarrassing those charged with the task of strengthening Great Britain's position in the sphere of Eurasian politics.

It must be borne in mind that neither President Roosevelt nor Mr. Root nor the vast majority of the American people were desirous of making harsh terms with the poor fisherfolk of Newfoundland. It is true that at any time since the U.S. Senate refused to ratify the Bond-Hay Convention, which defined the price Newfoundland was to receive for certain concessions to Americans taking part in the island fisheries, and Newfoundland entered on a policy of retaliation by enforcing the Bait Act, there has been the possibility of a collision between American and British subjects in the Bay of Islands, on the west coast of Newfoundland. A year ago the outcome of such an incident might have been serious. The American people might have taken it as a provocation to war; war might conceivably have ensued, followed by the disintegration of Canada, or, at any rate, the arrest of its natural development for a generation. A year ago the nature of the controversy was unknown to the American people, who, as every student of folk-psychology knows, are subject to violent outbursts of feeling, veritable tornadoes of popular passion. Since then, however, the typical American—at bottom a fair-minded man, capable of generosity in his dealings with small communities—has ascertained the facts of the case and knows that Newfoundland is merely endeavouring to obtain the payment of a debt of long standing which has been refused by the Senate—the sworn champion of all vested interests—acting as the agent of the Gloucester fishing-trust, which has systematically evaded the American tariff regulations by purchasing herring from the Newfoundlanders and selling it as an American-caught commodity. So that there was absolutely no reason whatever for this all-round surrender.

SOUTH AFRICA

SOUTH AFRICA continues in the state of chaos in which the anti-British treatment of the Home Government has plunged them. A year ago a steady policy, pursued in spite of the ebb and flow of a three years war and a subsequent three years economic crisis, had placed British ideals of justice and good government in a position of supremacy, and the splendid generosity with which Boers and pro-Boers were dealt with by the British, spoke plainly enough for the policy which had upheld our own countrymen, even if their power and success were not essential to our supremacy in South Africa.

Deliberately, and in order to gratify their personal vanity and their anti-patriotism—which is only a specialised form of vanity —the present Government have undone a settlement which was a vindication of the steadfast and sober statesmanship of Lord Milner, and which owed its strength to his fine and far-seeing political sense. It should never be forgotten that the destruction of this great Imperial work was deliberately undertaken with a view to helping the enemies of our flag and to spiteing those who had fought for it. The platform platitudes of the present Cabinet about the Empire should not blind us to the fact that they have set their axe to the root of the great Imperial tree, and that there are those among them who will never rest until all that we reckon as our glory, all that we inherit from the strength of our fathers, is laid low in the dust. Had the Imperial problem of the moment been a Canadian or an Australian one, we should have seen the same sinister work performed, because from A to Z, from Aden to New Zealand, the states forming the Empire are in danger from Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and his colleagues.

The present troubles in South Africa are the creation of the Home Government, who by simultaneously throwing the political future of South Africa into a partisan melting-pot and by checking all economic development in the Transvaal have brought about a most disastrous state of affairs for the British, while their open support to the Boers has consolidated those enemies of our flag into a solid body to whom has been added a fair sprinkling of British wobblers. It requires a very living faith in a South African to-day to believe in the future power of Great Britain, and those Boers, who were inclined to settle down and enjoy good Government, when they were only treated as political equals, now dream of the golden days of

Krugerism, when they could make their fortunes rapidly, and when the mines were mulcted for the good of individuals instead of being taxed for the benefit of the State. No one not in close touch with South Africa can realise the change of tone which has taken place in the last ten months, or the intensified Boer racial hatred of us and our people. We are, they think, proving ourselves to be the poor creatures they have always said we were ; weak and incapable of standing by our own ; boasters, changeable and insincere. The indictment is a severe one, and it is painful to think that it is not altogether undeserved, for although the indignation in England against the Government's South African policy is very general, the people of this country do not yet realise how much has been done to endanger Lord Milner and Mr. Chamberlain's work. It is well for us, therefore, that the loyalists are men of grit and that they are "holding on to the painter" with so much goodwill and power.

In the Transvaal especially, the Progressive, or British, Party are preparing to make a gallant resistance to the united forces of Het Volk and the Responsible and Labour Parties. The telegrams sent home by the usual agencies give very little idea of the forces at work in this Colony which has passed so rapidly from war to political war. The British attitude is very fairly expressed in a speech made on October 11 by Mr. Drummond Chaplin, the Progressive candidate for one of the divisions of Germiston. Speaking at a crowded meeting of working men,

> The speaker urged, first and foremost, the necessity of upholding British traditions and ideals. He had no grudge against the Boers. He admired the tenacity with which they sought to achieve their ideals, but he was no ashamed to say that he had more affection and respect for those of his own race. Nor, with regard to the mining industry, was he ashamed of his connection with that. The success of the industry was of material advantage to all of them, and its success depended on two things, which were alike becoming very hard to get—capital and labour. Touching the question of Chinese labour, Mr. Chaplin proclaimed his conviction that it was an absolute necessity to-day for the maintenance of the industry. He would welcome the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry by the new Government, but he held that things must remain *in statu quo* till an adequate substitute for Chinese labour was found. He was not prepared to advocate a step which would result in immediately throwing out of work 6000 or 7000 white skilled miners.*

This fair and reasonable attitude, endorsed by a unanimous vote of confidence, reflects very acurately the British mind in the Transvaal, and although there are Englishmen there, as at home, who prefer their country's enemies to her friends, they are in all the Colonies an inconsiderable body, and will be

* *Times* Report.

swallowed alive by their robust allies the Boers. Sir Richard Solomon, who in his administrative capacity is responsible for the Government of the Transvaal for the last five years, is on his way to England in order, it is said, that he may once more turn his coat preparatory to taking up the *rôle* of critic of his own performances! We hope that this report is unfounded, but the past instability of Sir Richard Solomon's political convictions does not augur well for their future reliability, and it is to be noted that he is the fancy man of the so-called "moderates" who are working with Het Volk.

At the Cape the united and resolute Dutch are working unceasingly to capture the weak-kneed among the British. Doctor Jameson's ministry, which has held the pass so gallantly for two years and a half, can only just maintain itself, in spite of the great ability and personal charm of the Premier. The severe economic strain through which the Cape is still passing naturally affects the position of the Government, and the blows directed by Lord Elgin and Mr. Churchill at British supremacy have naturally weakened the position of an essentially British *régime* in Cape Colony.

Still out of all this gloom and difficulty one may get occasional consolation. The movement for the Federation of all the Colonies seems to be making serious headway. It may prove to be the ultimate solution, although it is greatly to be regretted that South Africa should be stimulated towards federation by the hostility of the present *régime* in England. The railway rate war between Cape Colony, the inland Colonies and Natal, has helped the movement by showing what a divided house may do in the way of wasteful fighting. Incidentally this squabble has made the wreckers pause in their contemplated onslaught on the Central South African Railway, the amalgamated railway systems of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, which were singled out by Boers and Pro-Boers for sub-division. It is now generally realised that this would be a backward step which would benefit no one.

Where South Africa is going no one can quite foresee; her future as a British State, as a civilised State, even, depends on the Loyalists, and these are seriously weakened by the events of the last ten months, but although they are weakened they are a fine people, full of fight, and if not so well disciplined as their opponents, still with a fine ideal of justice and fair play which must stand them in good stead. May their fight be crowned with victory in these coming Transvaal elections, and may they save for us and for themselves that great province of our common Empire which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and his colleagues are so anxious to throw away.

INDIA

(By Our Own Correspondent in India)

Mail of September 29.

NATIVE POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

When one sits down to write about native political movements in India, one is at once conscious of the risk of creating, quite unconsciously, a partially erroneous impression in England. There is so much in India quite outside the political movements in evidence to-day, so much that might be told and that ought to be told. The mind conjures up so many aspects of India left untouched by native politics, that one almost despairs of gripping the various factors and placing them in their right proportion and perspective; and if it is difficult for us out here, how much harder must it be for the Englishman at home, who hears a great deal of the classes that make the most noise and little of the others! When you think of India, you must not think only of its articulate politicians. You must think also of the vast administrative machine of the Government of India, so impersonal in its character, driving stolidly along its appointed course through good report and evil report; all the sun-scorched, isolated, self-contained native states, where agitation never penetrates and a stump orator would receive short shrift; the sixty millions of Mahomedans, who have hitherto, for the most part, almost looked upon politics as accursed, have held aloof from the Congress, and are only now vaguely bestirring themselves because they think their silence has induced the Government to neglect them; the serried array of the men of the Native Army, faithful to their salt by instinct and tradition, and filled with a contempt for the chattering Bengalis that none but their officers can fully realise; all those innumerable villages—and how many of them there are in India!—where a white man is only seen once in generations, and the ryot pays his dues to the village official, and tills his fields almost unconscious alike of the existence of Briton or Babu; the quiet, alert British official, soldier or civilian, doing his daily work in solitude, digging canals in the desert, gazing with puckered eyes from a lonely mud fort on the frontier, camping in the green depths of vast jungles, holding his primitive court beneath a spreading banyan tree, riding at the head of his troop of keen-eyed bearded warriors at an hour when stay-at-home Englishmen are abed, serving the Empire in calm and faithful and unquestioning serenity, and only

moved from that phlegmatic nonchalance which work in India produces, when the weekly batch of newspapers from England, with their invariable tale of abuse and misrepresentation by some of his own countrymen, brings the red flush of indignation to his cheek. How can one convey an accurate impression of all these things and give some idea of the infinitely varied collection of countries lumped together as "India"? Yet though native political movements are only like one band of colour in the spectrum, they are at the moment the aspect of India most worth studying, and that must be my apology for reverting to them.

Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the able administrator who was so unworthily sacrificed to popular clamour, was still upon the high seas when the agitation which produced his overthrow suddenly suffered an ignominious and farcical eclipse. The man who led the attacks upon him was Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, who by common consent is the chief demagogue of the Bengalis; and the story of Mr. Banerjee's mock "coronation" in Calcutta is now generally known. It may be said at once that too much has been made of the incident, particularly in England; it was never taken seriously in India, where it only provoked an outburst of Homeric laughter. There was nothing treasonable about it; the whole affair was merely absurd, and probably nobody has been more dismayed than Mr. Banerjee himself at the hubbub it produced. Mr. Banerjee holds a curious position in Congress politics. His function is to beat the big drum and harangue the mob, and he can do it very effectively. His vanity is overweening, and he takes himself with enormous seriousness. During the prolonged agitation of the last few months his nerves have been strung into a state of overwrought exaltation, and he is no longer master of himself. As, however, attempts have been made to explain away the incident of his "coronation," it is just as well that its real significance should be set forth here. The Calcutta *Statesman*, an Anglo-Indian journal which caters largely for the native population, has put forward a couple of Bengali pundits who declare that the affair was "an ordinary commonplace ceremony without regal or political associations," and "an important part of their domestic religious observances performed almost every day by the Hindus." This statement was at once challenged as untrue, and it is noteworthy that it was left to a paper nominally Anglo-Indian to make it. No Hindu paper has advanced such a contention, and for once the *Statesman* has overdone its enthusiastic devotion to Mr. Banerjee and his associates. The *Amritza Bazar Patrika*, a leading Hindu journal,

bluntly said that the rite as performed in Mr. Banerjee's case "is only used on rare occasions, and is part and parcel of the coronation ceremony." Other native papers tell the same tale, and they ought to know. The ordinary "Santi Sechan" ceremony is said to consist chiefly of the sprinkling of water, but in the accounts of Mr. Banerjee's performance the sprinkling is not even mentioned. A "richly-embroidered umbrella" was spread over his head. The umbrella is unquestionably the symbol of royalty in India, and certainly finds no place in the daily domestic observances of the Hindus. A white chowrie (a long-tailed fly-flap) was waved before him after the fashion usually reserved for royal personages in India. These and other technical facts clearly mark out the ceremony as something very different from "an ordinary domestic religious observance." The *Indu Prakash*, a sober Hindu newspaper, summed up the preponderating native feeling on the subject with perfect accuracy when it pronounced it to have been "an extremely undignified ceremony of individual deification." Mr. Banerjee is an erudite Brahmin, and must have been well aware of the character of the affair. Nevertheless, no one believes for a moment that he was meant to be crowned King of Anything. The assembled pundits wished to do him great honour, and he complacently permitted them to make him look foolish. A too enthusiastic reporter of Mr. Banerjee's own paper, the *Bengalee*, was present, and he wrote a most glowing and grandiloquent description of the whole business. When the *Bengalee* came out next morning with the headline "Babu Surendra Nath Crowned and Anointed" that was enough. Other Calcutta native papers, some of which do not love Mr. Banerjee, condemned the whole gathering in unmeasured terms; and the Anglo-Indian press, remembering Mr. Banerjee's share in the attacks on Sir B. Fuller, was not slow to follow suit. The chorus of remonstrance that went up from the native papers throughout the country was really remarkable; it was plainly felt, and candidly said, that he had made all Bengal and the Swadeshi movement supremely ridiculous. Where Mr. Banerjee finally came to grief was that he allowed the *Bengalee* account to go unexplained for days, and then published an evasive paragraph in which it was said that he had not been crowned and anointed, which manifestly implied what was untrue. To this day, so far as I am aware, he has never offered any personal explanation or published any disclaimer. The result of the whole episode has been that he has been greatly discredited, and his floral chaplet is likely to prove in the long run a veritable crown of thorns.

But there is one aspect of this foolish and really harmless "coronation" that cannot be passed over so lightly. Wearing his "crown," and with the royal umbrella held over his head, Mr. Banerjee delivered an oration in which he appealed to the worst religious prejudices of the mob in support of the boycott of British goods. He declared that the "tallow" of cows and swine was used in British manufactures, particularly piece-goods, and that the religion of Hindus and Mahomedans alike was thereby outraged. His speech was most inflammatory in character, and any one who has studied Indian history must be fully alive to the possible consequences of deliverances of this kind. Yet Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt—who is taken far too much at his own valuation in England, and has been of little account in Indian politics since Lord Curzon flattened him out in his famous Land Revenue Resolution—did not scruple to write to the *Times* in laudatory terms of Mr. Banerjee's propaganda. And what is more, is that Members of Parliament are secretly in alliance with Mr. Banerjee, and are directly instigating him to continue the agitation which is disturbing the peace of the country, and working so much mischief in Bengal. For proof of what I say let the following letter from Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, M.P., which has come into the possession of the *Pioneer*, speak for itself:

Private. 75, Queen's Gate, S.W.,
2nd March, 1906.

Dear Mr. Banerjee,

Keep on agitating and do so effectively. Large mass-meetings are the most useful.

You have the justest of causes, and I hope you will make your voice heard. Everything depends on you in India, and remember a Whig does nothing unless pressed.

Yours sincerely,
C. J. O'Donnell.

P.S.—*Have mass-meetings by the dozen in every district—indoors and out of doors. Morley will yet yield.*

C. J. O'D.

The italics are Mr. Banerjee's, for he reproduced the letter in a "private and confidential" circular which was distributed among the leading men in both provinces of Bengal. He begged them to follow Mr. O'Donnell's advice, which, he said, was "in harmony with what Sir Henry Cotton wrote to say a few weeks ago." He declared that, "under the circumstances, it is our clear duty to continue the agitation so that Mr. Morley may be persuaded to act in accordance with his convictions and the demands of a rational statesmanship." He

further announced that "the supreme moment of action had arrived." It had in very truth; for those incendiary letters from Members of Parliament, who are ex-Civil Servants and are amply conscious of the risk of playing with fire in India, set in motion that recrudescence of agitation in Bengal which swelled into demonstrations subversive of law and order, and ultimately brought about the departure of Sir Bampfylde Fuller. Within a month of their circulation the Barisal episode had occurred, and both Bengals were in a renewed state of unrest and disquietude. To English readers Mr. O'Donnell's letter may seem harmless enough; a suggestion that meetings should be held sounds, perhaps, quite innocent. Yet it was directly in consequence of that and similar communications from Radical Members of Parliament that the uproar recommenced at a time when Eastern Bengal was quiet, and when even in Calcutta the agitation was flickering out. In England the organisation of political agitation probably hurts no one; in India, it will be noted, the recipient of the incitements of our Parliamentary Indo-Radicals makes speeches about the "tallow" of cows and swine, and appeals to the most savage religious fanaticism upon the confident assurance from Westminster that "Morley will yet yield." This brings me to an exceedingly grave issue. Lord Curzon resigned his high office last year upon what he believed to be a vital constitutional question; but some of us in India think that an even more serious constitutional question is now arising out here. No one complains of Mr. Morley's policy in holding long and repeated conferences with representative Indians. It is right and wise that he should do so. But he ought to be aware of the use made, rightly or wrongly, of his name and his alleged convictions in India. The real reason why the agitation blazed up afresh in April, May and June, and culminated in the mass meeting in Calcutta in August, was the belief that Mr. Morley was willing to reopen the partition question. Since I last wrote, it has been openly said in India that weeks prior to the Indian Budget debate intimation was made that Sir Bampfylde Fuller would be discarded at the first convenient opportunity; and it is believed that the culminating ferocity with which the Calcutta native press attacked that able and unfortunate administrator in the final weeks of his rule, was due to the secret transmission of that intimation from England. But that is not all. When Mr. O'Donnell wrote in March, it was still somewhat of a surmise that "Morley will yet yield." The statements about Mr. Morley are more definite to-day. It is now being said in

Calcutta, without any concealment at all, that the Cabinet, or Mr. Morley, or those intermediaries who speak for them, have privately intimated to the representatives of the Bengal agitators that they will reopen the whole question of the partition of Bengal if only a sufficient pretext is afforded them. The Prime Minister's curious answer to Mr. O'Donnell just before Parliament rose is pointed at in proof of this assertion. But a native paper in Calcutta has just been far more explicit, and with the remark that it does not agree with secrecy, it has, to the dismay of a good many people, published the following "very confidential" letter from London which has been secretly circulated by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee :

> What appeared *absolutely hopeless* four weeks ago appears *hopeful* now. There are indications that the Cabinet are willing to reconsider the partition question on its merits. There are indications that in due time the question, if properly urged, will be re-opened. I am not at liberty to speak about conferences I had just before leaving London. All that I can tell you is to advise you to have an influential and representative meeting, say early in September, to adopt a strong, well-reasoned memorial, suggesting alternative schemes of partition, based on racial and linguistic grounds, and to submit it to the Secretary of State through the Indian Government. Bengal has worked splendidly during the last eleven months. Bengal will have to work a little longer—not hysterically, but rationally and strongly—making it clear that she will not accept the present partition. I believe redress is at hand.

The name of the writer is not given, but it is guardedly said that he is a "great friend of Bengal," and it is intimated that he is a person who is well known. The paper that makes this somewhat sensational disclosure remarks that the writer says he had conferences with some people, "and who can these people be, unless they are the responsible Ministers of the British King? And what else can his advice that a memorial should once more be sent to Mr. Morley mean, except this—*that the suggestion for this fresh memorial came from those responsible Ministers themselves?*" The question is an extremely pertinent one, and one would like to hear it put to the Ministry when Parliament reassembles. At any rate, the first result of this notification by Mr. Banerjee is that a movement has been set on foot for organising a new petition to the Secretary of State against the partition of Bengal; while in consequence of a later communication from the same writer, the nature of which is not disclosed, other steps are being taken which are apparently to be kept secret for the present.

It may be hoped that the real purport of these statements will be clearly understood in England. I have given them exactly as I have seen them; and they are supported by so many verbal statements and reports that I sincerely believe

them to be true. It has been noticeable for weeks that the section of the native press in direct communication with the Radical wing that professes to take an interest in India, has been openly hinting that Mr. Morley did not really mean what he said when he alluded to the partition of Bengal as "a settled fact." And it will be observed that the person to whom this alleged intimation from Ministers of the Crown is transmitted is—Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, the instigator of lawless agitation, the high priest of the boycott of British goods, the hero of the ridiculous "coronation," the man who has expounded the doctrine that the English are draining the country, and are doing it by forcing on the people goods made with the aid of the "tallow" of cows and swine. One wonders whether Ministers have gone mad, or whether they have the slightest realisation of the possible consequences of these amazing secret hints to Indian agitators. If such communications have been transmitted, the revelation will shock and disgust all those loyal and peaceful races and communities who hold the Bengali agitators and their methods in absolute abhorrence. And even that is not the whole tale. It has been said in India of late, and printed again and again and never denied, that Mr. Morley has made definite promises of reforms to representative Indians who have interviewed him. Some of these reforms may be desirable ; that is not the point. These Indian politicians are admittedly prominent and influential, but they are not the accredited representatives of the people of India, for there are at present no properly accredited representatives. It is wholly unconstitutional, and contrary to all precedent, and a direct violation of all the principles on which India has been hitherto administered by Great Britain, for the Secretary of State to pledge the Government of India to any such policy, except with its definite sanction, which apparently has never been formally given. Had India got a more experienced Viceroy and a stronger Executive Council at the present time such steps would never have been permitted. The alleged communication to the agitators of Bengal is a far graver matter. The present Government of India is responsible for carrying out the policy of its predecessors. The bulk of the present members of the Viceroy's Council were directly associated with the policy of carrying out the partition of Bengal. If the Ministry at home have asked secretly for a pretext to reopen the question, and have taken care that their request shall reach the agitators who have lit the flames of lawless turbulence in Bengal, they are not only flouting the Indian administration and undermining its stability

they have also been guilty of a direct incitement to organised disorder. Ministers and their advisers evidently do not realise how such an extraordinary request is likely to be interpreted in India. These are the grave constitutional issues to which I have alluded ; and I will only add that if any Ministry, Liberal or Conservative, ever reopens the question of the partition of Bengal, England will have cause to rue the day when her responsible statesmen shocked moderate and loyal Indian opinion by dallying in secret with violent agitators, and taught India that the way to extort concessions was by following the paths of disorder and sedition. Had the Ministry, or some members of it, deliberately resolved to destroy the British Empire in India, they could not have taken the first steps with greater accuracy. And the irony of the whole business is that the greater part of India does not care two straws about the partition, that the new province itself would be quite content to be let alone, and that the Calcutta agitation is, as the published documents show, largely artificial and unreal.

It is almost a relief to turn from this wretched and degrading story to the tangled skein of politics of the Indian National Congress. Mr. Gokhale, who is both sincere and sane in his views, returned the other day from his confabulations with innumerable receptive Members of Parliament, to become at once a disillusionised and much astonished man. He had been talking in England as the apostle of an united and suppliant India ; he landed in Bombay to find the Congress party split into halves, the leaders fighting and abusing one another like Kilkenny cats, Mr. Banerjee, an object of general contempt, and the Extremists, who are trying to capture the Congress, on the verge of triumphant revolt. Chaos reigns supreme at the moment in native politics, particularly in Bengal ; and it is impossible to give here any adequate indication of the many ramifications of the situation, or of the hopeless confusion and the fierce internal dissensions that have suddenly supervened. Bengal has within the last few weeks thrown up a new leader, one Babu Bepin Chandra Pal. There is no mistake about Mr. Pal's views. He talks on public platforms about the "coming revolution," and demands "absolute autonomy free of British control!" He publishes two widely-circulated papers, *New India* and *Bande Mataram*, which are frankly seditious. Let there be no misunderstanding about Mr. Pal, however. He is a headstrong and exceedingly capable man, but he is never likely to lead a "revolution." His fulminations are mostly what is called in America "hot air." His desire at the moment is plainly to get into gaol,

whence he would emerge as a martyr, with an assured political reputation ; but so far the Government have been disobliging enough to ignore him. He scoffs at all the old leaders, and even Mr. Banerjee is mild by comparison with him. He started a movement recently for nominating Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, of Poona, as President of the next Congress. I have described Mr. Tilak in a previous letter. He stands for destruction pure and simple, and his political creed is to break down and not to build up. The moderate Congressmen will have nothing to do with him. Nevertheless, Mr. Pal stumped Bengal on his behalf, and addressed crowded meetings in many places. While he was absent on this mission, Mr. Banerjee suddenly announced that he had offered the Presidency of the Congress to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Parsee ex-M.P. for Finsbury, who had accepted it. The move was a clever one, for although Mr. Naoroji is a frail old man of eighty-one, he is respected among all parties in the Congress because of his early battles in its behalf. But Mr. Banerjee had apparently made the offer "off his own bat," and in secret, in order to "dish" Mr. Pal and Mr. Tilak and the Extremists ; and consequently a great uproar arose even among the moderate men because no one had been consulted. A vindictive wrangle began, and that was the condition of things when Mr. Gokhale arrived. Probably the Indian National Congress is the only body in the world wherein such a step could be taken. It asks for representative government, yet its own organisation is in no sense representative, and it is controlled in true Oriental fashion by half a dozen men. It has no basis of representation. The committee of the town in which the annual gathering is to be held selects a President in haphazard fashion. Anybody can be a delegate who likes to pay his own railway fare.

Into this welter of quarrels stepped the chagrined Mr. Gokhale. It is understood that he is coming to Calcutta to try and heal existing breaches, and restore some semblance of unity in order to impress Mr. Morley. There is talk of changing the venue of the Congress from Calcutta, where it is to be held this Christmas, to some less contentious atmosphere ; but though this step would indicate the sincerity of the moderate men, it is not likely to prove feasible. At the moment Mr. Tilak and Mr. Pal have been effectually defeated by the dramatic production of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji as the next President : but they profess themselves undismayed, they mean to fight again, and they have a large following. There are two tests by which the coming Congress will be judged by all men

who understand Indian native politics. The first is in regard to the boycott of British goods. This has never been formally sanctioned by the Congress, but it has never denounced it. If it wants to prove its moderation, it must denounce a form of agitation which leads to incessant disorder. The second and far graver test is the inclusion within the Congress ranks of Mr. Pal and his associates, who openly preach doctrines directly subversive of British rule, and are the frankly avowed enemies of the British in India. Before the Congress has any right to press requests upon the Government and the English people it should absolutely disavow the Extremists. Whether the moderate men will have courage and resolution enough to overthrow their somewhat formidable opponents remains to be seen. They have the will, but not the determination. Mr. Gokhale may be relieved from any suspicion of sympathising even remotely with the Extremists. It is now quite clear that, in spite of the suggestions recently made, he is unlikely to drift into their camp. If the moderate men carry the day, they should be supported and more directly recognised by the authorities, and the Congress will be in a stronger and more legitimately constitutional position than it has occupied for years; but if it palters with sedition-mongers, who have now thrown off all disguise, it should be unhesitatingly condemned. The moderate men still predominate largely, but the "revolutionaries" have more energy and persistence and skill in organisation. But before these things come to pass, Mr. Gokhale has first to reconcile all the Bengali leaders, and the disputants in Bombay and the Punjab, who are warring with one another. The douche of cold water which met him on his return must have been a sharp shock, and he is entitled to commiseration, for he is a well-meaning and straightforward man.

I should like to have written something about the forthcoming Mahomedan deputation to the Viceroy about Pan-Islamism (which has left India untouched), about the fallacies that lie behind the plea of representative self-government for India, and about a dozen other topics; but these must be deferred. Meanwhile, I will only note the great danger that England, and the Ministry in particular, may mistake Bengal for all India. I was talking the other day to one of the most famous of Rajput princes. He said: "Why don't you let these Bengalis talk, and take no notice of them? The people in Parliament seem to think they speak in the name of all India. We Rajputs are indignant at the attention they receive in England. What a people are these Bengalis! They talk

about Bengal their Mother, but they have forgotten who their Father was! Their Father was the English, for before the English came the Bengalis were held in universal scorn, and were any man's prey. The Government ought to leave Calcutta, and make Delhi or Agra their winter capital. Are we Rajputs to count for nothing because we stand aside and are silent? What is this foolish talk about representative government? You and I know that if there was any kind of representation, the Bengalis would get hold of it and they would rule everything. It is their way in such things, of which we know little. Sahib," and the keen eyes flashed and and the voice rose almost to a roar, "do you think we Rajputs will ever submit to be ruled by Bengalis? Never! Never! Never!" Of course there is a good deal in this point of view that cannot be assented to, and the Bengalis, with all their faults, have many excellent qualities; but that sturdy warrior spoke for every living Rajput. Ponder over these things, O home-staying Englishman, when you talk of "reforming" India, for the stout right arms of the Rajputs and the Sikhs will be our only real stand-by if the day of trouble ever comes.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE ORIGIN OF LIFE

To the Editor of THE NATIONAL REVIEW

SIR,—Through your courtesy I am enabled to reply to the review of my book, by Mr. Norman R. Campbell, which has appeared in your Magazine. As it is not my intention to take up much of your valuable space in the discussion of this subject, with one to whom on a previous occasion I have had the opportunity of expressing my views, not alone as to the merits of what he says, but the way he says it, perhaps one or two remarks will suffice here as a test of the extent to which this gentleman may be relied upon in giving an accurate version of what he has read.

The following is indeed amazing. In referring to my friend Professor Schuster's criticism of my book in the *Manchester Guardian* of April 27, he says: "That Mr. Burke should regard it as high praise that a well-informed reviewer should not express the slightest agreement with his opinions is, to put it mildly, somewhat surprising." Anybody who wishes to test Mr. Campbell's accuracy for this statement has merely to refer to the review itself. He scrupulously avoids the passages which I quoted in my letter to the *Cambridge Review*, May 17, to which he refers in connection with this matter, and quotes one or two critical remarks about radiobes.

But Professor Schuster does me the very great honour to say, amongst other things, that "The present volume marks a substantial progress in the right direction." And again, that "This (Mr. Burke's theory) is a new and an original view, and one that must be taken seriously." And again, that "The author has chosen rather to appeal to the general public than to the unsympathetic and critical audience of men whose views may be prejudiced, and must, at any rate, to some extent be crystallised. In justification of the course he has pursued, Mr. Burke may quote good precedents; for it is the same course which Galileo adopted in the publication of his *Dialogues*, which laid the foundation-stones of modern science. Newton, it is true, wrote for experts, but if Mr. Burke follows the example of Galileo, rather than that of Newton, no one can blame him; history only can decide whether he has chosen wisely." That Mr. Campbell should therefore tell the readers of your *Review* that Professor Schuster does not express the slightest agreement with my opinions, and that I should think that difference of opinion high praise, is indeed, to put it mildly, somewhat surprising. He rejoices in Mr. Rudge's experiments and his precipitates; but if he had read my book he would have seen that these pitfalls had been anticipated, in pp. 173–4, and also in my various letters to the *Electrician*.

But, as I have said elsewhere, Mr. Campbell must not be accused of narrowness, or prejudice, or spite; his whole attitude towards me suggests that his

motives are palpably pure and noble, and do not admit of so unpardonable an explanation, obvious though it may appear at first sight.

It seems to me waste of time and space, however, to enter into a discussion of this subject with this rather aggressive and juvenile don, with whom others too ere now have come into collision in a most irritating way.

Of Professor J. Arthur Thomson's remark that living organisms cannot be soluble in water, I think the answer in my letter to the *Electrician*, July 13, was sufficient. This insolubility at ordinary temperatures, like many other qualities, may be the result of natural selection. I am therefore at a loss to find why primitive forms of life should not have been soluble at our present ordinary temperatures; or indeed why those forms of life which have been eliminated through their inefficiency to hand down their type through countless generations, should necessarily have been of the same composition as the living protoplasm of to-day, which has survived in the evolutionary series. I have emphasised this in chapter ii. of my book; but Mr. Campbell appears to have "skipped" all that, at any rate he seems to be unaware of the fact that I have entered into the question, and his argument is the old and familiar one, that life consists of metabolism in living protoplasm and belongs to the evolutionary series. This is true of such life as has survived, but what of that which has been eliminated, which we are trying to produce in the laboratory? for it is indeed our only hope.

Mr. Campbell has entirely missed the point in the argument. But whether biologists will yet accept my view it is not for me to say. If it is admitted to be a new view; it is no argument against it to say that it is not the accepted view at the present time.

As I have said before, abuse is his favourite method of argument; and his abuse of journalism is not the least ungainly of his ungainly acts. It is not for me to censure the press of this or any other country. That I feel should be left to such dignitaries as the Kaiser and Mr. Norman Campbell.

But I venture, nevertheless, to think that the press can render valuable service by directing the attention of the public to scientific matters of general interest. Mr. Campbell has perhaps heard of Signor Marconi, of Mr. Edison and of Mr. Tesla, and greater still Lord Kelvin, Sir Oliver Lodge and Sir William Ramsay, not to mention many others.

Those who wish to have a detailed and authoritative statement of the published facts should in all cases refer to the original sources. There is always a danger of some misrepresentation or exaggeration by repetition, but, if more interest is not taken in scientific matters in this country and more popular support is not forthcoming as in America, it is, I fear, because of the attitude, and the cant, of those who shut themselves up and lead the lives of recluses, taking as their exemplars the ancient Buddhists of the East. I sincerely wish Mr. Campbell every success in his cloistered retreat, and although not a recluse myself in his sense of the word, I fondly hope that some day when visiting that part of the world I may find Mr. Norman R. Campbell seated in the dignified posture of a Lama, in some monastery in Tibet, where he ought to be, free from the turmoil of this nasty world, and the sight of those journals which he so much detests.

I am, Sir, faithfully yours,

J. BUTLER BURKE.

CAMBRIDGE, *October* 4, 1906.

THE
NATIONAL REVIEW

No. 286.—December 1906

EPISODES OF THE MONTH

A Retrospect.

THE *Entente Cordiale* between France and Great Britain has received striking tributes from unexpected quarters during the past month, which afford a conclusive vindication of the wisdom of the two countries in composing their former differences, and in "putting their horses together." As our readers are aware, we have consistently refused to treat either this or any other problem of foreign policy from a Party standpoint. We fully recognise that although this welcome new departure in external affairs occurred under the Unionist *régime*, the *rapprochement* with France directly owed its inspiration to the initiative of the Crown and the irresistible pressure of public opinion. British statesmen, according to their wont, lagged behind the times until the last moment. Our painful but illuminating experiences during the South African War, which had opened the eyes of every average Englishman to the hollow mockery of German friendship—in the pursuit of which phantom we had endured endless humiliations, and had made unnumbered graceful concessions, besides exciting the suspicion of every continental Power—left the responsible managers of our foreign policy completely cold. Like the Bourbons they had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. The nation will not speedily forget its own amazement on learning that the conclusion of the Boer War was to be celebrated in the first instance by a combined Anglo-German adventure in Venezuela, and secondly by a common Anglo-German policy in Asia Minor, which, with our connivance, was to become an appanage of Wilhelm II. through the instrumentality of the Baghdad Railway, which, not being a

sufficiently attractive investment for German capital, was to be built with British money and backed by the British Government. That Anglo-German co-operation in South America would precipitate an immediate conflict with American opinion, and must ultimately involve us in difficulties with the Washington Government, counted for nothing in the minds of statesmen who were completely hypnotised by the picturesque personality of Wilhelm II., and only sought to do his bidding. Happily, Great Britain had not yet become a nation of German lackeys, and the subservience of our statesmen did not commend itself to the people, and a startled Government found themselves compelled to relinquish their astounding project by a unique outburst of public indignation. The Baghdad Railway was in a similar category. It was equally monstrous and indefensible. It is not, however, fair to charge the financiers concerned, as has been the fashion, of having "brought in" the British Government. The boot was on the other leg. Our Foreign Minister was largely responsible for the participation of British financiers, who were given to understand that they would be discharging a patriotic duty in assisting the Baghdad Railway, an assurance which did not prevent their being cavalierly thrown over directly the storm burst. The single idea in Downing Street in those days was to "oblige Benson" in the person of the German Emperor. It mattered not that just as the "Venezuelan mess" would have complicated our relations with the United States, so the Baghdad Railway must inevitably have compromised our relations with Russia, and would ultimately endanger the security of India by supplying Germany with the means of transporting Turkish army corps to co-operate in any hostile military movement in Central Asia.

End of an Obsession.

You cannot argue with an obsession, and at the time our Cabinet was obsessed. Germany threatened that unless this country consented to carry the German ticket, she would organise the entire Continent into an Anti-British coalition; and such was the lamentable ignorance then prevailing in responsible circles in London as to the existing relations between other Powers, that our statesmen were continually hocussed by this palpable bluff. They could not and would not realise that it was our standing servility towards Germany which prejudiced our relations with every other Power without securing any compensation in the shape of German goodwill. The Man in the Street, in all his ignorance, was a far shrewder judge of the international situation than the Man in the Cabinet with all his information, and the former literally

saved the situation by forcibly extricating the latter from these mischievous and ignominious adventures in South America and Asia Minor. "No Anglo-German entanglement" became the popular watchword, and his Majesty's Ministers at last realised that public opinion would no longer tolerate the traditional pro-German policy. The King's visit to Paris in the spring of 1903, which marked an epoch in European affairs, afforded M. Balfour's Government a golden opportunity of closing an old chapter and opening a new one. President Loubet, accompanied by M. Delcassé (the greatest Foreign Minister the French Republic has yet seen), returned the visit in London that same summer, when M. Etienne, the leader of the French Colonial party, was also among our guests, and the *pourparlers* were opened which fructified into the Anglo-French Agreement of April 1904, practically terminating Anglo-French Colonial rivalry, and laying the foundations of the *Entente Cordiale*, which, beginning with a mere ebullition of sentiment, has developed into a moral and practical compact. As we have always acknowledged, Lord Lansdowne and M. Delcassé deserve infinite credit for the skill and determination with which they applied themselves to clearing away a whole thicket of difficulties which were all the more thorny because they had become the vested interests of various active coteries, as also for their admirable appreciation of the larger international aspects created by the Anglo-French Agreement. We need not recall the effect produced by this *fait accompli* in Berlin and Potsdam. Nor need we review the subsequent sensational campaign conducted by the Wilhelmstrasse against the French Foreign Minister, who had committed the unpardonable offence of shaking hands with England, thus pulling the lynch-pin out of the Bismarckian diplomatic superstructure. It is equally unnecessary to dwell on the famous "pilgrimage of passion" of the German Emperor to Tangier to arouse the Mahomedan world against France, and the unofficial ultimatums addressed by Berlin to Paris in the summer of last year when France's military ally, Russia, was regarded as a negligible factor. Throughout this dangerous crisis our Government's conduct was beyond all praise. Lord Lansdowne fully appreciated the peril threatening the European Balance of Power through the temporary collapse of the Tsardom, and the corresponding duty imposed on Great Britain. While carefully abstaining from "fussing" the French with gratuitous assurances and superfluous advice, he made it perfectly plain in Potsdam that a wanton aggression on one member of the *Entente Cordiale* would be regarded as an attack upon both. The Germans instantly drew in their horns, and the French pulled themselves together, and rapidly recovered from

the demoralisation into which they had been momentarily thrown by M. Rouvier's unheroic abandonment of M. Delcassé under German dictation.

Continuity of Purpose.

THE change of Government in this country last winter, when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman succeeded Mr. Balfour, tempted Wilhelm II. to test anew the solidity of the *Entente Cordiale*. He made his experiment at the Algeciras Conference, and found, thanks to the unflinching firmness of Sir Edward Grey and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman—who it is only fair to say is a convinced partisan of the Anglo-French *entente*, and is far from being disposed, as might be gathered from the mischievous and misleading articles in the *Westminster Gazette*, to replace it by an Anglo-German *entente*—that it remained no less stable under Liberal auspices than it had been under Unionist auspices. Apart from the diplomatic defeat of Turkey over the Egyptian boundary, this has been the single bright spot in the whole range of British policy during the funereal year 1906. It was also at Algeciras that Wilhelm II. made the disagreeable discovery that German intrigues against other Powers, so far from prejudicing them, had merely resulted in her own "isolation," a word of ominous import to the apostolic successors of Bismarck. The support accorded by the Dual Monarchy to the predominant member of the Triple Alliance at Algeciras was purposely exaggerated by the Wilhelmstrasse, and we may discount the yet more fantastic legend disseminated throughout the Continent by German diplomatists and inspired journalists that President Roosevelt had practically played the part of "a German second" during the Morocco controversy. Ever since this Conference, which publicly revealed Germany as an "isolated" Power, the Berlin Government has made the most desperate and pathetic efforts to conceal its diplomatic bankruptcy; and such abject appeals have been addressed to Washington, Vienna, Rome and elsewhere for public testimonials as eventually to excite the suspicion of the patient docile German people, who have been wont to place unquestioning confidence in the "powers that be," at any rate as regards the management of foreign affairs. It is evident from the somewhat derogatory interview recently accorded by Wilhelm II. to a local novelist at Munich that he is haunted by a painful anxiety to justify himself, while the same solicitude is even more patent in the laboured oration recently delivered by the German Imperial Chancellor, Prince Bülow, in the Reichstag, which, as already suggested, constitutes a remarkable tribute to the efficacy of the *Entente Cordiale*. It would be scarcely an exaggeration to

describe the present managers of German foreign policy as being almost as much at a discount in Germany and Europe as were British Statesmen during the winter of our humiliation, 1902-1903. To-day England and France occupy the proud position then held by Germany. The people on both sides of the Channel must look to it that this advantage is not forfeited or frittered away by the shortsightedness of statesmen in London or Paris.

A Sucking Dove.

It seems only the other day that Prince Bülow was publicly wiping his boots on the British uniform, proclaiming *urbi et orbi* that the days of the British Empire were numbered, and that the German Michael would be in at the death in order to secure his share of the spoils. His attitude towards this country during the days of our grovelling to Germany was one of studied and calculated insolence; nor was any attempt ever made either by the German Chancellor or his Imperial master to conceal the fact that the German Navy, which has been deliberately floated on an ocean of Anglophobia, was being created for the express purpose of doing for us what the German Army did for France in 1870. Wilhelm II.'s assertion that "that trident must be in our fist," and that "the destiny of Germany lies upon the water," were as plain intimations to his subjects as to the objective of German Sea-power as was the artless advice tendered by Herr Basserman, the leader of the chief Ministerial party in the Reichstag (the National Liberals), at a Party Congress at Erfurt in January 1903: "In our attitude towards England we must keep cool, and until we have a strong fleet it would be a mistake to allow ourselves to be driven into a hostile policy towards England." These were the days of British isolation, when every pothouse pan-German could safely spit on us, while every time-serving statesman could "bring down the gallery" by any offensive anti-British allusion. We cannot at once become accustomed to the new Anglophil Bülow who addressed a crowded Reichstag on November 14, when he "roared like any sucking dove," and emptied butter from a lordly dish upon all the objects of his former aversion. French patriotism, British prestige, the *Entente Cordiale*, the Dual Alliance, King Edward, even the British Navy all came in for encomiums, while the German Navy was referred to in almost slighting terms. It will be difficult to extort further contributions from the Teutonic taxpayer if the German Fleet is to be disparaged as "a poor thing but mine own." As usual, Prince Bülow, who would have made his fortune in light comedy, completely overdid his part. To his ludicrous inquiry

"What sensible person had ever described the construction of the German Navy as directed against England?" Herr Vollmar, the Bavarian Socialist leader, cruelly replied: "If all who have so described the German Navy are not sensible persons, then there must be few sensible persons in many of the parties in this House." Herr Vollmar proceeded to ask, "Is it not the case that in National Liberal journals and at National Liberal meetings, there was conducted against England an agitation in which the argument was employed that serious measures must not be taken until the fleet was ready? Do you suppose that the English are deaf?" Strange as it may appear, after all that has occurred some Englishmen *are* deaf because they do not wish to hear.

The Moral.

THE *Westminster Gazette*, which is vying with the *Daily Graphic* for the leadership of the pro-German *claque* in London, is in a state of ecstatic enthusiasm over every action or utterance of the German Emperor or any German statesman. It is even prepared to regard the Hohenlohe revelations as so much evidence of the honesty of the Germans in describing their devious diplomacy to the civilised world. Our contemporary has actually gone the length of suggesting that if British Statesmen were equally frank and the secrets of our Foreign Office were disclosed, the moral codes of Downing Street and the Wilhelmstrasse would be found to be tolerably similar! The *Westminster Gazette* is, needless to say, beside itself with joy over Prince Bülow's recent demonstration of affection for this country, and doubtless desires some member of the Potsdam Party (Mr. Haldane, Lord Loreburn and Mr. Bryce) to make a suitable response. To us the Bülow oration is only valuable as an indication of the increased prestige of France and Great Britain, since these two Powers convinced Germany that they would stand by one another. The moment any fissure appeared in the *entente* the attitude of Berlin would undergo a complete transformation, and the European barometer would fall. It is simply marvellous that an intelligent man like the editor of the *Westminster Gazette* should be wholly unable to grasp this elementary fact, and should condescend to devote his considerable talents to misleading English Liberals as to German policy and Germans as to Liberal policy, besides raising doubts elsewhere as to the fidelity of *perfide Albion*. Prince Bülow recognises that this country is no longer a *quantité negligéable*, thanks to our international friendships and alliances which should be preserved at all costs by those who attach any value to German goodwill, which is never accorded to the weak or the vacillating, but only to the powerful and the resolute. If we stick to our

present policy and abstain from gushing over Germany or from advocating *rapprochements* or "overtures" there will be a steady improvement in Anglo-German relations. The same observation applies to France, though it is not our business to instruct French statesmen in their duties. If recent experiences have not taught them how to treat Germany, then they will inevitably find themselves sucked within the German orbit.

Germany's Greatest Asset.

THE Berlin Government as we have seen claims to possess one priceless asset, viz., an American alliance, which is being exploited on the Continent in a manner which would astonish the Americans. The notorious Dr. Schiemann, of the *Kreuz-Zeitung*, and other Byzantine journalists impudently pretend that the German Emperor carries President Roosevelt in his pocket as securely as he carries the Sultan and the Pope. There is probably another side to the story, if the White House ever condescended to tell it. That German diplomacy is at a low ebb in Washington is evident from the frequent references in the German Press to the "morning rides" which Baron Speck von Sternberg (German Ambassador in Washington) enjoys in company with Mr. Roosevelt, as also by the allusions to the fact that the President calls his German friend by a soubriquet—incidents which would not loom so large in the semi-official mind if there was anything more material to discuss. The impression that in spite of incessant intriguing the Germans have failed to capture the American Government has been deepened by the speech of Baron Speck von Sternberg at a recent banquet of the New York Chamber of Commerce, in which he declared that "if God and Nature had ever marked out three nations to live in perpetual peace, those three were the United States, Great Britain, and Germany." Considering that the speaker has made it his chief business ever since he arrived in Washington to put a spoke in Anglo-American relations, and to develop German-American relations at our expense, this sounds like the despairing cry of a drowning man clutching at the last straw. It provoked the neat remark from the British Ambassador, Sir Mortimer Durand, that "really good friends do not need to talk much about it." The German Ambassador's speech opens up an interesting vista of future utterances in other foreign capitals. The German Ambassador in Paris may be expected to asseverate that "if God and Nature had ever marked out three nations to live in perpetual peace, those three were France, Great Britain, and Germany." In St. Petersburg "Russia, Great Britain, and Germany" will be linked together; in Tokyo, "Japan, Great Britain, and Germany," and so forth

all round the world. We need have no objection to this new development of German diplomacy so long as we are not taken in by it. Meanwhile, Germany would continue adding battleship to battleship, while the British Admiralty would make every German profession of friendship an excuse for dropping a *Dreadnought*. Teutonic diplomatists have been advised by Prince Bülow in the Reichstag to "take for their model Alcibiades, who was intellectual with the Athenians, ate black broth with the Spartans, and wore flowing garments among the Persians." In other words, they must cultivate "the faculty of adaptation," and must avoid "prejudices." Among other priceless precepts in the mouth of the Imperial Chancellor was the advice to "recognise without *arrière-pensée* the position which England has long ago won throughout the world." Said this unsophisticated statesman: "Our attitude in the Egyptian question proves that this is no mere *façon de parler*. Prince Bismarck used to say that 'in Servia we are Austrian; in Bulgaria, Russian; in Egypt, English.'" The speaker showed his own adaptability by throwing out a graceful suggestion to France that she should enter into a Colonial *entente* with Germany—in other words, resume the Jules Ferry policy. Prince Bülow is, fortunately, in a position to give an immediate earnest of his good faith by revising his instructions to the German representative in Morocco, who has devoted himself to thwarting the policy of France, and to making it impossible for her to introduce reforms in Morocco except at the cost of war. Germany's attitude towards Franco-Spanish action in that country will be watched with interest by every other Power.

The Archbishop's Opportunity.

Our readers may remember that we have steadily maintained, ever since the first appearance of the Birreligious Education Bill, that whatever might be the mechanical majorities by which it would be forced through the House of Commons, the House of Lords must ultimately become master of the situation and arbiter of its fate, because it aroused more popular opposition than popular support. Even timid Unionists—and we regret to say that our Party is crowded with "coneys," who were once described as "a feeble folk"—no longer dispute this contention, and it is now generally admitted that the strategic advantage held by the Peers can only be frittered away by deplorable diplomacy on the part of the Mandarins of our Front Bench, acting in concert with the many eminent Mugwumps sitting on adjoining Benches in the Upper House. We pin our faith to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and we devoutly hope that his Grace may be able to

persuade those whom his illustrious predecessor described on a memorable occasion as "not too brave," to toe the line. The Archbishop has been simply splendid all through the struggle of the last few weeks. He is not a professional politician or a mere Party man, and he has consequently been able to treat the whole subject in a large-minded, statesmanlike manner—using the word "statesmanlike" in the proper sense of that much-abused term—with the single object of securing a permanent, rational, national settlement. He has given the House of Lords a lead such as it rarely gets nowadays in any political controversy, and his attitude has made a deep impression on the community at large. It is not often that an Archbishop of Canterbury has the opportunity of championing a cause dear to Roman Catholics, Jews, and numberless Nonconformists who are religious rather than political, which is also the cause of all Englishmen who, though indifferent upon questions of dogma, are lovers of fair play. Indeed, for the moment Dr. Davidson may be regarded as representing the views of practically the entire community, apart from the agnostic agitating Dissenters who derive their *raison d'être* from their political and *social* hatred of the Church of England; for we must never forget, though it is not pleasant to point it out, that inverted snobbishness is at the bottom of much Nonconformist discontent.

The Ministerial Crisis.

MINISTERS have no one but themselves to thank for the morass in which they are floundering, and from which they can only "muddle out" with heavy losses. By entrusting the settlement of the Education question to a sceptical dissenter like Mr. Birrell, who has to conceal his agnosticism by dramatic displays of sectarian prejudice, and who as Chairman of the Liberal Publication Department was steeped in a poisonous partisan atmosphere, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman intended to commit his Cabinet to a one-sided solution of the question. There is, however, some reason to believe that even Mr. Birrell, who is not a fool, had his eyes opened from the first moment he entered the Education Department, and began to learn something about a question upon which hitherto he had merely repeated the accepted Nonconformist cant and the current platform rant. He found himself in touch with educational experts, and became responsible for the working of a highly complicated machine, which could not be so lightly pulled to pieces as Mr. Birrell the ignorant agitator had imagined. In other words, he began his own education in the Education question, and he gradually realised the desirability of limiting his legislative effort to the execution

of the real mandate of the nation, which, as all men know, was simply an instruction to Ministers to establish popular control over elementary schools, and to abolish tests for teachers. He certainly conveyed the impression to the numerous Churchmen with whom he took counsel last winter, that he desired a fair settlement, and we should hesitate to accuse him of wilfully misleading them. It has been freely asserted, and never so far contradicted, that the Bill originally drafted by Mr. Birrell and circulated among his colleagues, was a totally different measure to that subsequently presented to Parliament, the change being due to the intervention of the Extremists, to wit, Mr. Lloyd George and Dr. Clifford, who were allowed to transform what might have been a possible basis of settlement into the preposterous measure with which the world is only too familiar. When introduced in the House of Commons the Bill was no longer an attempt to remedy the injustice of which Nonconformists had complained under the Education Bill of 1902, especially in rural England, or to meet the grievances of Nonconformist teachers, who believed themselves to be prejudiced in their profession. It was an anti-denominational measure transferring the grievances which Passive Resisters had found so intolerable on to the shoulders of other religions. It established and endowed the particular form of religious teaching which commended itself to Dr. Clifford and Co., though, in order to grease the Parliamentary machine, "extended facilities" were granted to urban denominational schools under conditions giving a preference to Catholics and Jews, leaving them however at the mercy of the local authority. For the sake of appearances "ordinary facilities" were accorded to rural denominational schools, *i.e.*, Church of England schools. The persecuting sectarian spirit underlying the Birreligious Bill was sufficiently indicated by the prohibition imposed upon teachers in these schools from giving religious instruction even though desired to do so by all the parents of their pupils.

Mr. Birrell's Confession.

SUCH was the measure introduced by the unhappy Minister of Education on April 9, when he boasted of his birth in a Nonconformist library, and laid down the new Liberal doctrine that all minorities must suffer. As our readers are aware, Dr. Clifford's Bill was driven through the House of Commons by means of the closure in the teeth of the hostility of the Unionist Party and the Nationalists, and amid the ill-concealed indifference of the Labour members. However great the Parliamentary majority by which it was endorsed, it clearly did not secure the support

of the representatives of the majority of the electors, as may be gathered from Sir Richard Biddulph Martin's statistical paper quoted in a footnote on a subsequent page. When the Nationalist vote at the last elections is added to the Unionist vote, and the Labour vote is deducted from the Liberal total, it becomes evident that Ministers are acting on the mandate of a minority, and no one in their senses ever imagined that the Education Bill could or should be accepted by the House of Lords in the form in which it left the House of Commons. Indeed it is an open secret that not a few Ministers and many Liberal members were anxiously looking to the Upper House to effect amendments which from fear of Mr. Perks and his 200 Free Churchmen in the House of Commons they dared not support in the "popular chamber." Owing to the unearthly hour at which the London Press now goes to press, it is no longer possible for leader-writers to comment as searchingly on potitical speeches as formerly, to which must be attributed the curious omission of Unionist newspapers to emphasise the remarkable justification of the action of the House of Lords in amending the Education Bill contained in a speech delivered at Bristol by no less a person than Mr. Birrell himself. The *Outlook* calls attention to this extraordinary confession, which we quote textually :

> Very well, having won our great victory, and got our great majority, by common consent an Education Bill was demanded as the very first fruits of our victory and of our new Government. Personally I was very sorry that it was so. I was perfectly new to the Treasury Bench. I had been out of Parliament for six years, I had all the details of a great office, I had much to learn I had much experience to gain. I would willingly have waited ; but it was commonly felt it was not possible we could wait, and therefore we had to introduce our great Bill.

In other words, on Mr. Birrell's own showing, this "great Bill" was an ill-considered, hastily drafted measure, pitchforked at the House of Commons owing to Party exigencies by a Minister who did not yet know his business. It was, as we know, only carried by means of the gag and guillotine with many sections undiscussed. Were the House of Lords prepared to swallow such a measure, introduced amid such circumstances by such a Minister, we should cordially agree with those who regard it as a mischievous institution which ought to be abolished.

The Primate's Speech.

We have not the necessary space to epitomise the protracted proceedings during which the House of Lords has endeavoured to evolve some order out of the chaos of Mr. Birrell's muddle-headed measure, and bring it into accordance with the manifest intentions of the people as declared at the polls. Nor would it be profitable to

discuss the amendments in detail, because, writing before the Report stage, it is not possible to predict the precise form in which the Bill will be ultimately returned to the House of Commons. The spirit in which the Peers approached their task may be inferred from the opening speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which was at once a masterly exposition of the general principles of the Bill, and a critical examination of its details and machinery. He pointed out that no worse service could be rendered the Government than for the Lords to accept this measure as it stood. Not only had many of its clauses been undiscussed, but many of them remained obscure and were palpably unworkable, and any attempt to put them into execution would involve the authorities in endless administrative difficulties. The Archbishop also demanded, in the interests of fair play, that the satisfactory and conciliatory explanations which from time to time they had received from Ministers should be embodied in the text of the Bill, as it was unfair to ask them to rely upon pious Parliamentary opinions which had not the force of law. At the same time, Dr. Davidson declared most emphatically in favour of working amendments and against wrecking amendments. They accepted the cardinal principle of the Bill, and they had no desire to knock a hole in its bottom. But on the face of it, it was not a secular measure, and the Lords must not allow it to become a secular measure. Then, again, wherever possible, religious teaching in elementary schools must be given by trained and qualified teachers. They had no desire to reimpose denominational tests, and were anxious to protect conscientious men who shrank from giving religious lessons ; but it must be made impossible for local authorities to impose the duty of giving religious teaching upon persons whose qualifications for such work they had no power of examining, nor could they tolerate the statutory disability imposed on teachers in denominational schools which was simple tyranny. While welcoming the fact that the Bill provided undenominational teaching everywhere for Nonconformist children, the Primate asked for a corresponding right for the other side. In an impressive passage he declared, "I have no right, perhaps, to speak for others; but for myself I hold my place in this House, as, I consider, not primarily for the protection of Church interests, but primarily for setting forward as far as in me lies the social, moral, and religious welfare of the English people."

THAT is the spirit in which the Lords have dealt with the Education Bill. That they have loyally accepted the mandate of the nation—however unpalatable it may be to many Churchmen who have laboriously and at great personal sacrifices built up our voluntary school system—to bring all rate-aided schools under popular control, is shown by the passing of Clause I to which a rider was added concerning religious education proving that the hereditary House is in closer touch with public opinion than the elected Chamber. Clause I. now runs as follows:—"On and after January 1, 1908, a school shall not be recognised as a public elementary school unless it is a school provided by the local education authority, and unless some portion of the school hours of every day is set apart for the purposes of religious instruction." The specific inclusion of religious teaching as an integral part of the school curriculum is undoubtedly desired by an overwhelming majority of English parents, with whom the Radical policy of treating religion as an "extra" like "dancing and deportment," is thoroughly unpopular. The House of Lords has also endeavoured to meet the wishes of the parents so far as practicable as to the particular form of religious teaching they prefer for their children, while their anxiety to do justice to all conscientious convictions has been equally noticeable. They likewise refuse to allow the local authority arbitrarily to refuse to take over voluntary schools. Clause IV., which has throughout been the crux of the controversy, and which it will be remembered provided that "extended facilities" for denominational instruction *may* be granted by a local authority when desired by the parents of four-fifths of the children — the proportion being selected as likely to let in a substantial number of Catholic and Jewish schools, while excluding as many Church schools as possible — has been made mandatory by the Lords: every one expected it would be. The four-fifths proviso has been replaced by "a majority." The effect of this would be to preserve the denominational character of existing denominational schools. This amendment has provoked a furious outburst from the Radical Press, and Mr. Birrell is transported with well-simulated indignation; but if bluff and bluster could destroy the House of Lords it would have disappeared long ago. The longer heads on the other side, as is clear from a significant article in the *Daily Chronicle*, recognise that the Peers have opened the way for a fair compromise. Then, again, the indefensible distinction drawn between urban and rural schools, to whom different

Order from Chaos.

degrees of "facilities" were accorded—a pure piece of political vindictiveness aimed at the Church—have been eliminated. This section of the Bill as it left the Commons showed that while the Radicals were perfectly prepared to tolerate "tests for teachers" in Catholic and Jewish schools, they went to the opposite extreme in Church of England schools; for, as we have seen, they endeavoured to prohibit Church teachers from continuing to teach the Church Catechism. By an amendment proposed by Lord Cawdor all teachers will be allowed to volunteer for denominational teaching. Finally, the Welsh Home Rule section, inspired by Mr. Lloyd-George, has also disappeared in the Lords. On the other hand, the Peers refused to follow Lord Balfour of Burleigh, in an effort to secure "facilities" for denominational instruction in all elementary schools whenever demanded by twenty or more parents, which might not unfairly be regarded as a wrecking amendment. Although the Bill as amended by the Lords offers a tolerable solution of the problem, an ever increasing number of people of all parties are convinced that the religious question will never be permanently settled until Mr. Chamberlain's solution—which received the blessing of the Bishop of Birmingham, and is regarded with approval by many other thoughtful Churchmen—is adopted, and secular and religious education are separated, the former being undertaken by the State and the latter by the denominations. This system, to which there may be certain administrative objections, would involve the universal right of entry into all elementary schools; when it is adopted, but not until then, we might hope to see the Archbishop of Canterbury lying down with the Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, and Dr. Clifford leading them.

Mr. Birrell's Bluff.

Mr. Birrell replied to the House of Lords in a blustering speech at Bristol (November 13), extending over several columns, of which by far the most interesting passage is his artless confession of his own unreadiness and unfitness to introduce any legislation this Session, quoted on a previous page, which as we have said abundantly justifies the Peers in licking the Bill into shape. The net result of all Mr. Birrell's sound and fury, and of the equally menacing utterances of his colleagues, is that Ministers prefer abusing the House of Lords to appealing to the country, because they know in their hearts that they have exceeded their mandate, and that on this question public opinion is against them. In a popular cause they would not hesitate for a moment, as a second victory of anything like the same proportions as the last would

permanently instal them in office with complete authority to deal with the Peers as well as with all other public questions. If the Lords, for instance, were so rash as to throw out the Trade Disputes Bill there would be a dissolution to-morrow, which accounts for the anger of the Radical party at the refusal of the Upper House to walk into this very transparent trap. The Ministerial Press has been reduced to a state of hysterical incoherence by the amendment of the Education Bill, which is equally entertaining and instructive. "Those behind cry forward, and those in front cry back." That unsophisticated journalist, Mr. Massingham, who habitually wears his heart upon his sleeve, thus depicts the Liberal dilemma in the *Daily News:*

> Let no one imagine that the Bill will be abandoned. Whatever is done to it in the Lords it will be taken up again this Session and next Session. The only question is whether the Lords will proceed with their quarrel with the Commons in such a form that the constitutional question will, of necessity, be forced to the front. Generally men feel that it will not do to pursue the policy of 1894, and allow the quarrel to lapse, resuming it at leisure when a General Election comes along—an event which, considering the numbers of the present majority, lies well in the future. No one, of course, on the Liberal side thinks of granting the Lords the novel constitutional privilege of forcing a General Election within twelve months of a great and decisive battle. *But there is equal danger in postponing the issue and suggesting that the Liberal Party is afraid to join in a conflict on the great question which two of its leaders have in succession handed down to it.* (Our italics.)

The *Westminster Gazette,* which is to the Campbell-Bannerman Government what the *Daily Telegraph* was to the Balfour Government, after elaborately explaining with a specious display of constitutional lore why the Government cannot oblige the House of Lords by dissolving, ingenuously expounds the alternative policy of "filling up the cup" so that all who run may read.

> If the House of Lords compels us to fight this issue, we shall fight not on this Bill or that Bill, but on the conduct of the House of Lords as seen in the total experiences of a Liberal Government. Thus in any case we look forward to at least three Sessions of Parliament, Sessions full of hard work, which, in spite of the House of Lords, will accomplish much that is useful in legislation and administration, and then perhaps a final Session, in which everything that the House of Lords has rejected shall be sent back to it, so that in case of further rejection the whole case shall be put firmly and clearly to the country. Our measures will not, as in 1895, be measures which have failed to get through the House of Commons; they will be measures which the House of Commons will have accepted by the largest majorities. The House of Lords may yet relieve us from this conflict, but, if it does not, this, we believe, will be the form that it will take.

This sounds more like a parley than a challenge.

THE *Daily Chronicle*, which is occasionally capable of seeing things as they are, and fully appreciates the disastrous position into which the Government have manœuvred themselves, unblushingly advocates a compromise. According to our contemporary, if the Lords "accept the main principles of the Bill, then there are some amendments which the Government on its side might feel able to admit." These not inconsiderable concessions are thus specified by the *Daily Chronicle*, which is understood to have the largest circulation of any Liberal newspaper :

Conflicting Cooks.

(1) Clause 7 might be omitted ; that is the clause which enacts expressly that "the parent shall not be under any obligation to cause the child to attend" during the time set apart for religious education. The clause was carried by a very narrow majority in the House of Commons ; and its omission would leave things in this respect as they stand at present.

(2) With regard to religious instruction in "ordinary facilities" schools, local authorities might be allowed to let existing teachers give the denominational teaching, if they desire and are desired to do so. As we have often pointed out, this concession would not touch the question of tests ; for, by the Bill, existing teachers (whether "tested" or not) are to retain their posts.

(3) With regard to "extended facilities," the Government's limitation of these to urban areas might fairly be abolished. The essence of the matter, as again we have often argued, is not whether a district be "urban" or "rural" (terms, by the way, which in law sometimes bear no relation to their popular usage) ; the essential question is whether in any given district there is or is not public school accommodation for the children of parents who do not desire extended facilities. If equal accommodation exists in an urban area and in a rural, there is no logical defence for giving to the former facilities denied to the latter.

(4) Again, we incline to think that the requirement of a four-fifths majority in order to obtain extended facilities might be reduced—say, to three-fourths —without destroying any essential principle of the Bill. The intention of the clause is to allow extended facilities in schools which, on a ballot, are found to be palpably and in a preponderating degree of denominational inclination.

On top of all this confused thinking and conflicting advice comes the redoubtable Mr. Perks and his two hundred Nonconformist Members of Parliament, who are signing the following memorial to the Prime Minister :

We, the undersigned Nonconformist members of the House of Commons, in view of the fact that the amendments already made in the Education Bill by the House of Lords have transformed the Bill from being a measure which was intended to secure to the country a national system of education into a measure of even more sectarian character than the Act of 1902, urge his Majesty's Government to reject the amendments of the House of Lords *en bloc* when the Bill is returned for the consideration of the House of Commons.

Taking it all in all, it is a very pretty quarrel as it stands, and we have no desire to obtrude unwelcome advice upon the Liberal

Party. All we ask is that the Unionist Peers shall act in the spirit of the admirable speech of the Primate at Lambeth Palace on November 22, in replying to a deputation of Church mugwumps. After expressing his sympathy with those who desired "a settlement . . . as a part of a great national system," the Archbishop declared that "this settlement must not be purchased by a sacrifice of principle." If the House of Lords will only stand firm, they will get all they want. This does not mean that they should insist on the letter of every amendment, some of which might be used for bargaining purposes. The Cabinet has not yet made up what it is pleased to call its "mind," so no one can predict how the issue will end. The only certainty is that there will not be a General Election on the Education Bill.

In the Commons.

THE courageous example of the House of Lords, the remarkable rout of the Progressive pirates at the Metropolitan municipal elections, and other indications of public nausea towards his Majesty's Government, have contributed to put some life into his Majesty's Opposition in the House of Commons, and to stimulate their fighting efficiency. We would not, however, mislead our readers by suggesting that the country is within a hundred years of desiring the restoration of "the old gang to the old places," for, as we have repeatedly pointed out, a drastic change in the higher *personnel* of the Unionist Party is a condition precedent to its recovery of the confidence of the country. It is no less advisable that our Front Benchers should abandon their purely negative and critical attitude towards political problems—though criticism is admittedly one of the main functions of an Opposition—and develop a practical, positive, constructive policy, without which we can never hope to regain the adherence of that portion of the electorate who were the mainstay of the Unionist cause for the last twenty years, and who only abandoned us at the last election owing to our own ineptitude. We had ceased to deserve their support. For some years, as a Party, we had lost sight of questions vital to the industrial democracy, while our general management of national affairs was not calculated to excite enthusiasm in any quarter. So far Mr. Austen Chamberlain is the solitary member of the late Government who has shown any appreciation of these elementary and self-evident truths, though it is satisfactory to know that more than one of his colleagues endorse his diagnosis of the situation, and may be expected to pronounce themselves in a similar sense at the opportune moment. In any case it is all to the good that the Parlia-

mentary achievements of the Opposition this autumn should mark an improvement on their performances during the spring and summer. In spite of their ludicrous numbers in the division lobby, where for some mysterious and hitherto unexplained reason they rarely muster more than half their full strength, Mr. Balfour and his followers have confronted the huge Ministerial host with much spirit and no little success in debate, and have succeeded in teaching the numerous Nonconformist hooligans who throng the opposite benches that Parliamentary discussion consists of something more than howling down one's opponents. The Nationalists never have and never will learn manners; but the Labour Party, although new to the House, have on the whole set a good example of tolerance and fair play. As a minority likely to find themselves in ever acuter conflict with the majority, they are sufficiently intelligent to recognise the wisdom of upholding the rights of minorities. Moreover, the Labour Party is mainly composed of practical men who know what they want, as may be gathered from the instructive article which Mr. Jowett, the Labour member for Bradford, contributes to this number. This gives them a distinct pull over Nonconformist Radicals, who habitually cultivate hysteria, and Irish Nationalists who systematically practise histrionics.

Free Trade and Poverty.

MORE than once during the last few weeks the Government, in spite of its tyrannical tactics and record majority, which we must always bear in mind is not a real majority, as it bears no proportion to the relative voting strength of the Radicals and Unionists at the General Election,* has been brought to its bearings by the pluck and persistence of the Opposition, while the hollowness of Ministerial plans and pretences has been effectively exposed to the public gaze. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and his colleagues constitute a disorganised hypocrisy, whose members have not yet learnt to give harmonious explanations of their proposals, while their incapacity as constructive legislators is only surpassed by the mean shifts by which they endeavour to conceal it, and their abject surrenders when seriously tackled.

* In his presidential address at the Royal Statistical Society (November 20) Sir Richard Biddulph Martin pointed out that "at the last General Election the total number of Liberal and Labour votes cast in Great Britain was 2,818,050, which secured 428 seats in the House of Commons, while the 2,200,898 Unionist votes won 139. Thus each Liberal or Labour member represented only 6584 voters, while every Unionist member represented 15,833. If each side had returned the number of representatives which its numerical strength justified, there would have been only 318 in the Liberal and Labour Parties combined against 248 Unionists."

While the House of Lords has been engaged in pricking the Birreligious Education bubble, the House of Commons has been expending its energies upon one measure only more ludicrous than another, and in private all the serious members of the Liberal Party—and there are many serious and sensible Liberals in the House of Commons, though so far they have been too modest to manifest themselves—acknowledge the blundering of their leaders and regard the future of their Party with profound misgiving. Mr. Masterman, the Radical member for West Ham, who is always interesting, points out in a thoughtful article entitled "Liberalism and Labour" in the November number of the *Nineteenth Century*, how grossly Ministers are wasting time. "In the present Parliament Social Reform has not got beyond its rhetorical stage. One-sixth, perhaps one-fifth of its life has passed without any definite Government measure being advanced dealing directly with the problems of poverty, which are the vital questions before England of the Twentieth Century." This admission of a Free Trader who is also an earnest Social Reformer, that poverty is the crying problem in Cobdenite England, is distinctly significant, because poverty is not *the* problem in either Protectionist America, Protectionist Germany, or Protectionist France. Our Radicals are, however, far too busy in dishing their opponents to spare any attention to Social Reforms, which, having served their purpose in collecting votes last January, may not improbably be relegated to the next General Election.

"Bannerman-dering."

THE project which excites most Radical enthusiasm is the Plural Voting Bill, introduced by an amiable political *farçeur* Mr. L. V. Harcourt, whose normal duties as First Commissioner of Works consist in cleaning up the Public Parks and repairing the Royal Palaces. In the intervals of these useful avocations he has been permitted to pose as a "constructive statesman" by introducing a Bill for the perpetuation of the Campbell-Bannerman Government by removing the particular "anomaly" in our electoral system which is believed to handicap the Radical Party at the polls, by prohibiting any elector under severe penalties from exercising more than one vote, no matter how great may be his stake in other constituencies. Ministers cynically decline to touch the still more glaring "anomalies" which hamper their opponents. While proclaiming the sacred principle of "one man one vote," they refuse to accept its corollary of "one vote one value." In other words, they desire to preserve the present scandal whereby less than 1000

electors in an Irish constituency return a member to Parliament, while more than ten times as many in an English constituency may remain unrepresented. The only discoverable pretext for this detestable discrimination is, that these favoured Irish constituencies return Nationalists, while British constituencies are capable of electing Unionists. This is playing politics with loaded dice, a game which has never paid in the long run in this country. As the *Outlook* points out, the Plural Voting Bill, by disfranchising several hundred thousand Englishmen, would accentuate the over-representation of Ireland and the under-representation of the predominant partner. At the same time we fully associate ourselves with all the strictures which have ever been passed by the *Spectator* on the fatal folly of the late Government in neglecting to assure the Union by giving Great Britain her proper quota of representatives in the united Parliament. No explanation of this *lâches* has ever been vouchsafed, though it is commonly credited to the disastrous influence of Mr. George Wyndham, who preferred dabbling in Devolution to strengthening the Union. Happily this failure of the late Government in no way affects the imperative duty of fhe House of Lords to insist as it has effectually done on previous occasions, that Reform and Re-distribution form one indivisible problem, and must be simultaneously dealt with. We repeat our previously expressed hope that the Plural Voting Bill, which has been felicitously christened the "Bannermandering Bill" by Mr. Bonar Law, will be summarily refused a second reading when it reaches the Upper House. It is being forced through the House of Commons by the usual methods. In rejecting this measure it should be made clear to the nation that the Lords favour a comprehensive measure of electoral reform. We should like to see the General Election decided in one day, as the present system of spreading the orgy over three weeks is intolerable. Such a change would automatically dispose of any grave abuses in Plural Voting, without going to the extreme length of prohibiting any man from giving more than one vote. There is also something to be said for the Second Ballot, unless we adopt the alternative system of Proportional Representation, which is only ruled out by so-called practical politicians because it involves a certain intellectual effort. The question of reforming the House of Lords itself is also worthy of attention. The views expressed by Lord Newton in his suggestive article are widely held in Unionist circles, in spite of the efforts of our Mandarins to stifle independent opinion and to discourage all constructive policy.

THE House of Commons has also devoted several days and, at least, one memorable night, to an ill-considered and mischievous measure introduced by a raw and callow landlord, Mr. Agar Robartes, who was unseated on petition, which—such is the mental poverty of the Treasury Bench—was actually adopted as a Ministerial measure, and has been driven through the House of Commons by the whole strength of Ministerial machinery. Under the plausible pretext of "compensation for improvements," this Land Tenure Bill would inflict the maximum of injury upon landlords with the minimum of advantage to the tenant. It would set up something similar to the disastrous dual system in England, at the very moment when we are devoting 150 millions of public money to getting rid of it in Ireland, and it would involve untold litigation and corresponding ill-will. It is less a social than a political measure for the express purpose of embittering the present relations, which are on the whole satisfactory, between English landlords and tenants, who, as Conservatives, Radicals are anxious to set at loggerheads. It is alleged that the present Cabinet contains at least half a dozen lawyers, which fully accounts for their ardour in pushing a Bill for the promotion of litigation. It is not only Conservatives who resent the Land Tenure Bill, as is shown by debates and divisions revealing a distinct cave in the Liberal ranks; and we may assume that for every Ministerialist who has the courage to speak or vote against it, at least ten are privately cursing it. However, it is thought to be a useful ingredient in the accepted policy of "filling up the cup," and the "House of Landlords" will be challenged to reject it. But the ignorance displayed by the Cockney advocates of this egregious measure, few of whom know a horse from a cow or a turnip from a carrot, will serve as a useful foil to the Peers who understand agriculture, and will have no difficulty in exposing the absurdities and unworkableness of this Bill. The Opposition in the House of Commons effected some useful modifications in the Land Tenure Bill, but some surprise has been caused by the blessing it received on Third Reading from the Unionist Front Bench. However the House of Lords may elect to treat this Bill, we would renew our plea for the adoption of a constructive Unionist policy. In framing it, our leaders should derive invaluable assistance from the Report of the Agricultural Committee of the Tariff Commission which we hope to discuss on a future occasion. As against the dual system, to which the Radicals are rashly commiting themselves, let us take a leaf out of the German book by creating a peasant proprietary by a free employment of national credit.

To Promote Litigation.

It would be a beneficial transaction to all parties concerned, and would materially add to the stability of the State. It would be the salvation, and it is the only possible salvation, of rural England.

Preference for the Foreigner.

AMONG other aids to "filling up the cup" are a grotesque Scotch Land Bill, which would practically enable any man calling himself a tenant to appropriate any property he happened to fancy belonging to any man labelled a landlord; and the Town Tenants (Ireland) Bill, which, like the English Land Tenure Bill, was introduced by a private member, and has been suddenly seized upon by the Government and pushed through the House by the gag and guillotine, in order to placate the Irish Nationalists. Like its British counterpart it has a political object, viz., to thrust a ramrod into the relations between urban landlords and urban tenants in Ireland, who, in the North at any rate, are usually Uniouists. It disturbs all existing contracts and, contrary to the principles of all our legislation, it is retrospective, and not only gives the tenant compensation for any "improvements" he may effect, but even for those he may have inherited, the word "improvement" being, of course, always interpreted against the landlord. Few persons will be imposed on by this succession of "monkey tricks," which, so far from embarrassing the House of Lords, materially strengthen its position as a revising Chamber. The public are getting daily object-lessons in the incapacity and unfitness of the House of Commons as a Legislature, and the idea of converting such a body into a one-Chambered Autocracy becomes more ludicrous with every week that passes. The only two measures from which Ministers stand to gain any credit are the Merchant Shipping Bill and the Workmen's Compensation Bill, both borrowed from the Unionist *répertoire*, though they have suffered somewhat in the process. Mr. Herbert Gladstone, who is regarded on both sides of the House as the worst Home Secretary since the spacious days of Mr. Ayrton, showed during the discussions in Grand Committee that he had no knowledge or opinions on the subject of Workmen's Compensation. Mr. Lloyd-George has done distinctly better with the Merchant Shipping Bill, but he has unfortunately introduced a fatal discrimination in favour of the foreigner (probably prompted from Potsdam). He induced the House of Commons to reverse the decision of the Grand Committee making the load-line regulation applicable to foreign vessels in British ports. Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Arnold Forster, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain vigorously, though unsuccessfully, protested

against the President of the Board of Trade's action. As the *Outlook* points out, "The very inwardness of Cobdenism was revealed by the majority which deliberately reimposed a serious handicap upon home shipping in home waters." It is the plain duty of the House of Lords to eliminate this "graceful concession" to Germany and to restore equality of opportunity as between Englishmen and foreigners. We see at every turn that Free Trade means Preference for the Foreigner and Prejudice to the Englishman.

The Trade Disputes Bill.

THE great trump card in the Radical game with the House of Lords—described by Mr. Lloyd-George as "a game of football," though it more nearly resembles poker, in that it consists of bluff—was to have been the Trade Disputes Bill. We were promised the spectacle of a foregone contest between "a hereditary Chamber representing no one but itself," and a united proletariat comprising organised and unorganised Labour. Such a struggle could only have ended one way. Radicals cannot conceal their chagrin at the miscarriage of their tactics, and the entire Ministerial Press, from the *Westminster Gazette* to the *Tribune*, is weeping bitter tears at the refusal of the Peers to play into the hands of their enemies. *Ex hypothesi* the Bill was to have been "sent up" backed by an overwhelming majority of the House of Commons, and the Peers were to deal with it as they have dealt with the Education Bill. At the ensuing General Election the Unionist Party would once again have been "snowed under," and the country would have passed permanently under an unchallengeable Radical *régime*. This magnificent *mirage* has been dissipated, though it cannot be said that statesmen on either side of politics have greatly distinguished themselves in the process. On the face of it, the Trade Disputes Bill is a monstrous measure, consciously creating a "privileged proletariat," if we are to believe the Attorney-General. Henceforward a Trade Union can do no actionable wrong during a strike, even though its agents deliberately destroy property and inflict personal injuries either on their opponents or even upon innocent third parties. Trade Unions will enjoy "benefit of clergy," to use another striking phrase, coined by Sir F. Lawson Walton in his salad days, when he believed that he would be allowed to legislate in accordance with his convictions. As our readers are aware, the Government made an abject surrender to Mr. Keir Hardie, and during the debates in the House of Commons the Attorney-General, as well as Mr. Haldane and Mr. Asquith, donned the penitential sheet and publicly recanted their brave

declarations against the principle of Trade Union immunity. These pitiable performances will not soon be forgotten by those who had the misfortune to see them. The humiliation of great, wise, and eminent men is always an odious spectacle. As practical people we have steadily recognised that the repeal of the Taff Vale decision was one of the few issues clearly put before the electorate in January, and that Unionist policy, or rather want of policy, on this question was a contributory cause to our *debâcle*. If there is anything in the doctrine of mandate, there was a mandate for the protection of Trade Union funds, and from the outset it was obvious that however monstrous the measure the Opposition would be unable to modify it. They might have been wiser, and would certainly have been warier in washing their hands of the whole business.

A Belated Blessing.

As it was, the Unionist Party showed a curious lack of "intelligent anticipation," because, after vigorously fighting it clause by clause, Mr. Balfour suddenly turned round at the eleventh hour, threw over his followers, and gave the Trade Disputes Bill a belated blessing on the Third Reading. Its supporters are not mollified by this action, while stalwart opponents like the *Spectator* and Professor Dicey, who have conducted a gallant campaign against heavy odds, are not unnaturally exasperated at finding themselves left in the lurch. The *Outlook*, which has throughout grasped the possibilities of the situation, rejoices at Mr. Balfour's tardy conversion to its views, which makes it impossible for the House of Lords to interfere with a measure on which they could not hope to get their way, while their defeat would involve many greater issues. The best excuse for the Bill was that of Mr. Simon, the Radical member for Walthamstow, who is recognised as one of the most promising members of this Parliament, although so far he has spoken little :—"For thirty years—from 1871 to 1901, the year of the Taff Vale decision —although Trade Unions were during that period the objects often of criticism and attack, in no single case, in no single court, and on no single occasion, did any lawyer ever advise an action against a Trade Union." Mr. Shackleton, perhaps the most impressive of the Labour Members, contended in the same debate that Trade Unions had not misused the power they had practically possessed before the Taff Vale decision, and had not in the interval deteriorated in temper or intentions. Mr. Balfour acknowledged that the law, based upon the Conservative measure of thirty years ago, was the same as it would be under

the Bill. He had been struck by the absence of employers' opposition, and he had "listened in vain during these debates for any specific instance in which harm was done by the fact that the law was supposed to be what it is going to be made." Mr. Balfour scouted the idea that the Bill would be changed by the Peers, from which we may infer that Lord Lansdowne will not offer any serious opposition, which will be a relief to most thinking Unionists, however unenthusiastic they may feel over the closing scene in the House of Commons when the Bill was carried without serious opposition. For months past we have advised the Peers for practical tactical reasons, of which we are in no way ashamed, because they correspond with national interests, to accept this Bill substantially as they find it—though care must be taken that it shall not be expanded to cover Irish boycotting in any shape or form—and to content themselves with amending the Education Bill and the Land Bill, and rejecting the Plural Voting Bill. It is unfair to ask the House of Lords to do everything; but the history of the Trade Disputes Bill strengthens the case for creating a stronger Second Chamber, which would not feel its existence endangered every time it corrected a House of Commons blunder.

What of the Navy?

WHILE, as we have seen, the Opposition are giving indications of increasing efficiency, we cannot refrain from echoing the amazement of the *Spectator* at the stony indifference of our Front Benches towards the Government's successive raids on the British Navy. The same observation applies to the apathy of the Unionist Press as a whole, which, with the brilliant exception of the *Standard*, which appears to be growing more effective every day, and the *Spectator* itself, which has rendered conspicuous public service by its admirable articles on the vagaries of the Admiralty (while the *Globe* can always be reckoned a staunch upholder of the big Navy) there has hardly been any serious attempt to open the eyes of the public to the high crimes and misdemeanours perpetrated week by week by Lord Tweedmouth and his *complaisant* colleagues in Whitehall. While the politicians are allowed to usurp the functions of the sea-lords, the sea-lords are playing the politician by inspiring their journalistic jackals in the *Army and Navy Gazette* and other more important organs to circulate grotesque insinuations and childish misstatements concerning the "naval scare," while they endeavour to bemuse the public by mystifying memoranda. It is all very un-English, peculiarly unsailorlike, and highly

detrimental to the prestige of the Admiralty. The facts are so clearly and forcibly set forth by Mr. H. W. Wilson in an article in this number, to which we would particularly direct our readers' attention, that we need not recapitulate them here, and shall content ourselves with reiterating our surprise at the connivance of Mr. Balfour and his colleagues in the partial demobilisation of the British Navy, and the equally deplorable attitude of the newspapers. What has become of those great journals which used to lead the nation on naval affairs? Have they become Little Navyites? Are they suffering from sleeping sickness, or are they merely hypnotised by Sir John Fisher? As the creator of the Committee of National Defence, which was supposed to afford some guarantee for the continuity of our defensive policy, Mr. Balfour might have been expected to intervene, but he remains a silent accomplice of the Premier's public pronouncement against the two-Power standard, and of the subsequent steps to give effect to that disastrous declaration. Among the very few members of Parliament who have distinguished themselves at this grave crisis in the fate of British Sea-power is Mr. Carlyon Bellairs, Liberal member for King's Lynn, whose conduct should not be forgotten by his constituents.

Tariff Reform.

ALTHOUGH the subject of Tariff Reform has been practically boycotted by the official Leader of the Opposition ever since his declaration on St. Valentine's Day that it would be "the first constructive work" of the Unionist Party on its return to power, there is abundant evidence of the vitality of the cause. On November 2 Mr. Austen Chamberlain, as his father's deputy, addressed one of the most magnificent meetings ever held in the South of England, at Canterbury, under the chairmanship of Lord Hardinge, who has shown what energy and enthusiasm can do in the County of Kent. The ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech was fully worthy of the occasion. He held his great audience from his opening to his closing sentence. We rejoice at Mr. Austen Chamberlain's rapid progress in popular favour, and we attach immense value to his explicit declaration: "The cause of Tariff Reform is now the accepted policy of one of the great parties of the State, proclaimed by its leaders, endorsed by the great organisations which represent it, and which are pledged that it shall be our first constructive work when the country again entrusts us with authority. From pledges such as these there is no turning back—we could not if we would, and we would not if we could." Although the Conservative Central

Office continues to intrigue against all Tariff Reform candidatures, it is not insignificant that the chief Conservative Whip, Sir Alexander Acland Hood, should have felt constrained to avow himself something very near a "whole-hogger" in the sympathetic atmosphere of the Liverpool Conservative Club on October 29. After pointing out that the Income Tax, the great reserve of our money power in war, was maintained at an exhausting figure in time of peace, he declared that the time had come for overhauling our entire system of national finance. "If we are to maintain the defensive forces of the Empire at a proper standard, to meet the ever increasing demands of domestic legislation, and to be in a position to deal with foreign countries in regard to the competition grievously injuring many of our industries, and if we are to undertake a fiscal policy which will bind the Colonies closer to the Mother Country, taxation must be placed upon a broader basis." Lord Stanley, another "Free Trade" member of the last Cabinet, seems to have spoken in the same sense on the same occasion; while Lord Londonderry, who has been the heart and soul of the official cabal against Mr. Chamberlain, stated in a speech at West Hartlepool on October 27, that from whatever point of view they looked at it, "they were all more or less Tariff Reformers." We venture to predict that a great many other people will become "more or less Tariff Reformers" when they have mastered the remarkable Report of the Agricultural Committee of the Tariff Commission, setting forth the heartbreaking story of the decline of British agriculture as it has never been told before, and still more when they fully grasp the meaning of the declarations of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Asquith in favour of universal Old Age Pensions. Even the *Spectator* can see that Old Age Pensions spell Tariff Reform, hence the consternation in Wellington Street.

The Clemenceau Cabinet.

M. CLEMENÇEAU'S first appearance as French Prime Minister after a lifetime of destructive criticism excited immense interest, and when he mounted the tribune on November 5, the Chamber of Deputies was crammed from floor to ceiling. As our readers are aware, M. Clemençeau is a Senator, but in France all Ministers have the right of speaking (though not the right of voting) in both Houses, even when they belong to neither. This has always seemed to us a sensible arrangement, which we should do well to adopt. Why should not some intelligent legislator introduce a short Bill into the British Parliament to enable any Minister to address either House? It is one

of those reforms which every one outside the Mandarinate would cordially welcome, while the more intelligent Mandarins acknowledge its desirability. It would inflict no injustice upon either Party, even if it disturbed certain cherished personal vested interests, because while the Conservatives might gain from the occasional appearance of a Peer Minister in the House of Commons, the humiliating position of the Liberals in "another place" would be materially relieved if Mr. Asquith, Sir Edward Grey and Mr. John Morley were able to address the Lords. M. Clemençeau's ministerial statement began by reviewing the Ministerial crisis caused by M. Sarrien's retirement owing to failing health, of which opportunity had been taken "to form the Government as nearly as possible in harmony with the national representation, so as to secure the prompt execution of the mandate received from the electors." Being in conformity with that mandate, "our foreign policy is known to you in advance, for the country has no more changed its mind as to its resolve to maintain peace—peace with dignity—than as to its persistent vindication of Republican right."

We must accept the conditions of international equilibrium which the present state of Europe imposes on all nations. At a moment when the peace of the civilised world rests upon the force of arms how could we disarm—that is to say, destroy with our own hands the supreme guarantee of our independence? Until the happy but uncertain day when the existing *régime* among nations can be modified, our first duty towards our country is not to allow its defensive strength to be weakened in any of its elements. Our international *ententes* are an important part of that defensive strength. In exerting ourselves to cultivate and to improve our good relations with all Governments we shall be careful to maintain and develop an alliance contracted mutually in the interest of peace, as also friendships which we have had the opportunity of testing.

British statesmen please copy. The domestic situation was no less clearly defined, the Ministerial object being "to instal democracy definitely in the Government, to organise it, to regulate it, to introduce moderation in its exercise of power, and so to consolidate it." The Army, while, being steadily democratised, would be maintained in a condition to face without shocks all eventualities, and among several military reforms to be introduced by General Picquart, the Minister of War (to whom we publish an appreciative sonnet by Mr. Justice Darling), is a measure for the suppression of courts-martial. The laicisation of schools would be completed by the abrogation of the Falloux Law, which would put an end to the privileges granted to private intermediate education, but the greatest task before the Government was the execution of the Separation Law, so as to assure

all citizens the full exercise of liberty of conscience. While taking into account inveterate prejudices, they would take care to bar the way against any fresh attacks by that spirit of domination which was particularly formidable when emanating from a foreign authority and subject to foreign influence. While assuring liberty of worship, they would apply all the provisions of the law, and if the penalties already provided appeared to be insufficient, they would not hesitate to propose others.

A Vote of Confidence.

A HOST of reforms would be introduced by the new Minister of Labour (M. Viviani), *inter alia* a Ten Hours Bill, an Agricultural Labourers' Compensation Bill, a measure to assure the rights of Trade Unions by civil sanctions, and another to regulate the *status* of State *employées*, which, while granting them the right of combination and safe-guarding them against arbitrary treatment, "would hold them to the accomplishment of their duty towards the State." There would be a Bill to buy up the Western Railway, another to regulate mines, with a forfeiture clause in the event of Companies refusing to adopt the necessary measures of security. The key to their whole programme lay in the financial situation, which was the principal Ministerial pre-occupation. A conventional warning against extravagance was followed by the suggestive statement that real but temporary difficulties could not justify the postponement of Democratic reforms. A progressive Income-tax Bill, and, if necessary, a Bill to tax capital, would be introduced. M. Clemençeau's declaration, though full of controversial matter, was so explicit that, according to the *Times* Paris correspondent, who keeps the British public so admirably informed on French affairs, intending interpellators who had contemplated raising a debate on the general policy of the Cabinet, renounced their right to speak; and one of them, M. Rabier, moved a vote of confidence in the Ministry, which was carried by 395 to 96. The theory that M. Clemençeau had formed a "Cabinet of creatures" is discredited by the Parliamentary performances of several of his colleagues, notably M. Viviani, and M. Briand (the Minister of Public Worship), who on a subsequent day, in a masterly and moderate speech, expounded the policy of the Cabinet towards the Church. While Ministers refuse to negotiate with the Vatican, they are disposed to give the ecclesiastical authorities ample breathing space, after the fatal December 11, in which to recover their heads and to put their house in order. There will be no arbitrary closing of churches.

THE *Spectator* reminds us that M. Clemençeau is "as strong a Free Trader as Napoleon III." And yet here he is at the head of a great majority announcing a multitude of measures covering the whole field of social activity without making the faintest reference to Free Trade, or giving any pledge to modify the Méline Tariff which *ex hypothesi* has been ruining France for half a generation. As the *Spectator* explains, M. Clemençeau recognises that "on that subject public opinion must govern." The fact is that the fiscal question has for all practical purposes ceased to be controversial in France. It is a *chose jugée*. Contrary to the Cobdenite allegation, the Republic has prospered so prodigiously under Protection and Colonial Preference that no Cabinet's life would be worth an hour's purchase if it were even suspected of flirting with Free Trade. The episode destroys two favourite objections to Tariff Reform. In the first place, we have been told *ad nauseam* that foreign nations are sick to death of Protection, and that if we only possess our souls in patience we shall see the disappearance of—or, at any rate, a substantial reduction in—existing Tariffs. In the second place, it is assiduously asserted that Protection involves perpetual tampering with the Tariff, with the accompanying evils of "lobbying," "logrolling," corruption, &c. As usual, our opponents are indifferent to the facts. There is no serious Free Trade movement at the present time in any great competitive community. Then, again, Protection secures stability. The Dingley Tariff in the United States and the Méline Tariff in France are already ancient history, while the Bülow Tariff in Germany bears every appearance of permanence. The British tariff is more frequently tampered with than any of them.

A Notable Omission.

THERE are glad tidings for the long-suffering public, whom the motor has "come to slay." Motor-maniacs are betaking themselves to flight, which, if more perilous to its devotees, is likely to be less noxious to the rest of the community than road-hogging. The *Daily Mail*, presumably to celebrate its rout of the Free Trade Soap Trust, offers the magnificent prize of £10,000 to "the first person, being a member of an established Aero Club, who flies in one day from a given spot within five miles of the London office of the *Daily Mail* to a given spot within five miles of the Manchester office of the *Daily Mail*," while the French newspaper, the *Matin*, offers a handsome prize, which has been

Glad Tidings.

augmented by public subscription to another £10,000, for a flight from Paris to London in 1908. Let us hope that these attractions, which are accumulating, will absorb the attention of those who mistake speed for progress, during the next few years. M. Santos-Dumont, the Brazilian enthusiast, declares that "the future is to the aeroplane." We trust he may be a true prophet, because in that case the reign of the road-hog, who is making this small island so utterly intolerable to the majority of its inhabitants, is nearing its end. Rural England will once again become inhabitable, the children of our villages will no longer carry their lives in their hands, cottage gardens will have a chance, and the class animosities which have been aroused by the callousness of many motorists, and most chauffeurs, will abate. The political aspects of the problem might become serious. Let us hope, however, that the day is far distant when it will be possible for a fleet of flying transports from Potsdam to elude our winged battleships and deposit German army corps in Hyde Park.

Miscellany.

THE State visit of the King and Queen of Norway and that very important and exceedingly popular personage Prince Olaf to this country, was from every point of view except the weather, a brilliant success. It has naturally revived interest in the former Anglo-French undertaking to defend Sweden and Norway, which *ipso facto* lapsed on the recent divorce of those two countries. Englishmen would like to see the security and integrity of all three Scandinavian Kingdoms (Sweden, Norway, and Denmark) placed beyond the reach of danger, and it may be hoped that diplomatic *pourparlers* with that object may be now on foot. * * * Although we are not prepared to dispute the charges brought by the Congo Reform Association against the Congo Free State, and freely admit that that country is probably a hell upon earth, we have taken no part in the agitation, to which successive British Ministers have succumbed, and we regret Sir Edward Grey's recent statement that, failing decisive action by Belgium and the Powers, this country would take it upon herself to intervene, because it too closely resembles our Armenian policy, which has been a dire disaster for all parties concerned. We should greatly injure British interests without doing a jot or tittle to alleviate the cruel lot of the unfortunate Congolese victims of King Leopold's greed. The "great assassin" has triumphed over British humanitarians all along the line. So will the Belgian Moloch. * * * The retirement of Sir Mortimer Durand from the British Embassy

in Washington has given rumour an opportunity of alarming the public. We refuse to believe that Sir Edward Grey will allow this critical post to become the dumping-ground for used-up politicians. The ideal man for Washington can probably be found within the diplomatic service if he is zealously sought for. * * * The extent of the rout of the Progressive Party at the London Borough Council Elections may be gathered from the fact that whereas the old Councils consisted of 587 Conservatives, 634 Progressives, 86 Independents, 9 Independent Conservatives, and 40 Labour members, the new Councils are thus constituted : Municipal Reformers (*i.e.*, Conservatives), 959 ; Progressives, 272 ; Independents, 97 ; Labour and Socialists, 34. Since the election the Progressives have received another knock-down blow from the publication of the Report of Mr. Davy, the Chief Inspector of the Local Government Board, on the Poplar scandals, disclosing a municipal debauch which cannot fail to affect the London County Council Elections next March, when it may be hoped that the great Radical stronghold will be carried by the Municipal Reformers. * * * Among numerous attractive autumn publications may be noted the fascinating *Personal and Literary Letters of Robert First Earl of Lytton* (Longmans, Green & Co.). As these volumes are edited by Lady Betty Balfour, it is unnecessary to say anything in praise of the arrangement of the matter. There is also the *Life and Letters of Sir Leslie Stephen* (Duckworth & Co.), which has been entrusted to the competent and sympathetic hands of Mr. F. W. Maitland. By a mournful coincidence, this book appeared almost on the very day of the untimely death of Sir Leslie Stephen's eldest son, Mr. Thoby Stephen, at the age of twenty-five—an event which has cast a shadow over a large and devoted circle of friends, by whom he was loved, and who had confidently looked forward to seeing him walking in the footsteps of the most remarkable members of a remarkable family.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND THE COUNTRY

At a moment when a serious conflict between the two Houses of Parliament appears to be imminent one of the first reflections which must occur to every impartial member of the Unionist Party is that, as regards the House of Lords, his leaders have with exceptional want of foresight continually played into the hands of their political opponents. During the recent ten years of Unionist Administrations not only was no attempt whatever made to introduce any kind of reform into that assembly, but it was steadily and consistently ignored, much in the same way as a wealthy but unfashionable uncle is habitually ignored by his more dashing relatives until circumstances arise which necessitate financial or other assistance. Circumstances have now arisen which force the Unionist leaders to turn to the House of Lords for assistance in an acute emergency, and if the latter is equal to the task expected of it, it will certainly not be due to any intelligent anticipation on the part of those who are responsible for the policy of the party.

If the House of Commons, even when containing a Conservative majority, was an ideal and irreproachable assembly, whose proceedings were invariably characterised by wisdom and justice, it would no doubt be advisable for the Lords to content themselves with the humble duty of registering its decisions; but there is nothing to justify this assumption, although it appeared to prevail during the last two Parliaments, and all complaints and protests on the part of an aggrieved Second Chamber were met solely with bland but unconvincing apologies. It must be honestly admitted that the treatment of the peers during the above period went far to justify the Radical contention that the former are content to efface themselves during a Conservative *régime*, and that, in spite of this contemptuous treatment, the House of Lords should stand as high as it undoubtedly does in public estimation is a striking

tribute to its merits. It might, however, conceivably stand higher still if the Unionist majority in the House of Lords had shown itself somewhat less docile ; and if, instead of constantly " taking it lying down" from a sense of excessive loyalty, a single Government Bill had been thrown out, that assembly would possibly have improved its position in the eyes of both friends and opponents.

It is a remarkable fact that the only peer politician of the first rank who seems during recent years to have appreciated the obvious necessity of strengthening the House of Lords as a Second Chamber is a Liberal—Lord Rosebery ; and, having regard to the arguments employed by him when urging reform, it is difficult to understand why his extremely moderate and reasonable proposals met with so little success. Lord Rosebery fastened upon those specific weaknesses which every one is obliged to admit—the fact that it is the only assembly in the world which has existed for six centuries without undergoing any change, in spite of having increased enormously in size ; and the fact that the source of its weakness lies in the indiscriminate and untempered application of the hereditary principle ; the result being that, owing to its members being practically taken from one class, they consider nearly every question from the same point of view. Unfortunately for Lord Rosebery, and perhaps for the House of Lords also, the late Lord Salisbury took a totally different opinion of the case, and the overwhelming influence which he exercised over the Peers turned the scale without difficulty. Lord Salisbury, far from favouring the idea of a strong Second Chamber, fortified by the principle of selection and representation, apparently held the view that such a Chamber, consisting presumably of zealous politicians, would constitute a source of perpetual danger, and the following extract from one of his speeches in 1888 seems admirably to express his idea : " We have a body which brings to the consideration of political matters a feeling which might be described by enemies as one of languor, but which I would describe as one of good-nature and easy-going tolerance, which enables them to accommodate themselves to the difficult part of playing second to the House of Commons."

It is not likely that any one will quarrel with the opinion that the House of Commons is, and always must be, the predominant partner, but whether an attitude of easy-going tolerance is applicable to present circumstances is, to say the least, open to doubt.

At the present moment the political situation is unprecedented. The Government possesses an enormous majority in the Lower House, while the Opposition possesses an even greater

majority in the Upper House. It is fairly obvious that a majority of the Radical party considers that a favourable moment has arrived for a determined attack upon the Second Chamber, and that the circumstances are peculiarly favourable. Appearances certainly afford grounds for these hopes. The Unionist party in the House of Commons is reduced to a more insignificant minority than the most sanguine democrat ever dared to hope for, and for purposes of effective opposition it is almost powerless. The majority, on the other hand, is flushed with a gigantic success; the extreme men are in the ascendant and control the policy of the Government; election promises have to be made good with the least possible delay; time is of the utmost value, and it is desirable that the whole force of the party should be utilised before any symptoms of disintegration develop. In a word, the first session of a Radical Government is all-important. This being the case, the Government has decided to lose no time, and has at once set about the familiar and congenial task of "filling up the cup" in accordance with the precedent of 1893, although the miserable failure of that attempt must inspire the cooler members of the party with considerable misgivings. The policy of filling up the cup is an extremely simple one—so simple, in fact, that it must be doubtful whether it takes any one in. Under present circumstances, there is little or no difficulty in forcing any kind of Bill through the House of Commons, and flinging it at the Lords' heads accompanied by an intimation that if it is not passed intact the existence of the latter will be put an end to. It looks as if it must be a success in any case, for if the Lords submit they are humiliated and discredited, and if they show fight, they come into violent contact with the chosen representatives of the people, who represent millions of voters, while their antagonists technically represent no one but themselves. No contest, at the first sight, could be more one-sided, and if the majority in the Commons really reflected a corresponding opinion in the country, there could be no doubt as to the result. But, as a matter of fact, it cannot be maintained that the relative strength of parties in the House of Commons fairly represents political opinion in the country, for if any proportional system existed, the Opposition would number not about 150, but over 250; and it is further extremely doubtful whether the nation entertains that overwhelming affection for the House of Commons with which it is usually credited by fervid Radical orators. Two important and memorable conflicts between the two Houses have taken place within a comparatively recent period—one in 1884 over the Franchise Bill, the other in 1893 over the Home Rule Bill. In the former

case the House of Lords, under the firm and determined leadership of Lord Salisbury, insisted that redistribution of seats must accompany any scheme of electoral reform. This attitude caused considerable alarm at the time, but the result showed that Lord Salisbury had correctly gauged both the temper of the country and the strength of his vociferous opponents. In 1893 the issue was greater but the task was easier, for with the exception of the Irish Nationalists and Mr. Gladstone himself, no one felt any real enthusiasm for Home Rule. Consequently, all the frantic efforts to work up a case against the House of Lords failed, and the latter—which had correctly interpreted the wishes of the majority of the nation—attained a popularity which possibly it had never enjoyed before, and which has not yet been dissipated. Here then are precedents out of which aggressive Radicalism is not likely to derive much encouragement, and it is not altogether improbable that the same errors of calculation may be made in 1906 and 1907 as in 1884 and 1893. Take the cases of two of the Bills which will be considered by the Lords during the present Session, and upon which so much depends. At the time these lines appear in print, the fate of the Education Bill will in all probability be still hanging in the balance. What foundation is there for the assertion that the Bill as it left the Commons represented the opinions and the wishes of the country? What it did represent was the attitude of the militant Nonconformists who form so numerous a party in the present House of Commons, and who share with the Labour Members the privilege of giving orders to the Government. The Bill pleased these gentlemen, but it never appeared to afford much gratification to any one else, from Secularists to Roman Catholics, while there is every reason to assume that the nation generally is firmly attached to the principle of religious education. Supposing, therefore, that a deadlock arises owing to the Lords adhering to their amendments, does it follow that they will either have to give way or imperil their own existence? On the contrary, it will be plain to all but the grossly ignorant and the bigoted partisan that the Lords are not fighting for their own personal interests or for any class privilege or proprietary rights; and it is inconceivable that the Government, even with its present gigantic majority, would venture to appeal to the country on this question.

The other Bill upon which it may be confidently predicted that the two Houses will disagree is the Plural Voting Bill, humorously described as a measure of electoral reform, but which might be more correctly defined as a measure for secur-

ing the better return of Radical candidates by disfranchising possible political opponents.

In previous contests with the Commons over Franchise Bills the Lords have, it must be admitted, occasionally shown themselves to be in the wrong, for they persisted, for instance, in maintaining, until forced to yield, that the abolition of the close boroughs was an unfair attack upon their personal property and privilege. The circumstances, however, attending the present bill are totally different. As a rule a government waits until its term of office has nearly expired before attempting to deal with electoral reform; here, however, is the case of a Government which at once sets to work to deal with one single electoral anomaly which is assumed to be contrary to its interests. Even the excuse of a mythical mandate has scarcely been alleged ; a more cynical example of partisan legislation it would be difficult to quote, and its rejection by the House of Lords is so obviously reckoned upon that it would almost seem a pity to disappoint the expectation. It may therefore be predicted with some confidence that this particular Bill will not be allowed to pass unless, as in 1884, it is accompanied by a Redistribution scheme which will deal with the other anomalies of our electoral system, and if, therefore, the case against the Lords is to rest upon their treatment of the Education Bill and the Plural Voting Bill, no unnecessary alarm need presumably be felt. Those, too, who tremble at the threats of Mr. Lloyd-George may perhaps feel slightly reassured when they reflect that the Government of which he is a prominent member have already created no less than fifteen new peers during the past ten months.

But, it may fairly be argued, this is taking far too favourable a view of the case. The Radical-Home-Rule-Labour majority is far greater than in the years 1884 and 1893 when contests took place between the two Houses. In 1884, the Liberal Government had already lost much of its original popularity and a general election was near at hand. In 1893, Mr. Gladstone never had a majority of over forty inclusive of his Irish allies, while the Home Rule Bill was unpopular in the country. The present House of Commons is quite different to its predecessors ; instead of consisting largely of tepid Whigs and half-hearted Liberals, the Government majority is made up chiefly of ardent democrats who mean business, who intend to lose no time, and who are in deadly earnest. All this is doubtless true enough, and there is not much solid comfort to be derived from the frequently repeated prediction that Ministers will certainly hang themselves if allowed sufficient rope.

Ministers who have passed seventeen out of the last twenty-one years in the wilderness of Opposition are not in the least likely to commit political suicide at an early moment. Nor is the private member who has won a seat by a narrow majority inclined to risk its loss before it becomes absolutely necessary, as every one knows who has any experience of the House of Commons. Labour and Liberalism may and doubtless will fall out, with the result that the latter may disappear altogether, but this is some way off yet, and hopes built upon possibilities of this nature are not likely to be realised for many a day to come. No doubt there is dissatisfaction with the present Government, but dissatisfaction and reaction are two very different things, and it must be candidly owned that there are not many signs of the latter at present. Since the present Parliament met the Unionist party has contrived to win one seat only—in a three-cornered fight—and at that rate of progress centuries would have to elapse before the Government majority has disappeared. There is, therefore, not much consolation to be obtained in watching for the inevitable swing of the pendulum, and we may as well make up our minds to the unpalatable fact that, as far as can be judged, we shall have to wait a long time before we see the last of the present Government.

It follows therefore, that, for an indefinite period, the sole effective obstacle to wild, predatory and anti-national legislation is the existence of an unreformed House of Lords based upon the hereditary principle. It is useless to contend that the present House of Commons and the present Government contain a certain number of moderate men of commanding ability who will control the extremists, and who are known to be in favour in principle of a Second Chamber. What evidence is there of this salutary influence? When Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman formed his Administration much comfort was found by nervous people in the fact that it included several of the so-called Liberal Imperialists, but the exertions of these calm, stern statesmen seem to have been chiefly directed towards retaining their hardly won offices. If they attempted to take themselves too seriously they would promptly be shown the door, and would discover that their party could get on perfectly well without them. When the Radical party talks of either ending or mending the House of Lords we know exactly what is meant. Mending means the emasculation of that assembly by reducing it to a position in which it can only say ditto to the House of Commons, and mending in the ordinary sense of the expression is the last thing which the real Radical desires to do. It cannot be made too clear that if the House of Lords is to be mended, and if the country is to possess a Second Chamber

sufficiently strong and sufficiently conscious of its strength to withstand the successive onslaughts of an aggressive House of Commons, this work must be undertaken by the Unionist party. It is always conveniently assumed by Radical politicians that the present constitution and composition of the House of Lords are cardinal tenets in the Unionist creed, and it is consequently easy for them to direct much specious denunciation against the upholders of caste and privilege, whilst unfortunately the late Government treated the peers with such contempt as to create the impression that they were a negligible factor in the Constitution. But as a matter of fact most people who consider such questions at all are fully alive to the weakness of an Upper House which submits to such treatment at the hands of a Conservative Government, and they realise that similar liberties could never be taken with a more strongly constituted Second Chamber which would certainly insist upon its rights and privileges being respected. What no reasonable person outside Radical and Labour ranks wishes to see is a despotic Single Chamber; and it would be surprising if a Second Chamber based upon the hereditary principle only were considered an adequate safeguard for all time to come. It is in fact idle to deny, as Sir Herbert Maxwell, a friendly critic, has lately pointed out, that the continuance of a purely hereditary chamber in a constitution such as ours, thoroughly democratic in theory and practice, is an anomaly, and an anomaly which invites frequent and formidable attack. It is not enough to claim with pride that this anomaly has worked admirably in the past, and we ought to be prepared to meet the arguments of those who contend that it is no longer capable of meeting the requirements of the situation. What in short is required is a modification of the hereditary principle, and if this is to be effected and a more representative chamber created, the safest plan will be to proceed upon those lines with regard to which there seems to be general agreement.

Every one, for instance, who has discussed reform appears to be of opinion that the House of Lords as at present constituted is far too large. In the reign of William IV. there were about 400 peers; in 1880 they numbered 511, and at the present moment they exceed 600, so that before long they will be more numerous than the members of the House of Commons. Now, two of the most unsatisfactory features of the House of Lords are, in the first place, that in spite of excessive numbers, comparatively few members take part in its proceedings. In the case, for instance, of the Education Bill, the number of peers who vote in the divisions barely exceeds one-third of the entire House, in spite of the importance of

the occasion. A second unsatisfactory feature is that, at the present time, the Conservative party is unduly and continually preponderant. Although fifteen new Liberal peerages have been recently created, and although probably more Liberal than Conservative peers have been created since the accession of William IV., the present Government cannot muster sixty supporters in the division lobby; and, as Lord Rosebery has sorrowfully pointed out, even if you create a Liberal peer, he is almost morally certain to beget a Conservative successor.

Amongst these 600 peers there are some first-rate men of great ability, who would be an ornament to any assembly, and there are twenty-six bishops, who have in each case won their way by their own talents and by sheer hard work. There are in the second category a large number of men of considerable experience who have served in various branches of the public services, or who have formerly been members of the House of Commons. The third category, however, consists of men who take no particular interest in politics, but are politicians by necessity, and many of these are seldom seen except upon those important occasions when they are summoned by the Whips in order to swell the division lists. It must, in justice, be added that undesirable persons have, as in other assemblies, not been entirely unknown, and they are of priceless value to the anti-House of Lords man, who is never tired of pointing out that they are typical of the entire peerage.

Now here is clearly ample scope for improvement. The undesirables (generally described as black sheep) have no apologists; their exclusion has been constantly urged, and no one would regret their absence except those who utilise them as a horrible object-lesson to the electorate. Twenty-six bishops seem unnecessarily numerous, and as for the redundant peers, they might well be considerably reduced by a process of selection. At present the only trace of selection which prevails is to be found in the case of the Scotch and Irish Representative Peers; but why should not the same process be applied to the peers of the United Kingdom? There is nothing in the mere fact of being a peer of the United Kingdom which necessarily implies that such a man is more fitted to sit in Parliament than a Scotch or Irish peer, and the suggestion that the former should be treated in the same way as the latter has been generally approved in principle. By these means a large number of peers would vanish without inflicting any grievance upon them, and there would be an opportunity for providing seats for men who would give a more representative tone to the assembly. Every one who has approved the principle of reform has expressed the

wish that science, literature, art, and commerce should be more directly represented than is the case at present, and there is a consensus of opinion that it would be of the greatest advantage if, for instance, seats were found for representatives of the great Nonconformist denominations, for retired members of those public services which supply officials unequalled probably in the world, for Privy Councillors, and for a limited number of life peers. These are briefly points upon which all reformers appear to be agreed. That these changes could be carried out easily no one will contend, for the difficulty of maintaining the two great political parties in fair proportion would alone be great; but that they would tend to increase the dignity, efficiency, and popularity of the House of Lords can be asserted without fear of contradiction, while the Second Chamber would become in fact and practice what it now is only in theory, namely, a microcosm of the safest elements in the country.

The violent opposition which changes even of this unambitious character would encounter at the hands of political opponents ought alone to convince us of their necessity. A House of Commons dominated by Labour and Radicalism would naturally desire to maintain an unreformed Second Chamber in its inherent weakness, just as it is the object of the Russian Government continually to prevent all reforms in the Turkish Empire. The one thing which the Radical party probably dreads more than anything else is a really strong Second Chamber which might serve as a counterpoise to the House of Commons. But why should we play their game? What most sensible and practical people want is as efficient a Second Chamber as can be provided, and in view of the present situation the sooner the Unionist party sets about the task the better.

I wasted time and now doth time was teme.

It is true that it is late in the day, but there is nothing to be gained by delay; the apparently inevitable conflict between the two Houses is not in the least likely to form an incident in the present Session only; it will continue in succeeding Sessions, probably with increasing intensity, and if some attempt at strengthening the House of Lords is not undertaken, one day it may be found possible by its opponents to fasten upon a grievance in which popular opinion is really, and not nominally, on their side, and a sufficient pretext may be found for destroying the Second Chamber and converting the British Constitution into a One-Chamber Democracy.

NEWTON.

THE TREASURY, PAST AND PRESENT

THERE is probably no public department which is criticised with greater freedom and with less knowledge than the Treasury. To the majority of Englishmen—including, I am afraid, some distinguished statesmen—the Treasury Department is an independent body, granting or refusing at its absolute discretion public money which Ministers of the Crown, or even the Cabinet as a whole, regard as essential to the national welfare. If this view were correct, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would pass an easier life than now falls to his lot; and Mr. Asquith will, I am sure, regret that it is, to use a suggestive French expression, *complètement inexact*. As, however, such a theory is widely accepted, it may perhaps be useful to sketch briefly (1) the gradual development of the Exchequer and *curia regis* of the Norman Kings into "the Board of Commissioners for executing the office of Treasurer of the Exchequer of Great Britain and the Lord High Treasurer of Ireland"; and (2) the constitution and duties of the Treasury as they exist to-day, and the limits within which it works.

Such a sketch must, of course, be a mere matter of compilation, and pretends to no original research; I do not, therefore, propose to inflict upon the reader a series of notes or marginal references to the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, Maddox, Bishop Stubbs, the Commons Journals, or the Calendar of Treasury Records, in support of particular statements.

Ample materials exist for a full account of the successive changes "broadening down from precedent to precedent," by which the collection and expenditure of the Revenue have passed from the absolute control of the Crown into the hands of the House of Commons; but my limited space allows only a very brief summary of the successive changes, before I attempt to explain the working of the system as it now exists.

Our earliest authority is the *Dialogus de Scaccario* between "Master" and "Disciple," written by Richard, Bishop of London, who was Treasurer of the Exchequer of Henry II. It gives a detailed account of the King's household and

Council, and of the duties of its members. The Justiciar was the representative of the King in all capacities, Lieutenant in his absence, chief agent in his presence; Prime Minister in legal, financial, and even military affairs. As the Justiciar's subordinate, gradually entering into many of his rights and dignities, the Chancellor was, in effect, the Secretary of State for all Departments, and the Custodian of the Great Seal. The Treasurer was the Keeper of the Royal Treasury, with whom it rested to collect the Revenue from the Sheriffs, and to require due authority and quittance before any payment was made out of the Exchequer. He was, in fact, a check upon the Chancellor in financial matters. The following is the description of his duties, given in the *Dialogus*: "Officium Thesaurarii vel cura vel solicitudo ipsius vix explicari possit verbis etiamsi esset mihi calamus scribæ velociter scribentis. In omnibus enim et per omnia quæ vel in inferiori Scaccario, vel in superiori geruntur, ipsius solicita diligentia necessaria est."

The Chancellor and the Treasurer were in constant attendance on the King, and during their frequent absences from Westminster the duties of the former were performed by the Controller, and those of the latter by the Clerk of the Pipe. It is a moot point whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer or the Secretary of the Treasury—claiming through the Clerk of the Pipe—is the lineal representative of the Chancellor; but, on either assumption, I think the present holders of the offices will admit that the description of the duties remains fairly accurate. I need hardly say that the control of the Treasurer was exercised in the interests of the Crown, and not of the National Council, or Council of Feudal Tenants-in-Chief, which Bishop Stubbs describes as a stage of transition "towards that combined representation of the three Estates and of the several Provincial Communities" which is the Parliament of to-day. Indeed, the Council had no concern with the amount or the expenditure of the King's Revenue after it had reached the Exchequer.

Of the Crown Revenues it is, for our purpose, enough to note that the entire lands of the realm were originally held from the Crown by various feudal tenures, and the Revenues were derived from fines, first-fruits and tenths, and from other profits arising from the lands, and from the rents of the ancient demesnes of the Crown. They varied widely in amount from time to time, according as successive Kings were lavish of grants and alienations of Crown lands to their followers and favourites, or were reckless as to the pretensions on which they resumed or revoked their gifts. To the King fell all forfeitures of the estates of rebels.

The cost of the King's Council and household, including foreign embassies and the grants necessary to ensure the loyalty of the Barons, were generally the only charges on the Revenues during peace, while in war the King was entitled to the service of his tenants who brought with them into the field their followers equipped and maintained at their own expense. Special aids were of course frequently demanded by and granted to the King, but the feudal fiction that the taxpayer made a voluntary offering to relieve the wants of his ruler, survived till late in the Tudor period, and there is very rare evidence of debate or discussion of such grants in the National Council, or in Parliament, till a comparatively late period. On these lines, though of course with many modifications, matters remained for nearly five hundred years, during which, however, concurrently with the practice of bringing personal property into contribution, the principle gradually emerged that representation should accompany taxation. The right of the Crown to tax without the consent of the taxpayer was affirmed by the Court of Exchequer in "Bates' case of the Impositions" in 1605, and it required a struggle of eighty years and two revolutions before the decision was finally reversed.

So far we have been dealing with the ancestry from whom the present Treasury may claim its lineal descent, but it is only with the Restoration of 1660 that the idea which underlies the modern conception of the Treasury—the control of public revenue and public expenditure in the interest of the taxpayer —began to make itself felt. In 1660 Parliament had granted a fixed standing revenue to cover the whole National expenditure, but had left the application of the money absolutely in the King's hands. Eight years later, while leaving untouched his control over the revenue granted for Civil establishments, the House reserved to itself the right to fix any further supply which might be required for Army, Navy, or Ordnance, and directed that detailed estimates for the cost of those services should be prepared. This control has since been gradually extended to the expenditure of every department of State, and from the new departure, of which the momentous consequences were little foreseen by either party, has resulted the criticism by the Treasury of all estimates of public expenditure before their submission to Parliament.

On the death of the first Lord Salisbury in 1612, the Lord Treasurer's office was for the first time put into commission by James I., and, with rare and short intervals, it has so continued. The last Lord Treasurer was Charles Duke of Shrewsbury, who was appointed a few months before his death by Queen Anne ;

ut George I., on his accession, put the office again into commission, with Lord Halifax as First Lord. Until the date of he Regency, the Sovereign occasionally sat on the Board of reasury; indeed, William III. took a very active part in the usiness, and many official papers of the time bear his endorsement. The Board then exercised a much closer and more irect control over the Army and Navy, as well as over Civil xpenditure, than it has since assumed, and it discharged the uties now performed by the Finance Departments of the dmiralty and War Office. The hire of transports, the clothing f the Army, the victualling or paying off of ships, the care of ick and wounded seamen, were all within its province. It is ardly too much to say that, during the period in question, very department lived from hand to mouth, looking to the reasury for its daily bread, which often reached it in the ndigestible form of Exchequer tallies. There is a touch f pathos in the following extract from a memorial addressed o the Board by the officers of Ordnance in 1694: "Your ordships have always been so kind as to pardon our troubleome addresses when their Majesties' affairs have not permitted ou to assist us; but we are now brought to such a pinch n point of credit for carrying on our business that a mall chiding and a round sum would please us better." o-day such a petition would be decided, on appeal, by the rime Minister or the Cabinet.

An agenda-paper entered in the Treasury Minute-Book of ugust 12, 1710, gives a good idea of the business at that time. t runs as follows:

My Lords will sit:

Every Monday—for petitions and reports with the business of Scotland and Ireland.

Tuesday forenoon—Treasurer of the Navy, or his instruments, with their memorials for navy and victuals.

Afternoon—Commissioners of the Customs, with their presentments, &c.

Wednesday forenoon—To make up and consider the paper of cash for that week, drawn from all the weekly certificates.

Ditto afternoon—If her Majesty pleases, to attend her Majesty with the cash paper, for her to make the disposition, and to lay before her such cases as shall be proper for her direction, and such warrants, &c., as pass the Royal Sign Manual.

Thursday, being a Council day, to be reserved, unless there be extraordinary business.

Friday morning—The several Paymasters of the Forces, with their instruments, and the Secretary of War to attend with their memorials for money.

Afternoon—The Auditors of Imprests and Auditors of the Revenue about their accounts; the Remembrancer about the process; and the Agents about the taxes.

Saturday to be reserved, unless there be extraordinary business.

A Commission of Inquiry reported to the King in 1786 that

> The business of the Board of Treasury is to consider and determine upon all matters relative to your Majesty's Civil List, or other revenues; to give directions for the conduct of all Boards and persons entrusted with the receipt, management, or expenditure of the said revenues; to sign all warrants for the necessary payments thereout; and generally to superintend every branch of revenue belonging to your Majesty or to the public.

Only in the four last words of this summary is any reference to be found to the interests of the public, but it must be borne in mind that, although Burke's Civil List Act had passed four years before, by far the greater part of the cost of the Civil Services was still met from the revenues of the Crown, or from fees, and did not come under examination by the House. It was not till 1815, and the years immediately following, that the incidence of these charges was transferred to money specially provided by Parliament—at first by one general vote for Civil Contingencies, and later by separate votes for the several Departments and Services. Concurrently with this change of system, the Board of Treasury became the Department of Government charged with the control of public expenditure, and it assumed as part of its duties the supervision of the numbers and rates of pay of the staffs of all public establishments. Subsequent legislation has strengthened and extended the authority of the Board, but the general principles of its action still rest on the change of system which came into operation in 1815.

I regret the length to which this sketch of the gradual development of the Board of Treasury has run; but without some general knowledge of its antecedents, it would, I think, be difficult to appreciate intelligently its present constitution and the duties which it has to perform.

The Board of Treasury consists of the First Lord Commissioner—who is usually the Prime Minister—the Chancellor of the Exchequer and three Junior Lords. To the Board are attached two Joint Parliamentary Secretaries, one for political and patronage business, the other for finance. Of these seven Parliamentary officers, two only—the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and one of the Secretaries—are directly concerned with the national finance; and as I am now dealing only with that side of the Treasury work, it will not be necessary to describe the duties of the Junior Lords and the Patronage Secretary: they are mainly Parliamentary and relate to the mechanism of the House of Commons and to Party management. The Prime Minister is so fully occupied with the general cares of government that it is impossible for him to take more

an an intermittent and occasional part in the business of finance administration, but as First Lord Commissioner he retains s authority over the Board, and his right to intervene in nergencies, or on occasions of special importance.

The real and effective Finance Minister is the Chancellor of ıe Exchequer, having as his lieutenant the Parliamentary inancial Secretary, and his duties fall under four distinct heads :

(1) He is responsible for the regulation of taxation, and he ıbmits to Parliament the imposition, modification, and reduc-ɔn of duties.

(2) It rests with him to meet the money requirements of ıe State as they arise from day to day, and for this purpose e has special authority to raise temporary loans within the mits of the amounts voted by Parliament. He also super-ıtends the movement of the funds required for Imperial urposes throughout the Empire.

(3) He initiates and carries out all measures affecting the ublic Debt, Banking in the United Kingdom, and Currency ıroughout the Empire.

(4) He represents the Cabinet in the control of Public xpenditure.

It would be waste of time to attempt to deal with the whole ange of these duties within the limits of a single article—and propose to confine myself in this paper to the Chancellor's ontrol of the public expenditure. I make the selection be-ause, as I have already said, the nature and limits of this ontrol do not appear to be generally understood.

It is obvious that no Minister can establish or maintain a ound system of finance unless he has full knowledge of all he expenditure which he will have to meet. In the words of classical Treasury Memorandum, written by Lord Welby, He is expected to keep a certain depth of water in the eservoir, and to do that he must have his hand on the sluices f outflow." Accordingly, the principle has come to be fully ccepted by the Executive Government, that no Department of State may take any step which increases, or tends to increase, ublic expenditure without the assent of the Treasury or the Department of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In practice liscretion is granted to departments in minor matters, and ubject to an obligation to report to the Treasury the manner n which this discretion has been exercised ; but this grant is nly a matter of arrangement, and may at any time be revoked r modified. To this principle the House of Commons attaches reat importance, and it has made special provision for its bservance by creating the appointment of the Comptroller

and Auditor-General, an officer who is independent of the Executive Government, and who reports on the expenditure of every public department. His reports, and the accounts to which they relate, are closely scrutinised by the Standing Committee on Public Accounts, who bring to the notice of Parliament every item of expenditure, however small, which is not covered by a proper authority.

The province over which the control of the Chancellor extends thus includes every new charge upon the Consolidated Fund or upon a vote of Parliament, and it must be admitted that if the power were absolute and final, it would be liable to grave abuse, and might lead to the exercise of an administrative interference, for which neither the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor his Treasury Staff, has the necessary knowledge. But it is well understood on both sides that this control is purely financial, and that its object is to enable the Finance Minister to measure his outgoings against his incomings—to cut his coat according to his cloth.

Again, his power is only one "of first instance." Any of his colleague who declines to accept a reduction of expenditure, which he holds to be necessary to the efficient discharge of the duties of his department, may appeal to the Cabinet; and if the decision is against the Chancellor, he has no alternative but "se soumettre ou se demettre." It was in view of such a possibility that Mr. Gladstone is reported to have declared that no Chancellor of the Exchequer should attend a Cabinet discussion on financial proposals without a letter of resignation in his pocket. It is only right to add that the risk of friction has of late years been reduced to a minimum by the intimate and friendly relations which exist between the permanent heads of the Treasury and of the other public departments. Speaking from a somewhat long experience, I venture to assert that it would be difficult to over-estimate the value of the feeling that has grown up among them of being members of one great service, with common duties and a common interest. Nor do I believe that this feeling has in any single instance been prejudicial to the interests of the departments which the several officers represent.

Until the middle of the last century it may be said that the more important and responsible matters coming into the Treasury were not greater in amount than could be dealt with personally and directly by the Parliamentary chiefs; and that, although the department was never without competent and trusted permanent officers, the duties which fell to the staff were, to a

much greater extent than at present, of a routine and clerical nature. Since that date, however, the growth of the Empire, the extension of the executive Government's field of activity, and the microscopic scrutiny which the House of Commons exercises over every detail of civil and military administration, have immensely increased the pressure upon the time of Ministers; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, like his colleagues, is more and more driven to place himself in closer touch, and to take counsel with the senior departmental officers on whose experience and ability he feels that reliance can be placed.

I think that successive Chancellors will admit that their confidence in this respect has not been misplaced, and that the public interests have not suffered from this development of the work done by the permanent heads of departments; but, of course, the change is only one of convenience; it must necessarily vary in degree with the personality of the Chancellor of the day and with the capacity of the men serving under him, from time to time. It confers on these latter no addition of authority or responsibility. In other words, the responsibility of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Cabinet remains exactly as before, and the responsibility to Parliament for every so-called Treasury decision is in the Cabinet, and in the Cabinet alone. Take, as an illustration, the annual provision for the Army and Navy; the cost of these services governs the whole financial programme of the year, and it brings to a final test the promises of economy and retrenchment made by every Government in turn; yet, as a matter of fact, neither the Secretary of State nor the First Lord communicates his estimates to the Treasury until the decision of the Cabinet has been taken upon them; "the relentless pruning-knife of the department"—familiar as a household word in the mouth of current criticism—lies idle, though sometimes a little restless in its sheath; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, unless, as sometimes has happened, he is also Prime Minister, has only such power as he may derive from his personal influence among his colleagues, if he should desire to reduce the amount of their demands.

The Parliamentary Secretary of Finance is, as already stated, the Lieutenant of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. All important Treasury business comes before him. Much of it he decides himself, reserving for the Chancellor papers which raise questions of principle, or involve large expenditure. He assists the Chancellor in the preparation of financial measures in their conduct through Parliament, and, if they become law, in subsequently giving effect to them. He has special charge of the annual estimates of Civil and Revenue expenditure, and,

with the assistance of the Ministers representing the several departments, he explains and defends them in the House.

While on the subject of the Estimates, it may perhaps be useful to add a few words in explanation of the system under which they are prepared, examined, and finally agreed.

In the speech from the Throne at the opening of each Session of Parliament, the Sovereign, as the Executive Power, asks for the supply required for the service of the coming year, and promises estimates of the amount. The Commons vote supply as a grant to his Majesty, who puts it at the disposal of Parliament by Warrant under the Sign Manual. By a resolution of the House, the promised Estimates must be presented within ten days of the opening of the Committee of Supply—in practice about the second week in March—and in order to allow time for the discussion by the Treasury and the department concerned, which precedes the adoption of every estimate (those for the Army and Navy are settled, as stated above, in the Cabinet), it becomes necessary to compute in November the expenditure of the financial year commencing on the next April 1. Calculations which range over fifteen months in advance are of necessity not infallible, and as the natural official tendency is to put forward the most moderate demands consistent with probability, it may soon become evident that a particular Estimate will be exceeded. In such a case, recourse is had to a Supplementary Estimate, which must be presented not later than the close of the financial year. But Supplementary Estimates, though a less evil than expenditure in excess of the supply voted by Parliament, are themselves open to grave objections. Being unforeseen, no allowance for them can be made in framing the Budget, and unless their total amount is insignificant, they tend to upset the financial arrangements of the year. They are always severely criticised in the House of Commons as a sign of lax finance.

A Supplementary Estimate may be required for an addition to the cost of a service included in the original Estimate, or to provide for a new service determined on since the original Estimate was framed. Parliament is also occasionally asked for grants of a wholly exceptional kind, such as that for the construction of the Uganda Railway, or for rewards to men who have rendered distinguished service to the State. Where such a grant is for a large capital outlay, it is provided by a Bill authorising a loan, repayable by instalments, to be included in the Estimates of future years. Smaller grants are, if time permits, provided by Supplementary Estimate.

In addition to the above-mentioned expedients for dealing

ith unforeseen demands, it has been found necessary to lace permanently at the disposal of the Government a ınd of £120,000, called the Civil Contingencies Fund, hich may be used for new urgent services, until a special ote can be submitted to Parliament, or for strengthen- ıg an existing vote pending the issue of a Supplementary stimate. This fund is also available for minor items other- ise unprovided for, and they are subsequently included in ne general vote for repayments to the Civil Contingencies und, which is taken towards the end of each Session.

There remains to be considered the permanent staff of reasury officers—not affected by changes of Ministry. First ome the two Permanent Secretaries, one specially charged with nance, the other with the general business of administration. he duties were performed by one man until 1902, when the radual increase of the work which resulted from the war in outh Africa made it necessary to add a second Secretary. he finance branch is in close and constant touch with the hancellor of the Exchequer. It deals with all questions elating to the movement of funds, national debt, local loans, anking and currency; it collects the information on which ıe Chancellor founds his Budget; it keeps weekly accounts f public income and expenditure; it prepares the annual stimates of Civil and Revenue Expenditure, and it maintains niformity in the system of accounts; it provides information ıowing when temporary loans are required, and in what forms ıey can best be raised, also when they can be paid off; finally, deals with the varied and extensive business connected with ıe great revenue departments of Inland Revenue and Customs, ıe National Debt Office, the office of the Controller and uditor-General, and all other departments concerned with nance.

The duties of the branch of the Treasury which deals with dministration and general business include the audit of the rown's Civil List expenditure—any excess of which has to be eported to Parliament—all business which affects expenditure onnected with the Courts, Law and Justice, the Army and lavy, the Colonies, the Home Office, the Post Office, Tele- raphs and Telephones, the Works, Woods, and smaller English epartments, and the Irish and Scotch Offices. This branch f the Treasury is divided into four divisions, each under a rincipal Clerk, who directs a small clerical staff. The senior rincipal is also the Assistant-Secretary and Auditor of the Civil ist. There is a Parliamentary Clerk, charged with the xamination of all Bills which affect the Treasury, the pre-

paration and distribution of all returns ordered by the House and the custody of all Parliamentary Papers.

The legal department, presided over by the Treasury Solicitor and the Director of Public Prosecutions (the two offices are now held by one officer), and the office of the Parliamentary Counsel, are concerned with duties quite apart from finance and civil administration, and they do not fall within the scope of this article. The staff of the Treasury certainly works at very high pressure, and this is increased by the practice of lending officers for temporary service to the Colonies and Egypt, and to act as Secretaries to Royal Commissions or to Committees, parliamentary or departmental. This practice, as I have said, throws much additional work on the staff generally, but it is an excellent education for the men selected, and great care is taken to give every one a chance in his turn. All communications received in the Treasury pass through a central registry, from which they are assigned to one or other of the divisions, according to their subject-matter. Those of routine, or of small importance, are those dealt with direct, and, as regards all others, it is the duty of the principal clerk of the division to see that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or the Secretary who will deal with the case, is supplied with all the information required for a decision.

Having been Permanent Secretary of the Treasury from 1891 to 1902, I may perhaps be allowed to record my opinion that the staff with whom I served during those somewhat trying years had reached an almost ideal standard of vigour, efficiency and devotion to the Public Service.

FRANCIS MOWATT.

THE FUTURE OF TARIFF REFORM*

THE supporters of a moribund system assure you that the policy which will replace it is dead. I am here to tell you why Tariff Reform is not dead, and why it can never die unless the British Empire itself is to perish and to be remembered, even before the lives of some in this room are done, as a thing that was—like that venerable and impotent shadow of the past, the Holy Roman Empire, which vanished from the historic stage just about a hundred years ago. Like our own dominions, it covered a considerable space upon the map. Like them, it had no solid organisation. It had neither fiscal nor fighting unity. It was a system of sentimental anarchy covered by the august forms of an Imperial tradition to which the working facts refused to correspond. So the world was quit of that—as it must be of us, unless we learn to substitute organisation for forms and phrases as consecrated and as impotent as those of Wetzlar and Ratisbon. Conspicuous evidences these latter—wrote one of the political big-wigs of his time—of the "perpetual bond of union of the States of Germany."† The language sounds worthy of a modern Cabinet Minister. It had not long been written when the Empire thus confidently commended to perpetuity was destroyed.

And when fortune seems to fluctuate as it does, and must, at some moments of every good struggle, public or individual, that is waged in the world, it is well to remember the inherent probabilities of the case. Within the lifetime of some now living there was not a single mile of railway upon any

* Revised from an address delivered to the students' branch of the Tariff Reform League in the hall of the Edinburgh University Union, on October 30. The meeting was chiefly organised by a grand-nephew of John Bright, Mr. Victor Rabagliati, of whom something may be heard in the politics of the future.

† *Political Constitution of the Germanic Empire*, by John Stephen Pütter, (English translation). London, 1790, vol. iii. p. 239.

continent, nor a single steamship on any sea. The statement is very simple; its significance is immense. It is improbable that a theory framed in the study, before the greatest facts of the modern world were dreamed of, can be the best interpretation of those facts. The commercial controversy as carried on amongst ourselves is utterly extinct elsewhere. Foreign nations merely dispute as to whether a high or a low tariff is best. President Roosevelt has recently declared for the unflinching maintenance of a strong fiscal policy as the basis of American prosperity. No party in the United States could face an election upon the plain cry of Free Trade. Germany has recently remodelled her tariff upon almost McKinleyite principles. Japan has just adopted a tariff upon Mr. Chamberlain's lines. The Free Import system once attacked abroad has never survived—not in a single foreign State, not in a single British Colony. It is improbable that Free Imports will survive in this country. These were some of the deeper reasons underlying Mr. Chamberlain's policy at the outset. Nothing, as we shall see, has weakened them.

Well, you are nevertheless told that to discuss the prospects of Tariff Reform is like talking of the future of the dodo. Let us enter into the particulars. Since the promise to address you was first extorted from me, some twelve months ago, there has been a General Election. General elections have some of the same significance as wars and reformations. They are among the means by which Providence renews politics in many ways, "lest one good custom should corrupt the world." This General Election was more like a convulsion of Nature than a political event. We are willing to regard it as a very remarkable episode. Our opponents insist upon regarding it as an event of eternal importance. Cobdenite impressions on this point are as distorted as the shadows cast by the candle of the child that goes to bed. When he walks near the wall the shadows are enormous and alarming; but it is all in consequence of the candle, which remains just a candle.

Now, as a general rule, it is well to remember the maxim of a very experienced mind that nothing is so insignificant as the exaggerated; and even the soundest of orthodox Liberals, if there be any such here, will be perfectly safe in concluding that as no man could be so wise as Lord Thurlow looked, no event could be so final as the late General Election appeared to be. The particular reasons for that opinion will engage us during the remainder of this paper. Remember that the progress of great causes like the course of true love never did run smooth. We shall see in the development of this argu-

ment that the cause of Tariff Reform was not extinguished last January even by a spasmodic local event in one part of the Empire. We shall see if we regard the movements which have since occurred, and are still proceeding in the Empire as a whole, that that cause has not been stayed or checked even for a moment. We shall see—if we regard with some care the commercial developments which are taking place in the competitive and protectionist countries, whose clamping pressure must determine in the long run the shape of our own policy—that Tariff Reform from every point of view, from the social, the national and the Imperial standpoint alike, is more certainly than ever the cause of the future. We shall see that even the tolerably painful character of the last General Election was that of the birth throe, not of the death throe; and that all that has happened since Mr. Chamberlain launched his campaign has simply been in complete accordance with the normal signs of vigorous evolution in a really historic movement.

But when one argument is disposed of, free importers readily turn to another which looks at first sight more dangerous, which really is somewhat stronger than the other, but may prove at no very distant date to be equally double-edged. Our free importers turn to the Board of Trade Returns. Now these are very important and interesting documents, and I have given too much attention to them in the last few years to speak of them profanely. They are a very serious and considerable part of the evidence in the case, but they are not the whole of the case and by no means necessarily the decisive part of it. What are the Board of Trade returns? They are the statistics of our foreign and colonial trade alone. They show the state of our external commerce, but not of our internal industry, which is many times larger in volume. They throw little light upon the connection between commerce and employment. They do not show you where the foundations of your commercial supremacy are being sapped abroad or weakened even under your own flag. They show the movement of your own trade but do not show the advance of foreign competition. As a rough suggestion of the strictly-limited value of these statistics, take an illustration from another class of returns, the population returns. The Registrar-General tells you that your population is increasing; that it is increasing at the rate of 400,000 a year. But he does not tell you that the population of Germany is increasing at the rate of 800,000 a year, and that the population of the United States is growing at the rate of at least 1,500,000 a year. It is beyond the

Registrar-General's province to tell you these facts, and he does not tell you, though these are the greatest political and economic facts with which you have to reckon in the world to-day. So with the Board of Trade returns. They tell you much, but they do not tell you enough, and to frame your opinion upon these statistics alone would be like attempting a medical diagnosis from the most casual of external signs alone and without a particle of physiological or anatomical knowledge.

Let us admit that there is plenty of gilding on the face of the clock, whatever may be wrong with the works. The recent figures of our foreign Commerce have presented a brilliant and even astonishing picture, and we do not disparage it. The only thing wrong with it, from the Free Trade point of view, is that it has nothing to do do with Free Trade. Because Free Imports are an institution entirely peculiar to ourselves, and if the cause of the recent prosperity of our foreign trade were peculiar to ourselves, the effect would be peculiar also. But this is very far indeed from being the case. That one internal factor has been powerfully at work I very gladly admit. That factor has been economic, but it has not been fiscal. There is no doubt that the South African struggle stirred up the energies of the country. Mr. Chamberlain's campaign acted in the same direction, and even fair opponents admit that his efforts have quickened the springs of national thought and vigour. There has been a great effort on the part of manufacturers to bring up to date their industrial machinery and methods. Trade has benefited in consequence. We are better equipped for the competitive struggle in the markets of the world than we had been for many years, but this merely means that we have brought our methods more nearly up to the scientific level of the chief Protectionist nations—a fact which is hardly a tribute to Free Imports so far as it goes.

But when we turn to the broader and more general influences which have been acting on the Board of Trade returns, we shall find them to be four in number, and I range them in what I consider to be the order of their importance.

First.—There has been the most striking inflation of prices in recent economic history. Our food is costing us more. Raw materials are higher than for a quarter of a century. The last highest index-number, says Mr. Sauerbeck, was "in the early part of 1880, the time of the American boom, when it stood at 89. The figure for October in the present year was 85.6" (*Times*, November 3, 1906). Do the Free Importers

claim that it is their doctrine of cheapness which is making everything dearer?

Second.—There has been during the last few years a boom in the general commerce of the world—the commerce of all countries—unparalleled since the boom of the early 'seventies; and there is not a single nation of any commercial importance whose exports and imports have failed to keep pace with our own. The vast importance of this fact in its bearing on our commercial future will appear presently. Being on the top of the billow in the early 'seventies did not prevent us from coming to the trough.

Third.—I should place the great spurt in the textile trade, and especially in the cotton trade. This has been a factor of the first importance; but, again, causes peculiar to this country have had nothing to do with it. There was at first a shortage of the cotton crop in America, which caused a rise in textile values implying no real expansion of trade. Then there was a commencement of a cycle of good rains in India—where the monsoon has the power to blight or quicken the life of three hundred millions of mankind—and throughout the East generally there were better seasons and increased purchasing power. About the same time when the rains came in India there was, unfortunately, a drought in Australia which caused a scarcity of fleeces, made woollen goods too dear for many markets, and sent up the demand for cotton.

Fourth.—There has been the amazing and almost appalling prosperity of the chief Protectionist countries, like America and Germany, which are developing their population, their production, their employment-giving power, at a rate far beyond anything we have to boast of. We are supplying large quantities of pig-iron and yarn to be turned into finished goods by Germany and America. In both these countries the call for labour is so great that they cannot develop their operations fast enough for the demand. They are compelled to supply themselves to a larger extent than usual from the one country where the policy of Free Imports and the problem of unemployment are equally unique.

These are the factors lying behind the recent inflation of the Board of Trade returns. In every single case they are facts which have had their origin not in this country, but in other countries far beyond the orbit of free imports. Even the most stern and unbending adherent of Mr. Cobden's doctrines will scarcely contend that Free Imports are responsible for the new phase of the old antithesis between the supply of gold and the prices of goods; that Free Imports had power to bind the

elements at the Antipodes and to loose them in the East ; that free imports were responsible for the conflict between Russia and Japan and the subsequent borrowings and purchasings by the combatants and their neighbours ; that Free Imports have been the cause of the unprecedented internal activity in the great protectionist countries which demand an increased supply of our semi-crude products wherewith to minister to their superior employments. In all this business Free Imports have been at the best a fifth wheel to the coach of the world's general prosperity.

But now let us turn from the Board of Trade Returns in this country to the similar documents for other countries. Take the White Paper issued from our own commercial department the other day, and showing the comparative trade of various countries for the first seven months of the present year. Take imports. We are sometimes told by our friends upon the orthodox side that imports are a splendid test ; that you cannot adopt a national tariff without diminishing your imports, and restricting your trade. But look at the table :

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS IN THE SEVEN MONTHS ENDED JULY 31, 1906.
(White Paper, Foreign Trade and Commerce.)

	IMPORTS.			EXPORTS.		
	1905. Mill. £.	1906. Mill. £.	Increase per cent.	1905. Mill. £.	1906. Mill. £.	Increase per cent.
Belgium . . .	66.0	72.8	10	47.4	55.2	16
France . . .	112.0	123.7	10	107.1	114.3	7
United States . .	140.5	154.2	10	173.2	198.7	15
Japan . . .	32.8	25.8	—*	16.9	20.9	24
Canada . . .	30.2	35.5	17	18.6	24.4	31
United Kingdom .	272.0	298.7	10	183.5	214.0	16

Not much support there, we observe, for any theory of the instrinsic superiority of the Free Import system. Thus during the first seven months of the present year, as compared with the corresponding period of last, British imports increased by nearly 10 per cent. ; but the imports of the United States, of Belgium, of France with its stationary population, all increased by 10 per cent. or slightly more. Free Imports are not therefore in any peculiar degree progressive imports—for protectionist Canada tops the list and increases her inward trade not by 10 per cent., but by 17 per cent. So with the exports.

* The reduction here is of course explained by the change from war to peace.

There is not the slightest indication that we have discovered the decisive secret of success.

There is one country left out. The White Paper does not give figures for Germany ; but I found them last week in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. Germany during the present year has adopted the more severe, the almost McKinleyite tariff, which we were told would prove her final ruin. There will be something more to say upon that point presently, and I will only say now, that in the first nine months of the present year Germany expanded her exports by £20,000,000 sterling or about 9 per cent., and her imports—which we are told to regard as the more certain test—by over £50,000,000, or 16 per cent.—a growth of imports much more rapid than our own, mainly due to the increased demand for raw material. Still no sign here of that restriction of trade outward or inward, but especially inward, which we are told follows the adoption or aggravation of a tariff. I feel that I ought to apologise to you for this fusillade of figures ; but the point I want to leave finally upon your minds is that our Board of Trade Returns, even at their unprecedented best, supply no testimony whatever in favour of the peculiar advantages claimed for the Free Imports system ; and that in this year of grace and the late General Election, the total increase of German trade, lumping exports and imports together on Mr. Asquith's method, has been absolutely and relatively greater than the increase of our own. There is no indication whatever in our favour of a permanence of competitive success in the markets of the world, or that the foundations of our commercial supremacy are being strengthened under the system of trade that is called *free*.

Now we come to a very interesting commentary upon that fact. I do not know whether any of my hearers has had the opportunity of looking closely into the German Green Book * lately issued and dealing in minute detail with the course of trade in recent years between that country and the United Kingdom. If any free importer can read that record with complete equanimity I can only envy his stoical composure. "From Great Britain," says the German official writer, "we take chiefly raw material and half-finished goods for our manufacture."† He goes on to show that Germany exports to us (sometime known as the workshop of the world) a long and remarkable list of fully manufactured articles. He adds that

* *Auswärtiger Handel im Jahre*, 1905. *I Teil, Heft XI. Grossbritannien. Berlin*, 1906.

† *Aus Grossbritannien bezieht das Deutsche Zollgebiet hauptsachlich Rohstoffe und halbfertige Waren für die Industrie.*

German raw products and semi-crude material are now only sent to this country in a very limited degree. Germany prefers to send to us in a larger and still larger measure the completely finished article. In a single generation the former relations of the two countries have been completely reversed. They are the bricklayers, we are the labourers. It is Germany which is now supplying us in the main with manufactured goods. It is we who are supplying her more and more with the crude materials for her finished industry. So far as the exchange between these two countries is concerned, the competitive position of our manufacture is weakening steadily and weakening fast.

The significance of this process may be brought out by another interesting little disclosure. We owe Germany increasing sums of money for the increasing excess of her exports to us. We take a very much larger quantity of her goods than formerly, but she does not increase her demand for our goods in anything like the same proportion. How then is the balance settled? When we look into this question in other directions, inquiry is spellbound by the blessed words "invisible exports." That formula, as it happens, will not do here for to Germany at least our invisible exports are a decreasing quantity. Germany does more and more of her own shipping. Germany does more and more of her own banking. Where then do we come in? How do we pay? That we pay to a large extent by the transfer of securities, that is by the transfer of British capital invested abroad, has long been known, though the fact cannot be proved. But we pay with something else as well. The Green Book shows that for the last ten years there has been a constant and increasing flow of gold from this country to Germany, and when we deduct the slight return movement of the precious metals to this market we shall find that we have shipped a net tribute of bullion to Germany in the last ten years amounting to no less than £63,000,000 sterling. This sounds incredible, but I give the full table.

There is the record. What does it mean, this steady drain of gold from the British to the German market? If that vast sum of £63,500,000, transferred practically in cash from British to German hands in payment of our excess of imports from that country—if it is regarded as *capital*, it represents a sum sufficient to build over thirty German *Dreadnoughts*, a fleet strong enough to sweep our Navy from the sea. Every year during the last decade we have paid in cash for at least two first-class German battleships. This is in addition to our indirect contribution to the German navy by the hostile duties our trade has to bear at German ports. In the last three years alone—*in the perioa since*

Mr. Chamberlain's campaign commenced—the cash tribute exacted from us through our own helpless *régime* and the German protective system working together, has been equal to the cost of twenty first-class battleships. Directly and indirectly we have

EXCHANGE OF THE PRECIOUS METALS BETWEEN GERMANY AND ENGLAND 1896–1905.

	German Imports from England. (coin and bullion.)	German Exports to England. (coin and bullion.)	Our net cash-tribute to Germany.
	Mill. £.	Mill. £.	Mill. £.
1896	4.8	0 1	4.7
1897	4.7	0.1	4.6
1898	13 0	3.1	9.9
1899	5.2	2.5	2.7
1900	6.1	2.5	3.6
1901	5.2	0.5	4.7
1902	2.7	0.4	2.3
1003	12.0	0.3	11.7
1904	17.3	0 5	16.8
1905	3·3	0.8	2.5
	74·3	10.8	63·5

paid more than twice over since the South African war commenced for the whole cost of the Kaiser's navy.

And yet the £63,500,000 may mean to a large extent merely interest upon a huge accumulation of investments which were formerly British and are now German. In any case there is the sum transferred—gold instead of goods—in the course of a decade to strengthen all the operations of your chief protectionist competitor upon this side of the Atlantic. Cobdenism gives Germany the key of your cash-box. This fact has come as a genuine surprise to the present investigator. When the late Mr. Seddon spoke of the shipment of golden sovereigns some of us who were convinced tariff reformers, shook our heads at what we thought was his crude scientific error ; but with regard to the trade between England and Germany at least Mr. Seddon's rugged common sense was not far wrong, and we may well ask ourselves how long it will be before our economic relations with our other protectionist competitors becomes that of open tribute.

In the meantime, what are the comparative effects of these opposing systems upon social conditions ? and, in spite of the immediate showing of our own Board of Trade returns, what is the prospect for the future ?

Despite the inflation of our foreign trade there is evidently something lacking in the state of Denmark. We have had the

respectable increase of imports. We have had the positive boom in exports. Capital and democracy are called upon to rejoice in both. Here we come to the crux of the question. Employers in most trades complain that their profits have not been in accordance with the volume of their business. The soundness of that contention is beyond our power to estimate. But why should democracy rejoice? The prosperity of the industrial working class depends upon the demand for labour —upon the constant increase in the amount, and a steady rise in the quality of the employment which the commercial system of a country provides for its people. Where do we stand in that particular? The boom has about reached its height: it will not rise much further if it rises at all. Yet employment has never been as good, even in the present year, as it was a few years ago. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the rate of employment in the skilled trades sank, I believe, upon more than one occasion to as low as *two per cent.* The rate in the present year is nearly twice as high—according to the last number of the *Labour Gazette*, it is 3.8 per cent. These are the figures for the skilled trade unions. The state of things in the ranks of unskilled labour is very seriously worse. Everything goes to show that the curve of permanent want of employment is rising in this country, and that there is a steadily thickening deposit of the unemployable at the bottom of our social system. Foreign trade may rise or fall, but with every commercial crisis there opens more distinctly a slowly widening gap between the upward line of external trade and the lower line of employment. There could be no more serious subject of investigation by economists and politicians; for if you have 3.8 of the workers unemployed even in the skilled trades when trade, according to the Cobdenite argument, is at its best, what do you expect to have when trade is once more upon the down grade, and the present boom, like other booms, is at an end? To those who desire to go further into that question, and who do not believe that the late General Election marked a finally blissful epoch in all the chequered experience of mankind, I can recommend a careful study of two recent reports from British Consuls.

The year 1905 [says Mr. Bell, our able commercial agent in New York,] has been one of great activity in trade, industry and speculation in the United States. There has been an abundance of money for industrial purposes, the farmers have been prosperous, manufacturing plants have turned out quantities of products in excess of any previous year; there has been no over production, the mileage of railways has steadily increased, the issues of stocks and lands have been without precedent, and failures have been fewer in proportion to the numbers of firms in business. During the past year

oods could not be manufactured fast enough to meet the demand in many ases.

And what was the parallel condition of employment in America? Let Mr. Bell say:

Over a million immigrants [chiefly adult candidates for work, remember] have been absorbed by the country without affecting the labour market. Wages have been good, the scale of living has been high, and there has been abundance of employment with few strikes of consequence.

That, we shall be told, is all owing to the vast internal resources of the United States. But what shall we say of the similar report for Germany, which is less happily situated than ourselves in respect of natural resources? She has not only stopped the flow of emigration, but she gains upon the balance by the immigration of Italians and Slavs. Consul-General Schwabach, in his report from Berlin, points out that the German population increases more than twice as fast as ours. There is, therefore, an immensely greater pressure upon the labour market.

It follows [says Herr Schwabach, and I am now quoting the words of his report] that a much greater number both absolutely and relatively has to be provided for every year, and that *the stress upon the labour market is much more formidable in Germany*. That the general condition of the people is on the whole steadily improving in spite of these facts speaks for the strength of the present favourable economic condition of the German Empire. In spite of the high rate of natural reproduction the percentage of unemployed is comparatively low, and although the number of unemployed rose rapidly during the last period of depression (four or five years ago), *this calamity hardly assumed the proportions it did in the United Kingdom, and moreover disappeared much quicker*.

This is confirmed by the opinion of Consul-General Oppenheimer, writing from Frankfort. Take the following passage:

The labour market was firm throughout; the statistics of the unemployed dropped as low as 0.6 per cent., a rate which has only seldom been reached and which really signifies that at that time* there were practically no unemployed. . . . A number of industries have for years been forced to draw their workmen from abroad. Thus the percentage of foreign workmen in the coal-mining districts continues on the increase; the building trade is forced to engage foreign workmen. . . . In the country the complaints concerning the scarcity of labour which have continued for some time, appear never to have been more justified. All this has its bearing upon emigration, *which has hardly ever been limited to so comparatively small a number as left Germany in* 1905.

At the present moment under the increased tariff which came into force last March, the problem of unemployment has wholly disappeared in Germany, and both in that country and in America there are more places open than there are persons to

* 1905.

fill them, despite the high rate of natural increase and the foreign immigration. In my humble opinion the case of these two great Protectionist countries, differing in everything but the success with which they use the tariff to provide increasing work and increasing wages for their people, is an overwhelming answer to the claims of the Free Import system from a social point of view.

And now what of the future? We have done fairly well, and only fairly well, while good times have been general throughout the world, while there has been work for every country, while the Protectionist nations have been so busy in their home markets that the strain of foreign competition upon our commercial position has been temporarily relaxed. But what when the good times are followed by the worse? Cato, in the person of Mr. Leonard Courtney, has gone to the House of Lords, but not before he had left us this theme for meditation: "I have always contended that our commercial supremacy is passing away." Consul-General Schwabach, our own agent at Berlin, tells us roundly that we must expect to be knocked out.

"As the population increases in Germany," he remarks, "at a higher rate, it is neither wonderful nor alarming"—I understand the "wonderful" but do not understand the "alarming"—"that her export trade increases faster than the British. A people with a lower rate of natural reproduction cannot expect to increase their foreign trade at the same pace as a people with a higher natural rate of reproduction."

That is to say, you will become second in the race, and unless you alter your commercial system which provides work for foreign labour and foreign capital, more certainly than it provides work for home labour and home capital, I am certain that Consul-General Schwabach will prove to be right. You will be beaten in the commercial battle; beaten by numbers; beaten by the numbers which Germany could not support under Free Imports, but is able to retain and sustain under the tariff; beaten by your total inability under your present policy to form your whole industrial system into square; beaten—and these are the keywords of the argument I am addressing to you—beaten by your fatal lack of that power of national combination which the tariff provides and Free Imports prevent. Upon this point, let me extract another warning from Mr. Bell's report upon American conditions.

> The first thing that strikes one is the fact that, notwithstanding the enormous value of the home trade, the value of manufactured articles exported should have increased to such an extent. It is not difficult to imagine what

will be the result when the home demand slackens, and when the manufacturers who have so greatly enlarged and extended their works to meet the extra demand for their products are obliged to look for extended markets outside the United States, in order to keep their mills and their factories fully employed.

And the apocalyptic vision of future dumping is drawn in these words :

When it is remembered that it is only by keeping their works running to the fullest extent, and thus keeping down expenses to the lowest point that renders it possible for the majority of the manufacturers in this country to compete in foreign markets, one can realise how essential it is that they find neutral markets * where their surplus products can be disposed of so as to avoid an accumulation of stocks.

I shall close this part of my subject by observing that the boom in which you are bidden to rejoice was not caused by Free Imports ; the boom will not be continued by Free Imports ; and after the boom, free imports will not save you. The reason is that quite the contrary happens under that system from what you ought to expect if the Cobdenite theory were true : your position is best when all the world is prosperous and the protected countries are most deeply engaged upon home development ; and your position is worst when competition is keenest and the protected countries bring their full strength to bear upon your foreign markets, your home market, and above all, upon your colonial markets. The industrial loss of such a system of unreciprocated Free Imports is that it provides the least security for employment and the least security for capital. When you compare the recent commercial history of Great Britain, the United States, and Germany, I submit that you will find nothing in what has happened during the last three years to refute this view.

And here we strike the deeper issue. There is evidently no future for the Island under the present system, if we are to go by the opinion of many of the eminent and wise among home and foreign Free Traders. And in the profound belief of many of us, a conviction strengthened with every day and every hour since Mr. Chamberlain's agitation began, there can be no hope for the Island standing alone under any system. It is the duty of tariff reformers, above all, to be thoroughly candid with themselves upon this matter. A tariff levied upon foreign manufactured goods to the extent of ten per cent. of their value would do something to redress the existing inequality. Our system is one of commercial privilege for the protected nations who have unhindered access to our ports ; who more and more effectually restrict our access to their ports ; and who

* Which means non-protectionist markets, including our own.

enjoy, therefore, that advantage of the wider market which is the decisive advantage from the point of view of the Free-Trade theory as well as from the standpoint of the Tariff theory. You may strengthen by a low tariff your command of your home trade, as some compensation for your loss of equality abroad. You may cause a more intense absorption of British capital, and you may draw foreign capital and foreign enterprise into your vortex, just as British firms have been forced into the tariff system of other countries. You may reduce, and you will reduce, if you are wise, the present average rate of unemployment in this country, and may bring it down to something like the German level. This will be an invaluable means of fortifying the citadel of your strength; but let us not disguise from ourselves the fact that even the most intense and the most efficient use of our insular resources, if we were compelled to rely upon them alone, would only postpone our fate, without being able in the long run to avert it. With regard to population, which sooner or later determines working power, fighting power, and financial power, Great Britain is already approaching perilously near the condition of a second-class State. Ten years from now, and that is a very short period in the experience of statesmanship, there will be at least a hundred millions of inhabitants in the United States, there will be at least seventy millions of Germans under the Kaiser's rule, and there will be no more than about forty-seven millions of people in these islands. I address myself to every man here without the slightest regard to his preconceived fiscal opinions, and I ask him whether it is possible for the mind of any thoughtful politician to conceive a more serious contrast. You are sometimes told by vague optimists that numbers are not everything. That is not the principle upon which you act with regard to your navy; even Mr. Haldane warns you that it is not a principle to which you can trust in the case of your army; and still less is it a principle which you will find very effective in the sphere of your industrial production. When intelligence and energy are fairly equal—as between the leading civilised races they are—you will find it safer to face the fact that superior numbers will decide. If we cannot expand our insular organisation into a genuinely Imperial system, then in the lifetime of many who are now in this room, America and Germany will not only have the vastly larger population, but the larger commerce, the larger revenue, the larger fleets.

That, above all, is why Tariff Reform is not dead. That, above all, is why Tariff Reform can never die unless the British Empire itself is to die. The Free Traders, relying upon surface currents, will be beaten by the undertow.

For, while we have had our parish revolution of last January, let us see what has been happening in the Colonies. From the Imperial point of view our unparalleled General Election—the earthquake in the ballot boxes—was a local event, and even a parochial event. This is not an insular question. It is a question which must be settled by the Empire as a whole. And even while we are told that Mr. Chamberlain's movement has been stamped upon by the intelligent hoof of an indignant democracy—trampled, extinguished and destroyed—the principle of preference has continued to develop and extend its actual operation throughout the King's Colonial dominions. The Colonies and tariff reformers in this country are like two parties driving a tunnel towards each other from opposite ends, and although the job has been temporarily interrupted by a landslip on this side, the work upon the other side is steadily getting through all obstruction and approaching the centre. Listen closely, you can hear the sound of the cutting machines.

If we refuse to negotiate with the Colonies they are not idle in negotiating with each other. You have a great web of commercial alliances forming between all the other members of the race. There is now preference and reciprocity between the Dominion of Canada on the one hand and Australia, South Africa and New Zealand upon the other. The Commonwealth has arranged preference and reciprocity with South Africa and the Canadian Dominion. Vigorous little New Zealand has entered into similar treaties with the larger Colonial groups. In spite of the internal dissensions of South Africa there has been no more hopeful fact since the war than that Cape Colony has been drawn by these subtle and powerful ties into closer commercial intercourse with the sister-states, into closer union with the common life of the Empire. The General Election compared with this movement has been like the fly on the cart-wheel; and the movement has even received the pontifical blessing of the Under-Secretary for the Colonies. It seems tolerably clear that of two things you must choose one. You will either have a system of Imperial preference with the Mother Country brought in, or you will have a system of Imperial preference with the Mother Country left out; and not only that, not only with Great Britain left out, but with foreign nations coming in instead. It would be a very dangerous thing to imagine that we shall have unlimited time to think upon this matter, that we can postpone it without further anxiety to the next General Election or even for several General Elections more. There are competitors who have tariffs of their own, who have a strong negotiating power, who would only too gladly enter into closer commercial relations with the Colonies

upon the conditions which you reject. There is the United States, which is more and more impressed, as Mr. Carnegie will tell you, by the importance of securing once for all the most-favoured-nation footing in the Canadian market. The conditions of such a treaty would be that British goods should enjoy no advantage over American goods. That would mean the complete cancellation of the preference clause which has hitherto enabled British manufacturers to double their export to Canada in the face of American competition, and has prevented the extinction, or something very like the extinction, of our trade to the Dominion. Once the United States had arranged such terms with Canada she would not be long in arranging similar terms with Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and the West Indies.

But Germany, again, is only too eager to take a hand in the same game. I was struck the other day by a remarkable passage in the report of our Consul at Danzig, who distinctly suggested that in view of the importance which the commerce between the Australian Commonwealth and the German Empire has now assumed, the statesmen of Berlin might be glad at no distant date to concede to Australian products an effective preference under their tariffs if they were able once for all to secure the same terms as the Mother Country in that colonial market, thus preventing British goods from securing a special, permanent, and decisive advantage in the great island-continent.

There is more than a possibility that the German Government may relax its tariffs upon British colonial produce even though there is not the slightest chance of its relaxing the duties against British manufactured goods. Colonel Brookfield writes from Danzig:

> To show the intimate bearing that this question might some day have upon British commercial interests, it may here be mentioned that some of the great Australian meat-producing colonies have recently made inquiries as to the possibility of sending cargoes of frozen meat to Germany. Nothing but the rigidly protective law in force here stands in the way of vast openings for trade in this direction, and it would be well if this fact were kept in view supposing that the evils of dear food should become aggravated in the near future and lead to some modification of the present policy.

Well, this, as I conceive it, is the question of life and death for your Empire, and equally for your commerce. There is only one chance for your supremacy in maritime trade, and for your naval supremacy itself. We have seen a striking recovery or advance of British trade with the Colonies wherever preference has been applied. We have seen the advantage in Canada. We see it to a lesser but distinct degree in Australia,

New Zealand, and South Africa, where the period of experiment has been shorter. If we are to lose the hope offered for the maintenance and development of the preference system, we shall lose all. We have already lost first place in the European trade and the North American trade. Our exports have lately been booming in the neutral markets, but in face of the certain progress of Japanese and United States competition, we cannot depend upon holding those markets even in South America or the Far East. Your customers are setting up for themselves. The chief protected markets are already developed. The "neutral" markets are simply those which are not yet developed, but will be. Japan, for instance, is just passing from the neutral to the competitive phase. Our chance depends upon keeping our supremacy in trade under the flag. If we are beaten there, we shall be beaten everywhere. We cannot shut our eyes to the proof that foreign competitive trade is increasing in the Colonies far more rapidly than our own trade. Nothing but preference would have checked that movement in Canada. Nothing but preference can check it elsewhere. If we refuse to reciprocate, preference will sooner or later be withdrawn; foreign countries will take our place in ways which will make an end once for all of the prospect of special commercial union with the Colonies; and if that happens, the British Empire, though it may remain for some time a geographical expression, will never be a real Imperial State, and it will be as well to roll up the map and think of something else.

Before that consummation occurs the Colonial Conference next year may have a word to say upon the issue. There is no time left to deal with it except in a few remarks, and the whole of this paper has been dealing with it by inference. That Conference will not be exclusively occupied by the Fiscal question, and there may be some attempt to reduce the importance of the position which preference has occupied upon the agenda in previous meetings of this kind. It is well to make it clear that we shall regard these attempts without the slightest jealousy or misgiving. We shall welcome and aid every step that may be taken for the strengthening of the Empire. Sir Frederick Pollock recommends an Imperial Council—where the Colonies would neither vote nor pay. It would have its uses as a sort of pale emblem of Imperial unity in the abstract. There are some Ministers, I believe, so full of Liberal idealism that they hope to do away with the "sordid bonds" of preference by substituting the direct cash-nexus of increased colonial contributions. These gentlemen can hardly be aware of the earnest and protracted efforts made by Mr. Chamberlain, who adopted the cause of commercial unity only

after he had exhausted the alternatives. But what did he find? He found that the Colonies objected to representation which might involve them in taxation. He found that they objected still more to taxation without representation. He found that they will not pay tribute to the Imperial expenditure which they have no share in controlling. Upon that ground there was an absolute deadlock. The Colonies were prepared informally but substantially to federate upon a commercial basis, but not upon any other basis. The Colonies have not changed their opinions expressed at the Conferences of 1887, of 1894, of 1897, and at the Coronation meeting of 1902; and if they renew their offer, the party which rejects their request will incur the heaviest responsibility ever borne by a political party in this country. Without federation it is certain that Great Britain, standing alone, will be presently surpassed, as even Free Traders admit, by more than one Protectionist country in every element of political and commercial power. Only upon the lines of commercial union, followed next, as we hope, by a naval league, and at last, as we may venture to dream, by federation, political, financial and complete, can we hope to draw the forces of the Mother Country and the Colonies together into a United States of the British Empire, as mighty and inseparable as the United States of the American Republic.

And now, if I were asked to resume the argument of this paper, the political and the commercial argument, I would condense it into a single word—"combination." The classical economists, like their orthodox pupils of the present day, were mainly misled by exaggerating the moral and economic value of another word—"competition." We know the moral value of competition to be very qualified. Its economic value—and I am far from denying that it has its place—is more limited still. When Adam Smith dwelt upon the division of labour he failed to perceive, or failed to express, the fact that everything depends upon the efficient combination of the divided employments.

Unless division of labour meant a more complex harmony of effort—the progress from melody to symphony—it would be no economic advance, but a return to the primitive self-sufficiency of the savage. What matters, for instance, in the famous case of the making of a pin, is not that one man fashions the head, another the shaft, and a third the point, and so on through all the eighteen distinct operations enumerated in the famous first chapter of the *Wealth of Nations*, but that the industry of all these workers is joined to produce the pin complete. To speak of division of labour as the dominating fact is a sheer

misstatement—what happens is simply an increasing scale and efficiency of combination. Agree with that statement and it will be bound to influence profoundly the whole of your political and economic views. The laws of industrial development from this standpoint will appear to be, as indeed they are, precisely like all the other great laws of social development. National tariffs are but systems of national combination for co-ordinating the efforts of all industries, one with another, in order to develop the economic strength of the community as a whole. Free Imports deprive you and you alone of all power of national combination, and your policy is based upon the verbal fallacy, not upon the inherent truth, contained in Adam Smith's statement when he spoke of the division of labour, but was really demonstrating the efficiency of combination. From this point of view the advanced Liberals, who repel any suggestion of changing the antiquated practice of *laissez faire*, are simply Conservatives of the type that would conserve even chaos. The twentieth century, in spite of them, is going to be dominated in politics and trade by the widest and strongest combinations of the most efficient individuals, and you cannot safely continue under a system which exposes your commercial and political interests to every disintegrating influence. Some of us may remember a certain passage in Clausewitz, who is the greatest writer on war only because he is one of the greatest writers on conduct. He is speaking of the power of holding to your original insight and conviction through the confusion of events, in despite of the apparent contradictions of the moment. Having based himself to begin with upon the study of all the broad forces, the strong captain is he, undisturbed by the temporary eddies of the action, who "keeping the law in calmness made will see what he foresaw." A faith based, right or wrong, upon a sincere examination of what we conceive to be the real and permanently governing laws of life and politics throughout the world to-day is too firm to be shaken by the passing fluctuations of the Board of Trade returns or by one swing of the pendulum which will swing again; and in our conviction that the forces of commercial and political disintegration will fail, that the cause of Imperial combination is the cause that will conquer, we know that we are in accord with "the prophetic soul of the wide world dreaming on things to come."

J. L. GARVIN.

TO GENERAL PICQUART

ON HIS APPOINTMENT AS MINISTER FOR WAR

Soldier, and friend of France; who—finding wrong
By priest and soldier wrought in Justice' name,
While forgers wrote and signed their country's shame—
Did'st lonely front the furious bigot throng,
And stand across the prostrate 'gainst the strong,
Calling for aid, till from the darkness came
The flash *J'accuse* that kindled reason's flame;
Picquart; to thee does this high place belong.
Marshal the force of France; for thou hast served,
Beyond all other served, the Nation well,
In raising truth command in chief to take,
When Dreyfus suffered pain all undeserved,
Where the hot floods faint round the Isle of Hell,
And thou wast exiled e'en for valour sake.

C. D.

PAN-ISLAMISM*

We often speak—rather light-heartedly—of the British Empire as, amongst other things, the greatest Mahomedan power in the world, and unquestionably no sovereign counts amongst his subjects so many millions of Mahomedans as King Edward. The total number of Mahomedans in the world is approximately estimated at some 250,000,000. Of these barely one-tenth own direct allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey, whereas there are no less than sixty-two millions within the frontiers of our Indian Empire, and millions more are to be found scattered about our possessions and protectorates in Malaya, and in Eastern, Central, and Western Africa, whilst in Egypt and the Sudan we have assumed responsibility for another twelve million followers of the Prophet. This is unquestionably a factor of the very greatest importance in considering the interests and the future of the British Empire, for in the East religion is still a force more potent than any other ; and in this, as in many other respects, the East stands much where Europe stood in the Middle Ages. Both in Egypt and in India we have recently had reminders—which have come as a surprise to many of us —that Islam especially still represents an elemental force with which British statesmanship may have seriously to reckon. From this point of view I thought it might be of some interest to collect a few notes concerning the history and growth of the movement which is now known as Pan-Islamism, in connection more particularly with its influence upon India.

It is just thirty years since the present Sulan Abdul Hamid came to the throne of Turkey. His Empire then seemed to be on the point of dissolution. His treasury was bankrupt. His Christian provinces were in revolt. Within two years a victorious Russian army was encamped at the gates of his capital. He himself was deemed to be a mere puppet in the hands of the powerful bureaucratic oligarchy which, after a succession of Palace conspiracies, had placed him upon the throne. We may reprobate the ruthlessness of his methods, but we cannot

* A paper read on November 14 before the Central Asian Society.

refuse our admiration to the consummate ability, the resourcefulness and the inflexibility of purpose with which Abdul Hamid —certainly one of the most striking figures of our times—faced so desperate a situation, and applied himself with mingled daring and cunning to the two-fold task of restoring the despotic power of the Sultanate at home, and of seeking compensation for the curtailment of his temporal dominions by reviving and extending throughout the Mahomedan world the spiritual authority to which he lays claim as heir to the Khalifate of Islam. With regard to his domestic policy, all I need say is that, however severely we may condemn it according to our own standards, it has been from his point of view eminently successful. The old oligarchy, which under his predecessors ruled Turkey from the Sublime Porte, has been swept away, and though Abdul Hamid never issues forth from his well-guarded Palace of Yeldiz Kiosk, the Sultan's will is the only law which to-day governs the Turkish Empire unto its uttermost limits. What I propose to deal with this afternoon is the influence which Abdul Hamid exercises, and projects far beyond the immediate frontiers of the Turkish Empire, as the Khalif whose spiritual supremacy is proclaimed every week in the *Khutbeh*, or Friday prayer, which is read in all the mosques of Sunni Mahomedans within his dominions, and in many mosques beyond them. This prayer runs as follows :

O ALLAH, Mercifully help the "Just Khalifs" (*i.e.*, Abu-Bekr, Omar, Osman and Ali) and the IMAMS MEHDI (*i.e.*, the descendants of Ali) who have administered justly and equitably. O Allah, strengthen and assist Thy Slave and Khalif, the Most powerful Sultan, the Most Glorious Khan, the Shadow of ALLAH on Earth, the Lord of the Kings of the Arabs and the Ajems, the Servant of the Twain Holy Places, the Sultan and Son of a Sultan, SULTAN el GHAZI, ABDUL HAMID KHAN, Son of the Sultan el GHAZI ABDUL MEJID KHAN, Son of the Sultan el GHAZI MAHMOUD KHAN.

May ALLAH preserve his Khalifate and strengthen with Justice his Sultanate, and may His benefits and favours be showered upon the whole world up to the end of All Times. AMEN.

In theory it is easy enough to dispute the claims of the Turkish Sultans to the Khalifate. The title of Khalif, it will be remembered, was that assumed by the immediate successors of Mahomed as vicegerents of the Prophet. In the earliest days of Islam the succession of the Khalifate give rise to the first great Mahomedan schism—a schism which has been perpetuated to the present day, between Sunnis and Shiahs, Persia being now the one important Mussulman power that represents the latter sect. It was undoubtedly held by the early doctors of Mussulman law that the Khalif himself must belong to the Arab tribe of El Koreish, and that he must be elected by the suffrages of the whole Mussulman community. But the process of

election soon became a mere formality, and practically fell into desuetude long before the Khalifate had passed out of Arab hands. It became merely an honorific title, which was indeed at one time borne simultaneously by the independent rulers of different portions of the Mussulman world in Baghdad, Cairo, and Cordova.

The claim of the Turkish Sultans to the Khalifate dates only from the sixteenth century, and arises out of the conquest of Egypt, where the fugitive descendants of the Abasside Khalifs who had formerly reigned in Baghdad were allowed to retain a shadowy authority, which lent to the turbulent Mameluke rulers of Cairo a certain spiritual prestige. The story is worth recalling, for the spirit in which Selim I. compassed the conquest of Egypt would seem to have inspired in no small measure the latest of his successors on the Ottoman throne. The authority of the Egyptian Mamelukes extended, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, over the whole of Syria and Arabia to the valley of the Euphrates. But in 1512 there came to the throne of Turkey, in the person of Selim I., a Sultan who combined with the devouring ambition of his ancestors a novel tendency towards philosophic mysticism, and a curious craving for spiritual illumination. Poet, philosopher, and theologian, as well as conqueror, he was the first Ottoman Sultan to conceive the idea that the most powerful of Mohamedan princes might well claim to be also the paramount prince of Islam and the vicegerent of the Prophet. The first war waged by him was in the nature of a religious war. It was waged against Shah Ismail of Persia; it began with a wholesale massacre of Shiahs throughout Selim's dominions, and it ended with the complete overthrow of the Persian army at Tchaldiran, not to the wonted Turkish war-cry of "Padishah, Padishah," but to the essentially Mahomedan war-cry of "Allah, Allah." Selim's armies continued their career of conquest through Kurdistan into Mesopotamia, and thus ultimately came into direct collision with the forces of the Egyptian Mameluke Sultans in the Euphrates valley. Selim himself had by that time returned to Adrianople, and the various incidents related by Turkish historians throw an interesting light upon the frame of mind which determined his expedition to Egypt. The possession of the holy places of Arabia had already fired Selim's imagination, and all his courtiers harped upon this theme. His Vizier, Ahmed Pasha, who was all for war, taunted Selim with the story of how in his youth he had been a prisoner in Cairo in the hands of Kait Bey, and how the latter had boasted that the power of Egypt would always close the road to Mecca and Medina against the Turkish hordes. Selim's

chief secretary impressed upon him that in Cairo, both actually and metaphorically, must be sought the keys of the Holy Places. His Master of the Ceremonies dreamt opportunely that the four disciples of the Prophet appeared to him waving victorious standards. This supernatural lead Selim was bound to follow, and he set forth in person to take command of the expedition in June 1516. The octogenarian Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, Kans Ghaury, had in the meantime collected the flower of his forces near Aleppo, at Merjdabik, near the reputed tomb of David. His defeat was as complete as had been Shah Ismail's, and Selim held a triumphal entry into Aleppo, where for the first time at the Friday service in the Mosque, the title of Protector of the Holy Places was added to the other titles of the Ottoman Sultan. Such was Selim's delight that, following the example of the Prophet, who bestowed his own coat on Kaab Ibn Soheir for a poem of homage and good tidings, the Sultan took off the costly robe he was wearing and placed it on the shoulders of the officiating divine. At Damascus, where Selim paused for some weeks in his victorious progress towards Egypt, he spent, we are told, most of his time within the precincts of the wonderful Mosque of St. John, discoursing with learned doctors of Mohamedan law, and from the greatest of them, Sheikh Mohamed of Bedakshan, who had preached before him on the duties and responsibilities of the Kalifate, he implored and received a solemn blessing on his undertakings. Marching southward along the coast, Selim turned aside for a few days to make a pious pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which is still, next to Mecca and Medina, the holiest city in the eyes of the Mahomedans. He reached Cairo early in 1517. The Mameluke Sultans of Egypt and their followers were destroyed root and branch, but the last scion of the Abbasside Khalifs, El Muttawwakil, was not only spared but treated with the utmost show of deference. Having formally transferred to Selim the somewhat shadowy title he himself possessed to the Vicegerency of the Prophet, he was carried back with the conqueror to Constantinople, and together with him what was, perhaps, still more valuable, the famous *Bordah* or mantle of the Prophet, which had been for centuries the most cherished heirloom of the Abbassides. Whether, according to Mohamedan law, Muttawwakil was competent to convey to Selim a good title to the Kalifate is no doubt a moot point, but possession is nine points of the law in the East as in the West, perhaps even more so in the East. In Cairo, as had been foretold to him, Selim received from Mohamed Abdul Barakat, the thirty-fourth Grand Sherif of Mecca, through the hands of his son and special envoy, the keys of the sacred Kaaba, the immemorial shrine of

slam, and the title already conferred upon him at Aleppo, of servant of the Holy Places, thus received practical confirmation. Before leaving Cairo Selim took care to discharge his new responsibilities by making elaborate provisions for the despatch, under his auspices, of the annual pilgrims' caravan to Mecca, which had been hitherto one of the privileges of the rulers of Egypt, and the presents which accompanied it for the people of Mecca and Medina were on a scale of lavish munificence well calculated to secure their loyalty.

From that day to this none of Selim's successors has allowed the title to lapse. In the heyday of their military power, it is true, the Sultans were content to rely upon the keenness of their cimitar rather than upon spiritual power. The first Sultan who attempted to make capital out of his authority as Khalif in support of his temporal policy seems to have been Mustapha II., and it is interesting to note that this new departure coincides almost exactly with the first attempt of a great European Power to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey as the champion of the Christian subject races. Catherine II. had sent Admiral Orloff into the Mediterranean during the recent war with Turkey in order to induce the Greek populations of the Morea and Magnesia to rise against their oppressors. During the peace negotiations at Fokshani in 1772, one of the conditions demanded by Russia was the recognition by Turkey of the independence of the Crimean Tartars. To this demand Sultan Mustapha replied by a *non possumus* based upon his duties as Khalif. He declared formally that to him as Khalif belonged spiritual supremacy over all Sunni Mussulmans, and that if he did not fully exercise that supremacy over India, Bokhara, Morocco, and other countries whose rulers were Sunni Mussulmans, this was due merely to material difficulties of distance, but that he would be neglecting his duties as Khalif if he agreed to surrender the Tartars to the dominion of a Christian Power. This interesting claim proved, however, of little avail against Catherine's big battalions, and the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainaidji, on the contrary, introduced a new principle of which the subsequent application in a far more extended form has repeatedly affected and still largely governs the relations between Turkey and the rest of Europe, for it recognised the right of the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople to intervene with the Porte on behalf of the Sultan's Christian subjects in the Danubian provinces.

Perhaps because Mustapha's appeal to his authority as Khalif failed so lamentably on that occasion, the Khalifate dropped into the background, as far as Europe was concerned, for another century. Indeed, after the Crimean War and the

Treaty of Paris, when Turkey was admitted into the comity of European nations, her chief anxiety was, at least as far as outward forms were concerned, to merge the Oriental in the Occidental, and in international documents we find even the title of Sultan transmuted into the westernised designation of Emperor of the Ottomans. Abdul Hamid, however, is a keen student of the history of his own country, and it may well be Mustapha's claim which first inspired him to revive for his own benefit the pretensions of his less successful ancestor. Certain it is that for the last five and twenty years his policy both within and without his immediate dominions has been more and more closely bound up with his claim to the spiritual headship of Islam. Although it was to British intervention that Abdul Hamid mainly owed the mitigation of the harsh terms of peace imposed upon him by Russia in the Treaty of Saint Stephano, the relations of friendliness between this country and Turkey which followed the Berlin Congress were not of long duration. With the advent of Mr. Gladstone's administration in 1880 Great Britain assumed the lead in a policy of suasion and even of coercion, which though not in itself by any means antagonistic to the real interests of Turkey, frequently wore an outward aspect of hostility to the Sultan and to his Mahomedan subjects in the exclusive interests of his Christian subjects. In the eyes of Mahomedans, at least, the action of the European Concert, headed by England, often assumed the aspect of a religious crusade directed against the ascendency of the ruling Moslem race in Turkey. It is not unnatural that in these circumstances the Sultan should have been led to conceive a counter policy by which the forces of Islam should be brought together and organised for the purpose of resistance to the pressure of Christendom. Equally excusable was it that as to England had fallen the lead in bringing the pressure of Christendom to bear upon Turkey, the Sultan should have seen in a Mussulman revival possibilities of effective reprisals against that European Power which of all others had the largest Mahomedan element to reckon with in its own dominions.

It was during the complications which led to the British occupation of Egypt that Yeldish Kiosk appears to have become the seat of an organised propaganda on behalf of what has come to be known as Pan-Islamism. That was five and twenty years ago, and the channels through which Pan-Islamism works are so tortuous, its ramifications so subtle, that its slow and steady progress attracted but little attention except from those who know something of the East, and who were generally jeered at for their pains as visionaries and alarmists—until the events of the last twelve months in Egypt revealed as in a

sudden blaze of light the activity of forces which we had ignored with our usual self-complacency because they are difficult to reconcile with our own conception of the fitness of things. Whilst Europe had been vainly protesting and demonstrating against Armenian and Macedonian atrocities, and European diplomacy at Constantinople had been reduced to impotency by its own intestinal jealousies, emissaries had been constantly passing to and fro between Yeldiz Kiosk and Mahomedan centres throughout the Eastern world, spreading the fame of the ever-victorious Khalif, who had drowned rebellion at home in rivers of infidel blood and stubbornly defied the wrath of the Powers. Had not the mightiest of all the potentates of Christendom, the great War Lord of Germany, humbly travelled to Constantinople to do homage to the Padishah, and openly proclaimed himself at Damascus, "the devoted friend of the 300,000,000 Mussulmans who own His Majesty the Sultan Abdul Hamid to be their Khalif?" Surely the sword of Islam had sprung once more from the scabbard in which it had too long rusted. The word prestige is deprecated nowadays in humanitarian quarters as redolent of obsolete militarism and alien barbarism; but in the East it has lost none of its potency, and throughout the East, wherever Mahomedans congregate, in the porches of Mosques, in the bazaars of crowded cities, in wild mountain fastnesses, in the tents of the wandering nomads, in the great religious fairs, and above all, at that world-centre of Mussulman pilgrimage under the shadow of the Kaabah of Mecca, the name of Abdul Hamid has been sedulously magnified for the last quarter of a century with the results which we are now for the first time beginning to realise.

Amongst the concrete facts which demonstrate the earnestness and thoroughness of Abdul Hamid's Pan-Islamic policy, none is more remarkable and significant than the construction of the Hejaz Railway, which will ultimately link up the seat of his temporal power as Sultan at Constantinople with the seat of his spiritual power as Khalif at Mecca. A very full and valuable description of this railway was contributed in August last to *Petermann's Mittheilungen*, the well-known German magazine of geography and exploration, by General Auler Pasha, a Prussian officer of Engineers in the service of the Sultan. The following details are borrowed from it. The railway, which starts from Damascus and follows in the main the old pilgrim road to Mecca, was begun in 1901, and before the end of the year reached Deráa, whence a branch line of about 100 miles now connects with Haiffa on the Mediterranean. In 1904 it reached Ma'an, which was used as a military base for the despatch of troops to Akabah and Tabah during the Turco-

Egyptian controversy last spring. It has now reached Tebuk, which is half-way between Damascus and Medina, and next year it will reach Medain-Salih, a very important strategic point in connection with Nejd and Central Arabia. The total length of the line from Damascus to Mecca will be about 1100 miles, of which 435 miles have been opened to traffic. The rate of construction, which is increasing, now averages about 100 miles a year, and the railway is expected to reach Medina in 1910, and Mecca about three years later. The cost is estimated at a little more than £3000 a mile, or altogether perhaps four millions sterling, including the branch from Deráa to Haiffa, and the prolongation from Mecca to Jeddah on the Red Sea—an extraordinarily small sum, considering the engineering difficulties and the still greater difficulties of transport and supply in a region which is almost entirely desert and waterless. The explanation is that no financial provision has to be made either for the acquisition of land or for the payment of labour. The land is the Sultan's, and the labour is supplied by the troops. Three battalions of infantry, each 1000 strong; two railway battalions, each 1200 strong; one company of Pioneers, and a detachment of the Telegraph Service Corps have been furnished by the Fifth Army Corps from Damascus, and recently two more infantry battalions from the Sixth Army Corps have been ordered up from Baghdad. A German engineer-in-chief, Meissner Pasha, with about a dozen German, Austrian and Swiss engineers, is in charge of the railway works, under the supreme direction of Field-Marshal Kiazim Pasha.

To General Auler's technical report, General von der Goltz, the very distinguished officer of the German General Staff who for so many years presided over the reorganisation of the Turkish army, has written a most instructive preface, of which the following is a summary:

> The world at large hardly heard of the Hejaz Railway until on September 1 1904, H.M. the Sultan Abdul Hamid, on the anniversary of his accession to the throne, caused the opening of the line as far as the little town of Maan, in a remote southern corner of Syria, to be celebrated with a pomp and ceremony of which the echo resounded throughout the Mahomedan world. . . . To-day a considerable portion of the line is already completed, and the work of construction is being pushed on with an energy which shows not only what Turkey is capable of doing when the Sultan has proclaimed his will, but also how powerful is the religious sentiment of Islam. Contributions to the Hejaz Railway constitute a deed of piety, and that word has lost none of its magic in the East.
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> The railway, covering a distance of about 1100 miles, follows for the most part the old caravan route over which thousands and thousands of pious Mussulmans have braved the tedium and dangers of the long journey in order to accompany the yearly offerings of the Sultan to the Holy Places. This journey

will ultimately take only five days, and vast numbers of his subjects from Europe and from Asia Minor will be able, as never before, to achieve their hearts' desire and perform their devotions on the spot where the Prophet himself lived and died. To the elder generation this must sound as a fairy tale, and the Sultan could hardly have conceived an undertaking better calculated to enhance his prestige amongst all the peoples of Islam. By the time the railway reaches the gates of Mecca, it will undoubtedly be linked up from Damascus, *viâ* Aleppo, with the Anatolian system and the Baghdad line, and there will thus be an unbroken iron road from Constantinople to the Sacred City.

Abdul Hamid's rule is inspired with the steady unswerving purpose of bringing into closer and mightier cohesion the whole Mahomedan world under his sceptre, or, at least, under his influence. Of late years his efforts have been directed specially to Arabia, where the acknowledgment of Turkish supremacy has made great strides, though in the land of Yemen, the ancient Arabia Felix, the struggle has yet to be fiercely fought out. The policy of the Sultan, directed to what may be called internal conquests, which shall compensate him in the Islamic world for the losses suffered on the fringe of his Empire under the pressure of Christendom, will receive a mighty impulse from the opening of the railway to the Holy Places. The remoteness of the southern provinces of his dominions has been a serious cause of military weakness in the past. But all this will be altered when railways reach from Constantinople to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Turkey will then regain, as it were, a new lease of youth and vigour.

So far General von der Goltz. There are other aspects of the policy embodied in the Hejaz Railway upon which he does not dwell though they are clearly present to his mind. At present the Sultan's position in Arabia, much as he has already done to consolidate it, depends very largely upon British good-will. The vast majority of the forces which he has poured into Arabia, and especially into the Yemen, where a ten years' campaign has not yet broken the stubborn resistance of the tribes, have been transported by sea. Men as well as supplies and warlike stores of every description have to be sent across the Mediterranean through the Suez Canal and down the Red Sea. What that means with our command of the sea and our dominant position in Egypt, I need not point out. The completion of the Hejaz Railway will in a large measure relieve the Sultan from the galling dependence upon friendly relations with Great Britain which the maintenance of his main line of communications with Arabia now necessitates.

It is not, however, only as a means of securing continuous and communication between Constantinople and the Holy Places that the construction of the Hejaz Railway will strengthen the strategic position of Turkey in Arabia. The existence of practically independent principalities in Central Arabia such as that which Ibn-el-Rashid carved out for himself

in Nejd, has from time to time been a severe thorn in the flesh to the Sultans. Next year, as we have already seen, the Hejaz Railway will reach Medain Salih, and as that place is about the best jumping-ground for Nejd *via* Teyna, the arrival of railhead there must vastly strengthen the Turkish position throughout Central and South-Eastern Arabia, right down to the Persian Gulf. We have only to remember the large share which our own *protégé*, the Sheikh of Koweyt, has played during the last few years in the struggle for power hetween the descendants of the old Wahibi Emirs and the successors of Muhammed Ibn-el-Rashid, in order to realise how severely the establishment of Turkish supremacy in the Gebel Shammar might press upon our allies along the Arabian shores of the Persian Gulf. I had an opportunity of discussing this question a few years ago with the Sheikh of Koweyt himself, whose friendly relations with the Indian Government had given deep umbrage to Turkey. In fact Turkish troops had moved out from Bassorah and Baghdad, and the presence of British ships had alone averted the aggressive intervention of the Turks. Nevertheless, Sheikh Mubarak professed to entertain little apprehension with regard to Turkish aggression from that quarter, but laid great stress upon the necessity for him of keeping his communications open with Arabia, and of securing the independence of Nejd from Turkish control by retaining it in possession of his Wahabi friends.

Nor is it only in connection with our own position in the Persian Gulf that the consolidation of Turkish power in the Arabian Peninsula may directly affect British interests. The history of India within relatively recent times offers a very striking example of the influence which events in Arabia can exercise upon the Mahomedan population of India. One of the most important religious movements amongst Indian Mahomedans under British rule was the direct result of the great Mahomedan revival in Arabia towards the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, known as Wahabism, after its founder, Mohammed Wahab, of Nejd. That movement, it will be remembered, swept over the whole of Arabia, and for a time wrested even the Holy Places from the power of the Sultans, who had to call in the aid of Mehemet Ali, the great Pasha of Egypt, to stamp it out by sheer force. One of Wahab's disciples, Seyyid Ahmad Shah of Bareilly, introduced his doctrines into India in 1826, and preached a holy war against the Sikh confederacy which was then supreme in the Northern Punjab. Notwithstanding the enthusiasm with which his teachings were

welcomed, the movement in that part of India proved abortive, but some of its adherents established themselves permanently both In the North-West and in the Western districts of Bengal, where they made their headquarters at Patna. From the latter place, especially, they sent out emissaries all over India, and notably into Eastern Bengal, where Hajji Sharnet Ullah, who had himself been at Mecca and come into personal contact with Wahab, became an active missionary of the new doctrine. He made a large number of converts, especially amongst the lower classes, and both he and his son after him, waged successful war against the Hindu superstitions which had continued to maintain their hold over the followers of the Prophet. Their proceedings were often lawless and brought them frequently into conflict with the British authorities. But they undoubtedly gave a powerful impetus to Mahomedan feeling throughout Eastern Bengal, and also in Behar.

Before proceeding, however, to the consideration of the effect which the growth of Abdul Hamid's prestige as a leader of Islam has produced upon the Mahomedans of India, I want to draw your attention to a very significant movement which has been going on in Persia, the one country where the Shiah form of Islam is supreme. One would have imagined that the bitter hatred which has subsisted for thirteen centuries between Shiahs and Sunnis would have rendered Persia inaccessible to the Pan-Islamic propaganda of a Sunni Sultan, though the possession by Turkey of the Holy Places of Arabia, to which the duty of pilgrimage is imposed on both Shiahs and Sunnis, and also of the shrines more peculiarly sacred to the Shiahs—such as Kerbela and Meshed Ali, in the valley of the Euphrates—necessarily confers upon the Sultans a prestige which the Persians are compelled to recognise, and in various treaties concluded between Sultan and Shah, the former's title of "Protector of the Holy Places" is duly recognised. But the danger to which the independence of Persia, like that of Turkey, has been exposed by the growing pressure of the Western Powers has unquestionably been used with no little effect of recent years by the missionaries of the Sultan to bring home to the people of Persia the expediency of sinking sectarian differences in the common cause of Islam. The unpopularity of the present Shah amongst the clergy of Persia, who have openly charged him with selling his country to the infidel, is so great that on several occasions the protests against his misgovernment have taken the form of threats to appeal to the protection of the Sultan, even if such protection were to involve a reconciliation with Sunnism. About two years ago the

Mujtehids, or High Priests, of Kerbela were stated to have openly threatened the Shah with excommunication for his subserviency to an infidel power, and even these high ecclesiastics, whose fortunes would seem to be indissolubly bound up with Shiism, did not hesitate to hint that the time was at hand when Shiahs as well as Sunnis would be compelled to take refuge under the sheltering ægis of the one great Mahomedan Sovereign who had proved himself to be the providential protector of Islam.

It would be still more interesting to have some really trustworthy data respecting the presence of Pan-Islamic influences in Afghanistan, the only survivor to-day, but a survivor full of vitality, of the independent Mahomedan States of Central Asia. But so rigidly is Afghanistan closed against foreign intercourse, in spite of our Treaty relations with the Ameer, that our information in regard to the present condition of affairs is altogether scanty, and scantiest of all in regard to the relations between the Afghans and the Sultan. The only occasion upon which Abdul Hamid is known to have exerted his influence by an official mission to Kabul was at the time of the last Afghan War, when our own relations with Turkey still retained the cordial character they had acquired at the Berlin Congress. The Sultan's influence was then exercised towards the restoration of peace between Afghanistan and India. Shortly afterwards, however, the wind shifted at Yeldiz, and Abdul Hamid sent his former envoy at Kabul to be Turkish Consul-General at Bombay, where the first agency was established for distributing items of news concerning Islam and the Khalif amongst the Mahomedans of the North-West Frontier and Afghanistan. That Afghan Chiefs and Mollahs on their way to and from Mecca are frequent visitors to Yeldiz Kiosk we know, and some of them are no doubt the bearers of political messages between the Sultan and the Ameer, whilst they all carry back with them to Afghanistan stories, which lose nothing in the telling, of Abdul Hamid's munificence, and of the glories of Islambol—the Persian and Afghan corruption of Stambul—which thus acquires the meaning, "where Islam is plentiful."

It is certainly worth noting that a growing amount of interest has been manifested of late years in the fate of Turkey, and in British policy towards the Sultan, amongst the border tribes of the North-West Frontier, which are in close contact with and to some extent under the influence of the Ameer. It is generally admitted that the excitement and enthusiasm caused by the victories of the Turkish armies over Christian Greece in the spring of 1897 had a good deal to do with the aggressive

urbulence of the tribes which led to the Tirah campaign in he autumn of the same year. Last winter I happened to be t Peshawar at the time when the annual jirgahs or meetings etween the frontier tribesmen and the British political officers f the frontier take place, and I was struck with the very keen nterest which they displayed in our relations with Turkey. The naval demonstration, in which we naturally took a leading art, was being then carried on in connection with the Macedonian question, and the tribesmen made no secret of the lisfavour with which they viewed our co-operation in the oercion of Turkey. They had been taught to look upon it olely as an act of hostility towards Islam, and they were not t all inclined to listen to any attempt to discriminate between he Sultan as a temporal ruler and the Khalif as the spiritual ead of Islam.

The question of paramount importance to us, however, is whether and to what extent Pan-Islamism has reached the great masses of our Indian Mahomedans, who number roughly one-fifth of the whole population of our Indian Empire, and of whom the vast majority are Sunnis, like the Turks.

It is not infrequently contended that in spite of their large numbers, the Mahomedans of India do not represent a really cohesive force, because they comprise several dissident sects, and consist very largely of the descendants of converts upon whom their religion sits very lightly. There is no doubt some truth in this contention, and to a certain extent Islam may be said never to have entirely prevailed over the more ancient influences of Hinduism. Witness the extent to which caste feeling has preserved its hold upon Indian Mahomedans, though the fundamental conception of caste is absolutely at variance with the democratic principles of the founder of Islam. Again, it may be urged that, as a large number of Indians were won over to Islam by the prospect of relief from the social disabilities imposed upon them by the caste system peculiar to Hinduism, they represent a lower social stratum than the Hindus. This also is true up to a certain point. But on the other hand, it must be remembered that if many of the converts to Islam were drawn from the low caste Hindus, a very considerable number were also drawn from classes influential by their wealth and by their position in every respect except in that of caste. Nor should it be forgotten that amongst the ruling chiefs of India, a good many are themselves Mahomedans, including the most powerful of all, the Nizam of Hyderabad, who rightly prides himself on being the premier-Prince of the Indian Empire. Another argument often used is that after all the Mussulmans only form a majority of the population in a few

provinces, such as Eastern Bengal, the Punjab and the North-West Frontier. But against this fact may be set off the other and perhaps more important fact that there is scarcely a single province in which they are not represented, and that their strength lies chiefly in the large towns where public opinion is much more articulate than in the rural districts. They have, above all, and not only in that part of India which was the seat of the Moghul Empire, the prestige which attaches all over the East to a race which has been a ruling race. At various periods during the thousand years which have elapsed since Islam was first imported into India from Arabia and Mesopotamia, Mahomedan dynasties have reigned and flourished in almost every part of the peninsula, and there is scarcely a Hindu whose ancestors have not at one time or another bowed their knee to a Mahomedan ruler. On the whole a careful analysis of the various elements which make up the Mussulman population of India to-day would, I think, show that the Mahomedans occupy a position which cannot be measured merely by their numbers. During the last twenty years there has unquestionably been a growing feeling amongst them all over India that the maintenance of Turkish power and independence is a great Mahomedan interest, in which all Mahomedans are concerned. Amidst the decay of all other Mahomedan States Turkey remains in their eyes the one Power which represents the traditions of militant Islam. As an influential and liberal-minded Mahomedan remarked to me, if Turkey were to disappear, the Mahomedans would become like unto the Jews—a mere religious sect whose kingdom was gone. It is an unfortunate circumstance that the Sultan's policy should have produced so many causes of conflict with England, many of them connected with issues to which the Sultan's emissaries could easily give a sectarian colouring. The public meetings held last year by the Mahomedans in many of the chief Mahomedan centres of India to protest against the coercion of Turkey in connection with Macedonian affairs, were symptomatic of the growth of a feeling which had already become manifest years ago when Lord Salisbury denounced the Sultan himself as the author of the Armenian massacres, and with still less reserve when in the following year Abdul Hamid had once more on European battlefields victoriously wielded "the sword of Islam," though only against so puny a foe as Greece. Even more symptomatic is it that in this very year, just after the acute crisis which nearly ended in open hostilities between Great Britain and Turkey, the Sultan's name-day has been celebrated by the Mahomedans in many parts of India with conspicuous and

unexampled fervour. In India, too, as in other parts of the Mahomedan world, the Hejaz Railway has been used by Abdul Hamid as a splendid advertisement for the virtues of Khalifate, and a part of its cost has been defrayed by Indian contributions.

In what light exactly the Mahomedans of India view the Sultan's claim to the Khalifate is a point of no slight interest. In many mosques his name appears to be used in the Friday prayers, but excellent authorities assure us that this does not imply anything more than a mark of respect and reverence for a great Mussulman sovereign. The most interesting pronouncement on this subject is that which was made a few months ago at the time of the Anglo-Turkish differences by Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, the Hon. Secretary of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental Club at Aligarh, who has been since the death of Sir Seyyid Ahmad the foremost leader of enlightened Mahomedan opinion. The Nawab gave it as his opinion that if the Indian Moslems speak of the Sultan as Khalif, they do so by way of honouring the greatest Mahomedan king of our time, whose position is rendered still more important by his being servant of the sacred places and the Kaaba. "The term," he added, "is on no account to be taken to mean that Indian Moslems regard him as their ruler in any way, or consider his orders to be binding on them." Quoting from authoritative works on the subject of the rights and duties of the Khalif, the Nawab said it was impossible, having regard to the duties set forth, for any man of even common understanding to think that the Sultan is the Khalif of the Indian Mussulmans in the real sense of the term, or that they are in any matter bound by their religion to obey him. They are the subjects of the King-Emperor, and owe their allegiance to him alone.

It does not, however, follow [he continued] that the Indian Mussulmans have no love for the Sultan of Turkey, or that they do not care for the safety of the Turkish Empire. On the contrary, they all wish with one heart for the stability of Turkish rule, and earnestly pray God that friendly relations between Great Britain and the Porte may be firmly established. Those of us [he said in conclusion] who say they care nothing for the Sultan and for Turkey are either cringing flatterers of the British Government, whom the Government will assuredly never credit, or they have no love for religion. Loyalty towards our Government does not exclude the idea of sympathy with one's co-religionists. Those who think that the two are exclusive of each other are ignorant both of their religious duties and of their political relations.

Another Indian Mahomedan of repute, Hajji Muhammed Ismail Khan, of Dataoli, late member of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces, has recently published a letter on the

same subject, and on much the same lines, which, however, contains a noteworthy admission that goes considerably further than the Nawab's letter. For he acknowledges in so many words that "there are certain Mahomedans in India who have a greater love and reverence for the Sultan than is legitimate, or than should really exist. They consider him as a necessary part of their religion." Without wishing to exaggerate the importance of these and other utterances, one cannot but infer from them that the influence which Abdul Hamid is beginning to exercise as the Khalif of Islam over the minds of Indian Mahomedans is causing amongst the more loyal and enlightened section of the Mahomedan community in India a certain measure of apprehension, and that they feel that the time has come openly to discountenance its growth.

This is a matter which deserves very close and serious consideration at the hands of our rulers, especially at a time when the Mahomedans of India are, rightly or wrongly, disposed to believe that their interests no longer receive from the Supreme Government the same impartial treatment to which they had been hitherto accustomed. I do not wish to enter upon controversial questions which have lately been raised in regard to British administration in India, but the fact remains that recent events have produced upon the minds of not a few Indian Mahomedans the impression that their rights as a minority have been sacrificed, and are likely to be still further sacrificed in the future, to the claims of the Hindu majority, and merely, in their opinion, because the Hiudu majority has had recourse to methods of agitation which the Indian Mahomedans have not hitherto considered to be compatible with their deep sense of loyalty towards the British Raj. Their resentment is all the greater in that whatever the antagonism between Christianity and Islam, they have hitherto always believed that there was a certain community of religious thought between Moslems and Christians, which cannot exist between either us or them and the Hindus. We are, like them, as they term it, "*ahl-el-kitab*," people of the Book, that is to say, that we have in common with them a belief in revealed Scriptures, and the Koran to them is only a later revelation which has superseded, but has not destroyed, the sanctity attaching to the Old and New Testament. Above all, they share with us, as they contend, the common ground of a belief in the Unity of God, which should draw us more closely towards them than we can possibly be drawn towards the idolatrous polytheism or pantheism of the Hindus. To these religious considerations are now added political considerations no less weighty, for they rightly contrast the large part which the Mahomedan races of India have borne in the

lefence of the British Raj with the disloyal agitation of many Hindus, and especially of the noisiest section, the Bengalis, who have, to say the least, never been conspicuous for the martial qualities which the Mahomedans have so often displayed shoulder o shoulder with ourselves. Amongst the younger generation of Mahomedans there is a certain feeling of impatience which cannot be safely ignored. It is finding vent at the present moment in the proposal to establish Mahomedan organisations which shall be as effective for the furtherance of Mahomedan nterests as the Indian National Congress is conceived to have been in the furtherance of Hindu interests. Though the Mahomedans may be perfectly sincere at present in protesting hat they have no intention of adopting Hindu methods of agitation, one cannot feel quite confident as to what they may do in the future. Should the expectations of the Mahomedans be disappointed, the tendency of these new Mahomedan organisations might well be to seek at least the moral support of their co-religionists beyond the frontier of India, and that is a tendency which Pan-Islamic propagandists would not fail to encourage.

One word in conclusion to deprecate exaggerated apprehensions. It may well be that Pan-Islamism in its present form will not survive the remarkable ruler to whose energy and ability its inception and growth are mainly due. One feature which is in many ways reassuring is that it has achieved greater popularity outside than inside of Turkey proper. None know better than the best class of Turks what Abdul Hamid's policy has cost them, and none deplore more deeply the estrangement of British friendship. So long as Abdul Hamid steers the same course as in the past, all that this country can probably do is to avoid as far as possible any action which can be construed into deliberate hostility to Islam or injustice to our Mahomedan subjects, and especially to our Indian Mahomedans, whose splendid qualities and militant loyalty constitute perhaps the greatest of our Imperial assets in India. But whenever a real change takes place at Constantinople, whether it be in Abdul Hamid's lifetime, or more probably when he is gathered in due course to his forefathers, it may be hoped that whatever British Government is in power will take the earliest opportunity of showing in the face of the Mahomedan world that British policy is inspired by no settled antagonism to Turkey, but on the contrary is prepared to respect and even to support the legitimate exercise of both the temporal and the spiritual authority of the Sultanate, so long as, on the other hand, these are not employed to subserve purposes of hostility to the British Empire. VALENTINE CHIROL.

THE HUMOURS OF A SIEGE

THE papers are full of news to-day about Chinese reforms. We are given to understand that all kinds of things are going to happen immediately, and some of us recall experiences in the city of Peking—that home of surprises—in the year 1900, and smile to ourselves at what we read to-day. Luckily for us, the same hand that wrote what—in spite of books and pamphlets, large and small—remains the best account of the Siege of the Legation, still writes to-day, or rather telegraphs, inimitable "news." Who else, in describing the great manœuvres of this autumn, would have conveyed a whole commentary in the information that "everything was provided, from special trains to rickshaws, and even tooth-powder and tooth-brushes!"

Truly the Chinese authorities are great at providing. It reminds one of the water-melons which a kindly compassion sent once or twice (we could have wished it had been oftener!) to slake the thirst of the besieged in H.B.M. Legation in 1900. What goodly times we had! The "melon-eaters" feared no poisoned fruit. They met at twelve o' the clock, and opened the melon (and the feast), and carefully exorcised any evil spirit that might be lurking there with a wash-out of breakfast claret. The fruit was then divided and devoured; and, full of gratitude to the (supposed) august giver of the feast, we went back to our tasks refreshed.

For tasks there were in plenty. The oldest amongst us, accidentally entrapped in Peking while on a mere re-visit to the country (in connection with a fee of goodly proportions and the inevitable Syndicate), went off to "cheer the ladies," as was his wont when not on guard at some loopholed barricade. To him we owed an explanation of one of the puzzles of the Siege. There were times when all fighting stopped, when round shot rolled no more, and crackers ceased to burst; times of peaceful quiet, broken only by an occasional rifle bullet, always from the same place, never—so far as one knew—hitting anything in particular, and yet strangely persistent. The authorities might proclaim a truce: but that one rifle heeded not.

Chinese soldiers might be seen sauntering up to our defences, ready, almost eager, to have a little rational conversation, when "whizz" came the lonely bullet, and scared them back again. It was a riddle that bade fair to go unsolved, when the Senior's wisdom fathomed its mystery. "I've got it at last," he announced one day triumphantly. "You know what beggars those Chinese are for turning an honest penny. Well, there's a fellow in 'Board Street' who has got a rifle and some ammunition there, and keeps a shooting-gallery. 'Pot-shot at the foreign devils, penny-a-shot' sort of thing, you know. That's the explanation." And so, for that matter, it may have been; I never heard of any other.

It was in the same house where we held our melon-feasts that "afternoon-tea" was a function kept up with cheerful courage by the plucky hostess. What luxury it was! A cake on great occasions, or at times a pot of jam, and always "flow of soul." It was there, one afternoon, that the great "I. G." * told us of the tender solicitude evinced by the Chinese Government for his health. "We have not heard from you for many days"—so ran the letter, truthfully enough, for the Siege had lasted some weeks—"and we are concerned for your welfare." And, to judge from the rigour of their past and subsequent attacks, they certainly were very much concerned.

The "I. G." shared the Customs Quarters, better known in old days as the Escort Quarters, and by his courage, and the way he bore his intense disappointment, his naturally great anxiety, and the loss of all his invaluable records, he set an example to us all. It was here that a prominent official had in virtue of his rank established his family in an upstairs room. Their peaceful slumbers were rudely interrupted one night by the entry of a round shot, which struck the wall behind them, and elected to make a third on the pillow. "Two's company and three's none," said the indignant official, and tried—in virtue of his rank—to change his family's room to one of greater security down-stairs. But "you can't eat your cake and have it."

Diplomatists are always great, and never greater than when all is lost. It is then that common folk give up—they prepare to die, without a thought of how they may yet inflict a little disappointment on victorious foes. Not so your true diplomatist. He realises that it is not his worthless life which Boxer foemen seek, but the precious archives of his Chancery. And so, with "*Tout est perdu!*" on his lips, he conducts the obsequies (by fire in a flower-bed) of the secrets of his Legation.

* Sir Robert Hart, Inspector-General of Imperial Maritime Customs.

In such hands the glory of his country is surely safe, in Peking or in—a certain foreign capital.

Luckily for us, there were a few bold spirits who bore charmed lives and knew not fear. (Alas! there were some who, in the doing of their duty, nobly fell. God rest their souls, and raise up many more like them!) One such is even now an honoured guest in London. Small of stature, great of heart, he inspired his Japanese sailors with a courage second only to his own. Well does the writer remember with what care the Japanese commander—standing himself in a position of some danger—warned him to "run and bend low" across a bullet-swept space which I had to cross. The incident recalls what was one of the great features of the Siege—one believes it is always so—the devoted labours of many of the women. The Japanese commander needed sandbags: could he have a hundred that night? It seemed impossible. The ladies had stopped work for the day, a little earlier than usual, because there was no more material. This the commander undertook to supply, if the ladies would resume work; and they did, and worked late into the night, almost "with tears in their eyes," as one of them said, at sight of the "material for sandbags" sent over to the Legation. It would be hard to estimate the value of the silk embroideries which were ruthlessly cut up and made into "bags" that night! But never was "loot" put to a better use.

Another hero of the "fearless" type belonged to the diplomatic service of a European country, less worthily represented by a naval officer and a handful of sailors. The said officer was slightly wounded, and thereupon took indefinite sick leave; his men—posted by some mischance in a terribly exposed position really quite untenable—took another kind of leave and left it. They were led back by my diplomatic friend and kept at their post by his inspiring example. In the excitement of critical times manners are sometimes forgotten; and a British officer, whose personal bravery none could impeach, so far overstepped politeness as to characterise the said sailors as a lot of —— cowards, in the hearing of their fellow countryman. "Pardon me," was the suave remonstrance: "you must not call them that: they are my countrymen." And what was undoubtedly true to the actual fact was promptly withdrawn out of respect to the chivalrous objection of the one brave man.

It was a little later in the Siege, when that particular death-trap had been abandoned, and a wiser line of defensive works was in progress, that it was arranged that these same men should form the guard in the new line of defence. The

"Commandant" of the post was a German, a man into whose composition no consciousness of danger had apparently ever entered. He was brave, fearless, foolhardy almost in his contempt of risks, but above all he was possessed of a subtle humour, not lessened by the fact that the English language was not one of his strongest points. The defence works were practically complete, save for an opening some four feet wide between their southern end and the Chinese building which did duty as a sort of guardroom. It was possible, if one passed through this opening, to reach the Chinese lines immediately; they were not thirty paces from our own. The following dialogue took place between the Commandant and his English friend, who was responsible for erecting the barricades.

ENGLISHMAN: It is all finished now, except that opening. Shall I close that?

COMMANDANT: Ach! no. We will, I think, leave that.

ENGLISHMAN: Why? Are you thinking of making a sortie?

COMMANDANT: No; we shall not go out. It would be of no good at all.

ENGLISHMAN: I thought not; but perhaps you hope the Chinese will come in, and get killed, as they did the other day in the Japanese lines.

COMMANDANT: Ach! no. I tell you, those yellow devils—(he had picked up the word, no doubt, from the Chinese)—those yellow devils will not come in. But, I tell you, if we leave that door, these (and here he graphically described the sailors in question) sentries will not go to sleep, I think; and so, I tell you, we will leave that door.

And, to their credit be it said, they did *not* go to sleep.

It was the same friend whose respect for the British Marine was rudely shaken by finding their guard, as he thought, asleep on his post, a post of considerable danger from surprise. There was a long low tunnel, and as the Chinese were very close to the further end, it was partially barricaded, and four British marines were posted in the far end of the tunnel to keep watch on the enemy's movements. One was to be always on watch while the other three slept under arms. My friend was going his rounds, and his low-voiced challenge (we were too near the enemy to speak loud) went unanswered. He came to find the Englishman already referred to, and vented his disgust in plain if unvarnished language. The Englishman laughed, and told him he was wrong in his conclusions, if not in his fact: whereupon he was bidden to see and hear for himself. Arrived at the end of the tunnel, the commandant—as loudly as he dared—hailed the defaulting sentry, "Marreen, Marreen, are you awake?"—and when no answer was forthcoming, he turned triumphantly to his companion. "I tell you"—but the rest was lost in a convulsive explosion of laughter, which somehow

had to be subdued. When it was over, the Englishman advanced, and uttered a well-known formula, in tones a good deal softer than his German friend had used; and lo! from the depths of the black passage came the prompt reply, "All correct, sir." After all, there is something in the way one puts a question. It does not always pay to call a man names, even with the best intentions, still less to assume that he is probably asleep on guard! But in justice to my friend it must be added that when our marines had once learnt his quality, there was no man they preferred to work with: "E's as keen to get at 'em as we are" was the eulogium passed on him not long afterwards, when, thanks to his foresight and enterprise, we were advancing our first line of defence at the expense of the enemy.

Nor were the military the only ones to cheer us by such flashes of humour under conditions in themselves the reverse of humorous. One of the wittiest things said by any one during the siege was uttered by a well-known Doctor of Divinity—I forget if he has recorded it in his bulky monograph on China's "teething troubles." On the lawn in the middle of the Legation there had been set up a market tent, furnished with a table, behind which two members of the Commissariat Committee had for two successive mornings sold such eggs or green stuff as were brought to the Japanese lines by a friendly Chinaman with an eye to the main chance. On the third day, a mistaken bullet from a French loop-hole unfortunately cut off the supply. But the usual little crowd had gathered round the tent, the committee-men sat waiting patiently, and the Doctor of Divinity sauntered up to see how things were going. Raising himself on tip-toe, he managed to see over the shoulders of those in front of him, and neatly described the situation in the words, "Why! what! Call this a market? Just two gentlemen sitting behind a table, selling nothing but the people who come to buy!"

His wife was one of the good angels of the Siege, with a kindly sympathy for every one, even for the mad fool or knave who hailed from Scandinavia and evinced a great anxiety for other people's souls as well as for their garments. Things came to such a pass, that he had to be put in durance vile, where he mitigated the loneliness of solitary confinement by shouting at the top of his voice. The lady in question heard that his medical attendant, a burly upstanding doctor, had received orders to take measures to stop the noise (which almost invariably led to a fusillade from our Chinese friends outside). Fearing that harsh measures might be used, she

persuaded a friendly American missionary to hurry down first and try the effect of expostulation and persuasion. Scarcely had he entered the dark room (it was about 9 P.M.) where the preacher was confined, when the doctor entered it behind him. His long arms searched the air for the prisoner, and strong hands fastened on a neck and throat which happened to be within reach. "I'll shake the breath out of you," ejaculated the irate physician. "I'll teach you" (and he did his best) "to make that noise." Explosive gasps of laughter only added fuel to his wrath, and the results might have been quite unexpected, had not his victim managed to find voice enough to remonstrate. "Say, doctor, I guess you're shaking the wrong man." It was a successful example, however, of vicarious suffering: for the noisy tenant of the cell was awed into unwonted silence, not broken (in the writer's hearing) till after the Siege was over, when he was met riding on a well-appointed Chinese pony, which he offered to sell cheap, saddlery included.

The most humorous member of the garrison, however, was Betsy. She was a waif, and a very ancient waif, but luckily for her she was picked up and brought in safely to the shelter of the Legation. She at once became the pet and plaything of a varied band of amateur and professional nurses. One dosed her with powder of a violently emetic nature, another fed her with strangely assorted meals rather of the ostrich type, and a third almost slapped her in his efforts to make the medicine act. Act it did, however, with a noise which filled the nurses' hearts with joy, and struck terror into the bosoms of the foe. She was given rides in an improvised go-cart. She was carried upstairs and told to look out of the window; she went here, there, and everywhere, always with the nurses in attendance, and wherever she went, she made a noise, and a very loud noise. She didn't do anything else particularly—you could never rely on her really doing what was expected of her—but the "moral damages" sustained by the enemy were evidently enormous, and it was for this reason that she is entitled to be known to posterity, not so much by her name of Betsy, as by her title of "The International Gun."

It was against her—truly a proud distinction—that the only mine directed against the British Legation was undertaken. Betsy had been bursting from the upstairs window before mentioned in the direction at least of the Chinese position in the "Carriage Park." Orders, it appears, were given to start mining in the concealment of a large building in the hands of the enemy, and to locate the head of the mine under the building where Betsy had been carrying on. But the "folly"

of a wary member of the Customs Staff, who fortunately heard the miners at work and persisted in saying so, resulted in such a successful effort at countermining right along that front of the Legation, that the miners, presumably coolies pressed into the disagreeable work, wisely circumvented their superiors, and, either out of a chivalrous regard for Betsy, or from a sporting instinct, or (one is loth to admit the prosaic possibility) by a sheer mistake, established the head of the mine somewhere near the middle of the Carriage Park, instead of inside the Legation Lines.* One was almost sorry afterwards that the entry of the British Relief Force came just in time to prevent the explosion of the mine : it would have been so peculiarly interesting to have studied an unintentional *felo de se* on a large scale ! But at the same time we knew enough of mines to be thankful this one had not succeeded.

The French Legation had been mined with some success, and the greater half of it rendered untenable even by the plucky French sailors. One of our courageous diplomats (a great sinologue into the bargain) had the unique experience of being buried by the first explosion and resurrected by the second, happily, save for a few bruises, really unhurt. *Apropos* of these mines, a curious fact may be recalled, namely, that while there had been so far no instance of mining known or even suspected, yet on the very day when the French Legation was undermined, circumstantial rumours were widely circulated. The writer well remembers a lad named or nicknamed "François," who was working with him that day, and who seemed strangely uneasy. At last an explanation was sought, and with a mixture of pathos and ingenuous sincerity, the boy replied, "Ah, monsieur, I wish I were in Paris. Why did I ever go to sea ? and why did I volunteer to come to Peking ? I thought it would be amusing, but there's no fun in being blown up." The writer remonstrated, pointing out that so far at least the enemy had made no efforts at mining. "Ah, but not so," said François, with an expressive gesture of despair ; "to-day, even to-day they are mining : oh, why am I not still a baker's boy in Paris ?" The humorous side of the lament provoked a smile, but he was right about the mine, which burst that day.

When one thinks of those days they come back so vividly that it is hard to know where to stop in the attempt to record even a few of their less pathetic incidents. But a magazine

* The actual course of the mine was first south-east, until it reached the counter-mine ; it then turned south, till the point where it should have turned in due east, instead of which it turned out westwards.

article has limits, and those who care to know more of that curious, big "incident," the Siege of the Legations in 1900, would do well to try and persuade the famous correspondent of the *Times* to expand his published despatches into book form. It is said that his library in Peking contains "shelves of literature" dealing with the subject, and yet no single book hitherto published can be described as adequate.

Let the writer permit himself, in conclusion, the pleasure of giving honour where honour is due, and where it may perhaps be paid even by him without presumption.

Many honours were bestowed, and much well-earned praise was given, in recognition of the valour and ability which characterised the defence of the Legations. But the ordinary individual, whose lot it was to be shut up for eight weeks within those hospitable walls, may be forgiven if he feels that justice has never quite been done to that wonderful class, the American missionary. We laughed at his enthusiasm for committees, his genius for evolving sub-committees, his badges, and his irrepressible energy. But we learnt to thank him and admire him from the bottom of our hearts. What he is as a missionary is not now in question: but if he is not always popular, if he is not always wise, at least from those who were with him in the siege he has won an undying title to respect. It was he who organised the native Christian labour which built all our defences, it was he who fed not only those Christian labourers, but practically most of the "foreigners" as well. It was he to whom we owed sound sanitary methods, laundry facilities, and other small but welcome luxuries. It was he to whom we turned in difficulties, and always found him attentive, always sympathetic, and almost always practically helpful. And what the men were, the women were (and here, be it said, that none surpassed in devotion or in usefulness the Englishwomen of the Church of England and London Missionary Societies), in hospitals, in looking after the Chinese refugees, and in the arduous and hardly ever-ending task of making sand-bags.

That word warns me to bring these memories to a close. When the Siege was over, I bade good-bye to a man not much older than myself, formerly a diplomatist. "It wasn't so bad after all, and I shouldn't—for my own part—much object to going through another Siege, if need be." "Bar sand-bags, I agree with you." And I sympathised from the bottom of my heart to the muscles of my back.

FRANK L. NORRIS.

FIRST-CLASS CRICKET

A YEAR ago, in the issue of the *National Review* for December 1905, I dealt in frank if pessimistic terms with the state of first-class cricket. The article aroused a great deal of discussion, and apparently met with general approval, except from Mr. F. S. Jackson. That gentleman made it the theme of a long and animadvertive speech at a public dinner instead of taking the more normal course of replying to what he disapproved in a subsequent issue of this *Review*. The net result of the unimpeachable facts I put forward was a general tendency to set the game in order and an unwonted briskness in the demeanour and form of first-class cricketers from the very beginning of last season. These healthy signs were long before what may be described as the "boom" in the game during June and July.

It may be interesting to quote what Lord Hawke wrote for me on the subject before that tide of popularity set in: "Cricket needs no popularising. Given fine, warm weather, the public will flock to see it in their thousands; play tricks with the grand national game and it will be ruined; therefore, let well alone, anyway for the present." And in his genial way he said later on: "What did I tell you, cricket is all right."

If cricket were altogether right, it would be hardly a human institution. As a matter of fact, the first-class game is just now in a transitory stage between the old order of yesterday and the new order necessitated by the contemporaneous state of affairs to which cricket has not yet entirely adapted itself. I am, of course, laying myself open to the charge of being captious if I do not agree that cricket should bask in its latest popularity without any further efforts towards reform. No one more adequately appreciates the advantage of that general re-awakening of enthusiasm than I do, for it provided an invaluable impetus to get cricket round an awkward corner in its history. By suggesting a few points for sober consideration at this period of the year when the annual parliament of the game is held at Lord's, some efficacious method may be found for realising the healthy prognostics now heard on all sides.

It was emphatically Kent's year. The county team was an absolutely ideal one ; a capital combination of amateurs and professionals, led by a thorough sportsman. There was plenty of well-varied bowling, admirably contrasted and attractive batting, excellent wicket-keeping and fielding. Other counties have had all these in the past and have shown nothing like the results achieved? Why? Because they were not imbued with that co-operative and sporting enthusiasm, that superb playing for the side and not for self, that sacrifice of the individual for the sake of the team, which made the success of the Kent eleven a matter of national pride. Other men have thrown their wickets down for notable partners before Mr. C. J. Burnup did ; other last wickets have played themselves out, as Mr. Marsham and some of his colleagues did at Canterbury —there is no suggestion that such sportsmanlike cricket is new. Some people believed it was to-day confined to Yorkshire—which was absurd—but the public rejoiced to see a young team, a keen team, and a spirited team so gallantly playing the game. Of course these heroes have in the autumn undergone perils of indigestion from the banquets spread for them. But this recognition they have rightly appreciated in the spirit in which it was tendered, and there is something Imperial both in the form of the Kent team and in the popular recognition thereof.

The development of popularity was perceptible wherever and only where attractive cricket was shown. It really appears as though the modern county team was as dependent on the captain as the orchestra on the conductor. I do not say that a captain can make a team out of nothing any more than a conductor can obtain fine effects without trained musicians. But the tendency of county cricket last season was to prove that those captains most thoroughly imbued with the spirit of true sporting amateurism obtained the best results. The example set by Lord Hawke has been particularly imitated by Lord Dalmeny, Mr. C. H. B. Marsham, Mr. F. L. Fane, and Mr. Sprott. I am in no way reflecting adversely on the rest, notably Mr. S. M. J. Woods and Mr. C. E. de Trafford, who were relinquishing control they had long held with distinction. But these four captains are instanced for the memorable results they obtained from their sides, results in some cases far more valuable than their actual records.

It tends to this conclusion, that professionals are best led by a man socially above them. Tales are told of county captains who have been defied and insulted by their own men ; of professionals who have growled audibly that So-and-so gets twice as much out of the game as they do, and yet has the run of

the pavilion and patronises them. These things exist, but they need not be insisted upon. It is the reverse that we want, and to obtain that a man of standing is required as a county captain. This is not written in any snobbish sense. Cricket will always be a gloriously democratic game, but in county cricket the captain should have some standing. An instance of appreciation of this view lies in the fact that the Leicestershire committee have selected, as the successor to Mr. C. E. de Trafford, Sir Arthur Hazlerigg, who has never participated in a first-class match in his life, and was not even in his school eleven nor yet in a trial game at his University.

This certainly points to a specialisation in captaincy as much as in wicket-keeping—for in the eighties no professional wicket-keeper was supposed to make many runs. It is a move in the right direction, for the right man as captain puts a wonderful spirit into his men. Look how Lord Dalmeny gathered up the fragmentary Surrey side, though he had not played half a dozen county matches before he led the eleven.

In a measure this specialisation intensifies the difficulty of obtaining amateurs who can devote four months each year to cricket. We are all sick of the barter for posts and of fathers haggling with county committees as to what their sons will get out of the game if they play through so many seasons. Far be it from me to say such things will never recur, but the success of the Kent team, in all its healthiness and good sportsmanship, ought to assist the growing pressure of public opinion against "dressing the shop window." Nothing can be more absurd than to say that the public want to see all the stars and do not care how they are obtained. It is true the public like to see masters of the game, but what is wanted is *the game itself*, played keenly.

One example may be cited. Mr. C. B. Fry is a great bat if there ever was one. He has been called the schoolboys' idol. In Sussex, since the departure of K. S. Ranjitsinhji, he has been head and shoulders above the rest of the eleven, yet after his lamentable accident last May, a member of the Sussex committee assured me that the county receipts were not falling off owing to his absence. And it was positively curious to note, as several people have brought to my notice, how completely he seemed forgotten in the conversations, not only in the pavilions, but in the community. The prowess of Sir T. C. O'Brien, Mr. A. E. Stoddart, and Mr. W. L. Murdoch appeared to have sunk deeper into the memory of the spectators, though so much more remote in point of date. This is stated in no disparagement to the tremendous achievements of a distinguished batsman to whose merit I have borne appreciative

written testimony a hundred times. Whenever he returns to the field he will be sure of a hearty welcome. But the temporary oblivion is a curious sign that to-day teams, not individuals, are of the first importance in the eyes of the public, and this is encouraging, for only the most selfish cricketer desires to score off his own bat, the proper spirit being to play for the side, regarding the side and not the individual as predominant.

When teams, not stars, are considered, it becomes imperative to avoid staleness, and without a doubt far too many matches are now played. Approximately Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Surrey have two engagements a week from the beginning of May until the end of August—the result being that George Hirst declined to represent the Players against the Gentlemen at Lord's, so necessary did this strong man find a brief rest. Of course half the matches are merely exhibition ones, except for the hazard of the glorious uncertainty of cricket. Whilst most matches are vigorously contested, I do plead that every game should have its real bearing on the championship. Now to cite possible combinations—without being invidious, what bearing can Leicestershire *v.* Derbyshire, Warwickshire *v.* Hampshire, Northamptonshire *v.* Somersetshire have on the actual struggle for supremacy. None whatever ; and so these keen games are nothing more than the unit matches they nominally are. And very rightly too, some people may say. I will not argue that branch of ethics.

But I do say that if my proposal of two championships were adopted, one for the first eight counties and the other for the second eight, a double tussle would arise. Each shire could twice meet the others in the same section, and the one at the bottom of the A class could oppose the champion of the B class in out and home matches towards the end of the season, to decide which should be in the upper section for the ensuing year. Needless to add that both series would figure in first-class averages. It is of absolutely no consequence that this proposal has gone to the community as Dr. W. G. Grace's scheme, because correspondents I do not personally know have conclusively proved that I had formulated the above in the *Badminton Magazine* before the veteran adopted it. So long as the idea is for the good of the game it does not matter who is the god-parent. Thus far the proposal has not made much way, but in the struggle for life—which is so closely reflected in the composition of certain county elevens early in each summer—with the increasing difficulty of obtaining the regular services of the best amateurs, a programme of fourteen matches is far more practicable than one of twenty-eight, which is at present normal for some teams.

The professional side of the game demands attention. Amid the "boom," of which so much is heard in certain quarters, a committee has been appointed to consider the form displayed by Leicestershire, another to suggest improvement in Sussex, whilst the authorities in Warwickshire had some little disquiet with reference to the winter pay of their paid players. All these things are signs of the times to be set against the success of Kent. Much of the latter is due to the now famous county nursery, and every other county would be equally glad to have such an invaluable training-school were it financially feasible. As a matter of fact a very little tact could make it practicable. For if the local clubs, on being asked, would send their promising professional or other lads, say for four days a week, claiming the men back for the early closing day and the Saturday, a lot of coaching could be indulged in at very slight cost, especially if the club would contribute the travelling expenses of their own representative for the first two years. After that the youth could either be put on the county ground-staff or be released as not likely to attain first-class rank. More thorough inspection of village cricket on a systematic fashion is badly needed. Constantly, in first-class cricket counties, be it emphasised, do we hear: "Oh, we have a lad here quite up to tip-top form if he had some coaching, but we are too remote for the county authorities ever to attend to us." Centralisation is no good without comprehensive radiation.

The following fact shows the value of a trial as sometimes given: A certain amateur was good enough to be tried for the county—according to the statement of the county captain to me—provided he shook off a spell of ill-luck he himself confessed to. Being a most efficient bowler and rattling bat, he was asked in the meantime to play for the second eleven. The opponents scored over four hundred, and he was never given a chance with the ball at all, whilst he was put in to bat eighth and tenth respectively in the two efforts. This is not encouraging to individual prowess. I reminded my disconsolate acquaintance that Wilfred Rhodes, in the first year of his sensational bowling, chosen for the Players at Lord's, was put on at the pavilion end and his best balls easily driven among the members, whereas at the opposite wicket time after time chances would have been given in the deep field.

That the first-class cricket professional is adequately paid few will maintain, but one of the problems is to ameliorate his remuneration, considering the stringent condition of the exchequers of more than half the first-class counties. A regulations rendering qualifications more severe restrict the demoralising barter of likely cricketers, and it is with sincere

pleasure I have noted several counties advocating my proposal of a five years' qualification for all colonial and foreign importations. One of the immediate minor necessities is for the Committee of M.C.C. to insist on the publication of the qualification of all playing for a county. Kent did this, and Yorkshire plays no novice born outside the county limits. Others are not so careful, and I have been repeatedly assured that one prominent amateur of excellent social standing has not the slightest right to be representing the county he materially assists. A resolution by the dominating authority might settle all doubt on this score.

In the past fine summer less complaint was heard of mammoth scoring. In this respect may be quoted the opinion of Mr. C. B. Fry : "Give me a side which will take all the catches which are sent, and I will do without first-class bowlers." Certainty in catching can never be expected—for instance, look how many were dropped this year by Wilfred Rhodes, a glorious field—but the increased keenness shown certainly affected the fielding form, and for the most part the sides that fielded best brought fixtures to a satisfactory conclusion.

After the remarkable displays of fast bowling in the chief matches at Lords, there was a cry that all other modes of attack were doomed. Yet before the end of the season Kent owed as much to Blythe as to Fielder. Dennett worked wonders for Gloucestershire, and with the pitch at all helping him, Rhodes displayed his old mastery. Possibly this may be ascribed to the healthy resolution against artificially prepared wickets. The whole trend of the recent action of the Committee of M.C.C. is to be rapidly and sympathetically responsive to the current needs of the game. The present system of consultation between the captains as to the sufficiency of light for play may need a further explanation as to whether the batsmen at the wicket are to appeal to the fielding captain, and he consult the other in the pavilion, or whether the batsmen are first to summon their own leader. This is not yet clear, and has its measure of consequence, both to avoid delay and because the light on the pitch often differs widely from what it looks from the pavilion. The new arrangement is, however, far more conducive to keen cricket than the older plan of referring the question to the umpires.

Finally, let a plea be put in for the revival of what may be termed sporting fixtures. All cricket need not be first-class, all public attention need not be concentrated on county form. The authorities at Lord's are showing an admirable tendency to promote capital games on off-days, Authors *v.* Actors, a military week, and so forth. Now could not this be carried

out experimentally on county grounds? Play Gentlemen *v.* Players of the county, North *v.* South of the shire. Further, why not have I'Zingari or M.C.C. out matches with the county on one of its home grounds? Endless possibilities suggest themselves, provided two things are borne in mind, first that such engagements be played with the same earnestness as county fixtures, and that at least eight of the best eleven be invariably played with a trial, which will be a genuine test, given to three others on the fringe of the team.

The scattering of home fixtures over a county is now recognised as a healthy means of exciting interest, and the foregoing proposal will certainly tend to a similar result provided it be carried out in a proper and punctual manner. The lax proceedings at Blackpool in 1904 have since been happily avoided there, but with a guarantee fund similar initiative might be beneficial and attractive in a score of seaside and inland towns. Possibly thus may be found some method of assisting those sporting second-class counties who so manfully struggle to foster the game and who cheerfully work out experiments which the first-class counties watch to their own profit.

The design of this article is that it should be suggestive of some ways by which the present happy revival may be properly utilised for the permanent benefit of first-class cricket. There is no truth in the allegation that people prefer to read about ten first-class matches rather than witness the one in progress a few miles off. The public will go to see *cricket*, but they will not patronise average-mongers, waste their time over an inevitable draw, or convert a few self-satisfied cricketers into demigods. Editors too often insist that the personal and anecdotic side should be overdone in response to a fancied demand on behalf of a misjudged public. To expatiate on the value of granting some sort of result to a decision on the first innings is superfluous. That will no doubt come as soon as an adequate safeguard is found that a side victorious thus far will not be content to rely on what it has gained, but will take all risks to obtain a victory as at present scored.

May cricket flourish for ever! It certainly will more even than before be the National and Imperial game if a little common sense and practical tact be devoted to removing a few obsolete handicaps to its amazing excellence.

HOME GORDON.

AMERICAN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, *Nov.* 12, 1906.

THERE is more than one side to the elections that were held last Tuesday. Dismissing for the moment the country at large, the struggle in New York, which was of the greatest interest because of its far-reaching consequences, is to be considered. In politics, as in nearly all the other relations of life, it is only the results that count. The Republicans, having elected their candidate for Governor, may congratulate themselves on having won the most bitterly contested State election of the past quarter of a century, and yet there are many Republicans who are not certain that the victory is as great as it appears. Scratch the surface, and something uncommonly close to Democratic triumph is revealed.

Mr. Hughes is elected by a majority approximating 60,000. Two years ago Mr. Roosevelt had a majority in New York of 175,000. It is, of course, not to be expected that as large a vote will be cast at a State election as at a Presidential election, as the greater issues involved and the prize at stake make men realise the importance of voting for the Presidential candidate who are indifferent to the election of a Governor. But this year the struggle in New York approached almost the dignity of a Presidential election, and was governed by much the same influences. In 1896, for the first time in American politics, party divisions were obliterated and class distinctions were made the issue, although the real question was obscured by its outer covering of silver. In the election of last Tuesday the same conditions prevailed. Mr. Hughes, the Republican candidate for Governor, like Mr. McKinley, who was the Republican candidate for the Presidency, was represented as standing for the conservation and protection of the great property interests; Mr. Hearst, the Democratic candidate for Governor, like Mr. Bryan, who was the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, was supposed to favour a policy that would have been destructive to property and inimical to the prosperity of the State. We may further continue the parallel. Mr. Bryan

was nominated against the protests of the "old line" Conservative Democrats; in spite of the solemn and tearful appeals (and tears were actually shed in that Convention, and it was a sight so pathetic that not even the most callous politician was for the moment unmoved) made by these men to their fellow delegates that his nomination, and the platform on which he stood, meant the wreck of the Democratic party. Protests, tears, and appeals were alike futile. Mr. Bryan was nominated, and before the last cheer of his adherents ceased to echo through the Convention Hall the wedge had already been driven into the Democratic party. The "Conservative Democrats" repudiated him, leading Democratic newspapers throughout the country appealed to Democrats to vote for McKinley as the only way to preserve the national honour.

Political history has repeated itself with dramatic fidelity. Mr. Hearst's nomination was as bitterly opposed in the State Convention as was that of Mr. Bryan in the larger arena of the nation, and the same forces that ten years ago were directed against Mr. Bryan were this year turned against Mr. Hearst. Mr. Hearst was nominated against the earnest protests of the Conservative wing of the party, and no sooner was he nominated than this wing went over bodily to the enemy, and leading papers throughout the State "bolted" him and urged their readers, to use their own phraseology, to save the fame of New York from the disgrace of his election. In the city of New York, whose newspapers are read all over the State and exercise a dominating influence, every paper, with the single exception of the Journal which Mr. Hearst owns, and an obscure sheet, the organ of Tammany Hall, virulently opposed him.

These were odds heavy enough to overcome, but perhaps an even greater influence was exerted against him. It has come to be regarded as improper for the President to interfere in a State election, and not only improper but unwise, as it is very apt to be resented by the voters as an attempt on the part of the President to dictate to them their course of action. The last time that a President essayed this dangerous *rôle* was about a quarter of a century ago, when Mr. Arthur used his great political power and the patronage at his disposal, to bring about the nomination of his then Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Folger, for Governor of New York. Mr. Folger was duly nominated, but the enraged electors showed their resentment by defeating him by a crushing majority. Since then Presidents have been very cautious not to appear, outwardly at least, to influence the free choice of the people.

But this year Mr. Roosevelt did the very thing that has fallen into desuetude for a quarter of a century. He exerted his power to compass Mr. Hearst's defeat. As the campaign progressed and it was made apparent to every one that Mr. Hearst would poll a very large vote, Mr. Roosevelt expressed his willingness to take the stump for Mr. Hughes, whose nomination, by the way, was only made after it was known that it met with Mr. Roosevelt's approval; but he was prevented by the Republican managers, who, remembering the Folger affair, feared that the result would be injurious. Yielding to their judgment he refrained from active participation, but in the last week prior to the election Secretary of State Root made a speech that was certainly the most important utterance of the campaign. The position that Mr. Root occupies, his high character and intellectual attainments, make everything that he says command immediate and widespread attention; but in this speech he spoke not only for himself but, as he announced, by the authority of the President. Seldom has any man been so assailed as Mr. Hearst was by the President through the lips of his Secretary of State. Here is an extract from the speech:

The election of this violent extremist would inevitably lead to a reaction against all true reform and genuine redress of grievances. There is no enemy of true reform so fatal as sham reform; there is no enemy of the sincere and faithful public servant who is seeking by patient and well-directed effort to frame and to enforce just laws like the selfish agitator who is seeking his own advancement; there is no ally of unscrupulous wealth so potent as the violent extremist who drives good, honest and conservative men away from the cause of true reform by the violence of his words and the intemperance of his excessive proposals.

I beg the working men of New York who may hear or see my words to think upon these questions. Do you believe in President Roosevelt? Do you agree with his policy in pursuing and preventing corporate wrong-doing? Do you wish that he may be able to continue that policy with power and success?

If you do, then help him by your votes.

I say to you, with his authority, that he greatly desires the election of a Republican House of Representatives to work with him in the next Congress; I say to you, with his authority, that he greatly desires the election of Mr. Hughes as the Governor of the State of New York; I say to you, with his authority, that he regards Mr. Hearst as wholly unfit to be Governor, as an insincere, self-seeking demagogue, who is trying to deceive the working men of New York by false statements and false promises; and I say to you, with his authority, that he considers that Mr. Hearst's election would be an injury and a discredit alike to honest labour and to honest capital, and a serious injury to the work in which he is engaged of enforcing just and equal laws against corporate wrong-doing.

President Roosevelt and Mr. Hearst stand as far as the poles asunder. Listen to what President Roosevelt himself has said of Mr. Hearst and his

kind. In President Roosevelt's first message to Congress, in speaking of the assassin of President McKinley, he spoke of him as inflamed "by the reckless utterances of those who, on the stump and in the public Press, appeal to the dark and evil spirits of malice and greed, envy and sullen hatred. The wind is sowed by the men who preach such doctrines, and they cannot escape their share of responsibility for the whirlwind that is reaped. This applies alike to the deliberate demagogue, to the exploiter of sensationalism, and to the crude and foolish visionary who, for whatever reason, apologises for crime or excites aimless discontent."

I say, by the President's authority, that in penning these words, with the horror of President McKinley's murder fresh before him, he had Mr. Hearst specifically in his mind.

And I say, by his authority, that what he thought of Mr. Hearst then he thinks of Mr. Hearst now.

Second only to Mr. Root's speech was the influence exerted by Mr. Croker, the former leader of Tammany, who urged the Tammy Democrats to vote against Hearst; and although Mr. Croker is no longer an active participant in New York politics, his followers are many and easily susceptible to his influence. Now with all these things against him, with the great power wielded by the President exerted to bring about his defeat, with Mr. Croker exhorting his followers to elect Hughes, with an influential Press bitterly hostile, with thousands of Democrats working for the success of his rival, Mr. Hearst, in a total poll of about a million and a half, came within sixty thousand votes ot election.

These figures in themselves are significant, they are doubly so when subjected to analysis. New York, for political purposes, may be regarded as two States: the City of Greater New York, which is overwhelmingly Democratic, and the rest of the State outside of New York, which has an even larger Republican majority. When conditions are normal the city can be relied upon to give the Democratic candidate a majority of from 100,000 to 150,000, the rest of the State—"up-State," to use the political term—a still greater Republican majority. At heart New York is a Republican State, and it is only when there is a heavy falling off in the "up-State" vote or an abnormal Democratic majority in the city, that the State can be carried by the Democrats.

If the reader will bear these facts in mind, he will see at once why it does not become the Republicans to show undue elation. Mr. Hughes came down to the city limits with an "up-State" majority of approximately 140,000, and was there met by Mr. Hearst with his majority in round figures of 80,000, giving Mr. Hughes a net majority of about 60,000 and the election. Very good, so far as the result was concerned, but very disquieting

when the method by which that result is obtained is understood. Instead of a majority of 140,000, Mr. Hughes ought to have a majority of at least 200,000, which would have made Hearst one of the worst beaten candidates of recent years. What then became of the 60,000 or more votes that should have been cast for Hughes? and how were the 50,000 or more votes dissipated that were properly classed as Democratic? The answer is simple. The missing Hughes votes were on the Hearst ballots and Hearst's deficiency went to make Hughes' majority. This is not a theoretical explanation, but is a demonstrable mathematical fact.

While the world heard only of Hughes and Hearst, they were not the only men standing for office. A full "ticket" was nominated on both sides, including nominees for governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, attorney-general, controller, and treasurer. In the City of New York every one of Mr. Hearst's associates received majorities of between 140,000 and 150,000, or from 60,000 to 70,000 more votes than did Hearst, while "up-State" their vote was practically the same as his. This proves conclusively that while a great many thousand men hitherto counted as Republicans voted for Hearst "up-State," even more thousands hitherto counted as Democrats voted for Hughes in the City of New York. In a word, Hearst's great vote is due to Republican dissatisfaction; Hughes owes his election to the 60,000 or 70,000 Democrats who voted for him in preference to Hearst. Democrats and not Republicans defeated Hearst, precisely as Democrats and not Republicans elected McKinley ten years ago. Mr. Hughes is among the first to recognise this. In a short statement issued the night after election he said he confidently relied "upon the support of all good citizens, not only those who voted for me, but also those who in the intensity of their desire to end abuses voted for my opponent."

It was the intensity of this desire that brought Mr. Hughes so perilously close to defeat. Say what we may about Mr. Hearst, he may be the demagogue that President Roosevelt believes him to be, he may be the selfish agitator and the ally of unscrupulous wealth, as Mr. Root has characterised him; but the fact remains that he appeals to a very large element of the community who are convinced of his sincerity and unselfishness, who hail him as the leader of their cause, who look to him to right their wrongs. And this is the meaning and the significance of Hearst's vote. "In the intensity of their desire to end abuses"—which is an admission on the part of Mr. Hughes that abuses exist—nearly one-half of the adult males of New York voted for Mr. Hearst.

For the last two years the air has been heavy with the cry of Reform, the Augean stable of corruption was being rapidly cleansed, we were told, the trusts were to be brought under control, the arrogance of wealth was to be rebuked, the rights of which the people had been robbed were to be restored to them. Were Mr. Hearst elected, the hand of Reform would be stayed, corruption would go unrebuked, the orderly progress of society would be hindered.

Well, several hundred thousand men refused to believe this, they disbelieved this as thoroughly as they did the hope that had been held out to them. We may say that they were foolish, as Republican newspapers say, susceptible to appeals to class hatred, jealous of the intelligence others possess and in them is wanting, envious of the uneven distribution of wealth. It is easy enough to give these explanations, but they are too obviously superficial to be convincing. They do not go to the root of the disease; they do not explain why the working man, who was never better paid, should be filled with discontent, why he should be so restless and so dissatisfied, why he refuses to recognise everything as ordained for the best, and should constantly strive to give expression to the unsatisfied desire that oppresses him. The working man, and not alone the working man, may perhaps believe that he has *heard* too much of Reform and *seen* too little of its effects; that a great many crimes have been committed in the name of Reform. I do not know. Whatever the motives that move him it is indisputable that his resentment against existing conditions is becoming more intense.

The moral of this election is that political parties in the United States are merely empty names, and that Democrats and Republicans have been obliterated by Conservatives and Radicals. Not all the working men are Radicals, any more than are all the small shopkeepers or the minor professional men, the middle class generally. There are Radical working men and Conservative working men, Radical shopkeepers and Conservative shopkeepers, Radicals and Conservatives in all walks of life; but they are no longer satisfied with party emblems, and demand something more than the shibboleth of party. Men mean more than party, and it is a man they follow. In this election the Conservatives, Democrats and Republicans voted for Hughes, and the Radicals for Hearst. Conviction was stronger than party.

This is the end of Hearst, many of the opposing newspapers gleefully said the morning after the election, and the "annihilation" of Hearst was the fugue played by the organs of Conservatism. But the man who says that Hearst is politically dead, that he has

not his bolt and is no longer to be feared as he is without a weapon, speaks without knowledge or experience. Hearst is no more destroyed than Bryan was after his first defeat, and for the last ten years Bryan has been one of the great factors in American politics. And mark this. Bryan made Roosevelt possible, he not only made Roosevelt possible, but he made it possible for Roosevelt to do the very things for which he has been so much commended. Bryan prepared the coming of Roosevelt ; Bryan taught the country to be Radical, and enabled Roosevelt to do as a Conservative that which before the time of Bryan would have been so violently extreme that the country would have spurned him. You have only to compare Roosevelt with Cleveland and Harrison and McKinley to know how cautiously they moved and how little they were able to accomplish. I do not subscribe to the present-day doctrine that they were wanting in courage or false to a high sense of duty. Cleveland gave too many proofs of his unflinching courage for any one to accuse him of cowardice ; colourless and cold as Harrison was, no man had a finer sense of duty or was more impressed with the weight of responsibility These men were neither cravens nor corrupt, but they were powerless in the grasp of their time. The time was not ripe for Radical measures ; Bryan had not yet come. After Bryan, as I have said, it was easy for Roosevelt. May it not also prove true that Hearst is likewise preparing the way for a great Reformer, either in his own person or in that of some other man as little known now as Bryan was known only a few months before he sprang into fame and brought about a social revolution ? "Bryanism" and "Hearstism" are not merely the symbols of emotion. They are more than that, stronger than that, reaching down deeper than the emotions and arousing that passionate sense of justice that has been the dynamic force behind every popular movement for Reform.

The friends of the President interpret this election as a great personal triumph for Mr. Roosevelt. To a certain extent this is true. They say that he was really the one issue. The country was appealed to to return a Republican majority to the House of Representatives so that the President's policies might be carried out ; even the Democrats made use of his name, and asked for the election of their candidates on the specious plea that a Democratic Congress would be more in sympathy with Mr. Roosevelt than the members of his own party ; a dishonest and disingenuous appeal, but an unexampled tribute never before paid to a Republican President by his opponents. I have already

referred to Mr. Roosevelt's part in the defeat of Mr. Hearst. The Springfield *Republican* says that "all things, all events, continue to exalt Theodore Roosevelt in the minds of his countrymen, and to make him the master of Congress and all political parties." While this statement is an exaggeration, it is not entirely without justification. With a Republican majority in both Houses of Congress, with the Democrats eagerly asserting, as Mr. Bryan did on the stump, that Mr. Roosevelt has taken his doctrine from the Democratic platform, the President need have no fear of opposition ; but the Republicans must be fatuous indeed if they brush aside as of no account the vote polled by Mr. Hearst, and the cutting in halves of their majority in the House. Surely these things mean something.

The outbreak against the Japanese in California is not a sudden manifestation of racial feeling, as so many persons on both sides of the Pacific, as well as the Atlantic, believe. The trouble with most persons is that either they have no memories, or, like Joseph Conrad's delightful old captain in *Typhoon*, they skim over the years of existence ignorant to the last and blind to what goes on about them. Writers, not alone in New York, were taken off their feet by the refusal of the San Francisco School Board to permit Japanese children to attend the same schools with white children, and proceeded, according to their own mental idiosyncrasies, to explain the reason unhampered by a knowledge of the facts.

If the reader will take the trouble to refer to the *National Review* of July 1905, he will find that exactly what has happened in the last few weeks I predicted sixteen months ago. I may be permitted, I think, to quote what I then wrote :

> The anti-Japanese agitation on the Pacific Coast is growing apace, and in much the same way that the agitation took form and finally led to the passage of the Chinese exclusion laws. The far West is as bitterly opposed to the Asiatic as the South is to the Negro, and both sections are imbued with the idea that this is a white man's country for white men only. Not long ago a prominent business man of San Francisco said: "The Japanese are landing on our shores at the rate of from 1000 to 2000 every week, and with their coming our people do not rejoice so freely over Japanese victories as those who do not realise the new problems with which we have to deal. We do not like the Japanese. We are frank about it. We do not like them because we have found them not to be relied upon, and because they take the bread out of the mouths of our own people. So great has become the storm against the Japanese that two big mass meetings have been held to protest against their coming, and to endorse a similar law to that which excluded the Chinese. Of the higher class we have nothing to complain, but as it is almost wholly the lowest classes that come we think we have a good grievance."

Already representations have been made to the President on the subject, nd he is giving it his serious consideration. Not only does the Pacific Coast emand that restriction shall be imposed upon the coming of the Japanese, ut the demand is also made that the laws of Japan shall be modified so as to ermit the purchase of land by foreigners. This inhibition is a weapon that ill be used against Japan. If the Japanese are given all the rights of the merican, even to the ownership of land, Americans say they have the ight to expect the same treatment in Japan; or, if that right is refused, to etaliate.

I may say with propriety now, what would have been decidedly mproper then, and could only be guardedly hinted at, that ixteen months ago the President and his immediate advisers learly foresaw the dangers they were confronting, and were isturbed in consequence. They did everything in their power o discourage the agitation, chiefly by refusing to countenance t or give it publicity; but the power of the President in such natters is extremely limited, and he could do nothing effectively f an affirmative nature. Delay, he thought, might do good, nd other things might arise in the meantime to turn the attention f the people of the West from the Japanese to a greater and nore immediate grievance.

Time has done nothing except to increase the bitterness. To Englishmen, who are the allies of Japan, it may not be pleasant o learn that a strong and bitter feeling exists in the United States, confined not alone to the Western Coast, but widely distributed, against the Japanese; but nothing is to be gained by ttempting to conceal the truth, and much good may often be ccomplished by a frank statement of facts. Furthermore, this s a great political and social question in the United States, a uestion so important that it cannot be ignored because of the ar-reaching effect it will have on domestic policy and international relations.

Three causes combined explain the feeling existing against the apanese. One is that the Japanese are not a white race. It is ot my province to condone or condemn this feeling; I am imply stating facts, and the fact is that the American (I mean, of ourse, the great mass, and not the saving remnant morally or intellectually superior to narrow prejudice) detests a person of colour, hether the colour is the black of the African or the brown of the siatic. The coloured races are inferior races in the eyes of mericans; this feeling is inborn, and the American, despite the eclaration of Independence, will not subscribe to the doctrine hat a person of colour is his social, intellectual, or moral equal. What he fears more than anything else is miscegenation; and ith a population exceeding more than ten millions of blacks,

it is not a groundless fear. Once the barriers are thrown down, once the coloured race is placed on a plane of equality with the white, the union of blacks and whites would speedily follow. Nothing could be more abhorrent to the average American than this thought. No measures are too drastic to make this impossible. And let me say again, so that the English reader may thoroughly understand, the American does not differentiate in shades. Every man who is not white is " coloured."

The second reason why the Japanese are unpopular is the widely entertained feeling that they have proved themselves ungrateful. Next to Great Britain, Japan lies under the heaviest obligation to the United States for the material and moral support she furnished during the war with Russia; and had the sympathy of the United States been extended to her foe, it is not too much to say that Japan would have been caused serious embarrassment. It is now said that definite promises made by Japan during the war, when she realised the urgent necessity of retaining the friendship of the American people, were repudiated before the ink was dry on the treaty of Portsmouth.

The Americans fear the Japanese as their most dangerous commercial competitors in the commerce of the Far East, and see in the extension of the political power of Japan the destruction of a present profitable trade of vast potential possibilities. This fear is not local, but national; it is no greater on the Pacific Coast, in the City of San Francisco, the natural entrepot of trans-Pacific commerce, than it is in the cotton manufacturing sections of the South or in New York, where California as well as the South is financed. Americans were vitally interested in the preservation of the integrity of China and the maintenance of the open door, not because they had the slightest concern in the politics of the Far East, but because they wanted to enjoy a profitable market. There are cotton mills in the South whose entire output is marketed to China; there are concerns in San Francisco and New York which have for years carried on a heavy trade with China; there are American steamship lines running between American and Chinese ports. Since the conclusion of the war American merchants complain that they have been placed at a disadvantage; that Japan has given preference to her own traders and has discriminated against American merchants; that the political power exercised by Japan over China foreshadows the time not far distant when Japan will have so completely monopolised the trade of the Far East that it will be useless for Americans to try to compete. Here again I express no opinion as to the

ustice of the complaints. I simply voice an influential public pinion that it would be folly to treat as unworthy of serious onsideration.

The Baltimore *Sun*, one of the oldest newspapers in the Jnited States, and one of the most Conservative, points out he political issues involved when it says:

Would President Roosevelt, if re-nominated in 1908, be willing to run on a latform in which there was a plank setting forth that the President and two-hirds of the Senate may make a treaty with a foreign Power by the terms of vhich the United States Government could compel a State to admit to its ublic schools yellow or black children, in the same buildings and classes with hildren of citizens of that State? Is there any Senator or Representative in Congress who would cheerfully run on such a platform? Will the President n his message to Congress next December, express his entire approval of mixed schools" by treaty—American, Asiatic, and Afro-American—in the orty-five States of the Union? . . . . It should be made clear to the Govern-nent of Japan that the Government of the United States may well hesitate to ssume powers which would be obnoxious and repugnant to the forty-five States of the Union—powers of which no political party in this country would are to be champion before the people.

The announcement of the retirement of Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, the British Ambassador at this capital, is received both by his personal and official friends, as well as the country at arge, as voiced by the newspapers, with genuine regret. A quiet and undemonstrative man, a man who has a horror of and realises the danger of "gush" to the real interests of both countries, Sir Mortimer Durand, because of the warm affection he has for the American people, his democratic manner, his deep knowledge of American history, and a really wonderful comprehension of the American political system and the meaning of politics as they are moulded into history from day to day, combined with his strength of character and his fine sense of justice, made himself not only respected in the United States, but won many friends, who feel that his retirement is a personal loss. The *New York Sun*, after mentioning Sir Mortimer's engaging personal qualities, the services he has rendered, and the regret that will be felt by his retirement, makes public the very interesting announcement

that he has given much of his time to an investigation and an understanding of the perpetuation in this country of Anglo-Saxon customs, ideas and characteristics by the descendants of the original pioneers and settlers. . . . During his stay in Washington he made many excursions of study and observations, of which fashionable society knew nothing; and it is entirely safe to say that he will take back with him to England a clearer and more comprehensive understanding of this people than any foreigner has ever before had.

The *Sun* closes its leader in these words: "So he leaves us, a kind and wise and sympathetic friend; perfectly aware of the virtues and defects of Americans, but loving them and feeling for them as his own. Let us hope, though we have scant reason to expect, that his successor will be his equal in all respects which touch us intimately."

When last Tuesday President Roosevelt left Washington to inspect the progress of work on the Panama Canal he broke a century-old tradition, and proved how amazingly the American viewpoint has enlarged in the last few years. Until a few weeks ago it was the unwritten law that the President might not leave the country during his term of office, and the law has been rigidly observed. Mr. Roosevelt has done what none of his predecessors had the courage to do; and although here and there a few newspapers criticise him for it, and question the wisdom and propriety of his leaving the country, they are in a decided minority, and the Press as a whole not only has no fault to find but regards it very much as a matter of course that he should ascertain from personal observation what is being done. It has even been suggested that a visit to the Philippines next summer might be productive of good results. This recognition that it is a good thing for the President to travel; and that the American people have interests other than in the United States, shows the rapid growth of not what in derision has been termed "Imperialism," but a recognition of duties and responsibilities from which the United States cannot escape, from which she has no desire to escape, and which have been laid upon her by the inexorable hand of destiny. The day of isolation, of self-effacement, of detached contentment, has gone. Contact with the world is required of a world Power, and the United States has to take her share in carrying the burden of the world.

A. MAURICE LOW.

LAND VALUES—WHY AND HOW THEY SHOULD BE TAXED

There was a Sultan in Egypt, and he taxed the people. For each fig-tree he took payment of ten dinars. So it came to pass that the people cut down their fig-trees. Then another Sultan arose, and he took the tax off fig-trees, and taxed instead the soil from which all good things must grow. And behold the people planted fig-trees with diligence, and the land flourished exceedingly.

THIS parable puts in a simple form the whole case for land taxation. If taxation were apportioned to capacity for producing, and not according to actual production, it would obviously stimulate production. Our aim should be to encourage human effort by setting free improvements, and hence a system of land values taxation is the necessary corollary to Free Trade.

HOW LAND IS A MONOPOLY.—I shall begin by a paradox and say, that taxation of land values is the wrong name for the right thing. Taxing things usually makes them dearer. No one wants to make land dearer. We want to make it cheaper and to grow more fig-trees.

Tax wheat, and bread becomes dearer—the eater, the consumer, pays the tax. Tax boots, and boots will cost more—the wearer, the consumer, pays the tax. Tax capital, as they do in Poplar by high rates, and capital becomes dearer (especially as it can flow elsewhere), and the worker who uses it pays the tax in a higher rate of interest. Therefore the natural inference is that if land were taxed land would become dearer.

Yet it is not so, because land is a monopoly. A monopoly means the ownership of the sole power to make and supply, or to hold and withhold any sort of thing. A monopoly gets in any case the utmost it can out of the consumer. It is *already* getting *all* that the consumer, or user, can pay. Whether you tax it or not it would obtain a price fixed only by the demand. Raise the tax, it can get no more. Reduce the tax, and it will take no less. The rule which holds good elsewhere does not apply to monopolies.

The private ownership of land of a particular kind in a particular place is a monopoly. The private ownership of coal of a particular sort and accessibility is a monopoly. The sole right to sell drink in a certain neighbourhood is a monopoly. There can only be one tram line in a street. There can hardly be too rival systems of water-supply, or light, or power, in a town. These are monopolies. In each case it is position that makes the monopoly.

Roads, canals and railways are more or less monopolies, partly for this reason, because of their position, partly because of the Act of Parliament, and also partly for the same reason that great aggregations of capital are monopolies. Those great trusts, or rings, are monopolies because they can crush out rivals, especially in protected countries, where foreign competitors do not count. They can crush out rivals by withholding their own profits. They alone, in each trade, have the power to forego the interest on, say, a million of money, in order to reap a richer harvest thereafter. They alone have the power to lose for a time, and yet survive in the end.

The growing opinion—to my mind the obvious and right opinion—is that monopolies, at least those conferred by the community, should be owned by the community; or (what comes to the same thing), that the State should take in taxation the net annual value of a monopoly, or (what comes to nearly the same thing), that the State in some cases should fix the price at which the community is to be served. For whether the State benefits in its exchequer, or by increased prosperity in the community, is immaterial.*

Which of the three ways you choose will depend partly on your tastes—how far you are individualist and how far collectivist—and partly on the nature of the monopoly. The second method is the most economical, perhaps, in dealing with the land monopoly.

There is a school of thinkers, notable among whom is Mr. Chiozza Money, M.P., who would widen the scope of this term "monopoly" to embrace all capital. They say that so long as a house, or a machine, or a hundred pounds belongs to one man, that man has a monopoly; that till the community

* Trams, for instance, may be owned and worked by a municipality. Or the privilege of owning and working them may be leased by public tender for short periods. Or a company might be allowed to own the trams subject to the right of the municipality to fix the fares to be charged. The first method might, the second would, mean a contribution to the rates. The first method might, and the third method would, mean a contribution to the pocket of the community in cheaper fares. This illustrates the three methods.

own all these things there will always be private monopolies; and that one monopoly is as bad as another. They maintain that a freeholder owing a £100 worth of land is no worse, and extracts no more from the community than a bricklayer with £100 in the Savings Bank.

They seem in this to be confusing private monopoly with private ownership. Something can also be said against private ownership, but the difference between the two is vital. One possession can be made and duplicated, the other cannot.

Because the £100 in the Savings Bank can be duplicated by anybody (including the State), therefore the interest the bricklayer gets on his £100 is determined by the law of supply and demand—by the number of people who care to make a £100 or £100 worth to lend or to use, and the demand by industry for the use of this capital.

But because no more land can be made—no more land in that position, and no more land in the aggregate—therefore the rent that the freeholder takes from the community is not regulated by the law of supply and demand, but by the law of rent alone. The demand may increase continually, but nothing can increase the supply of land such as his.

Capital is fluid and flows to any part of the world, land is a fixture. One is of approximately equal value throughout the world, the other varies in value from point to point. These are differences of degree important enough when we contemplate taxation and the incidence of such taxation, but the vital distinction between what is and what is not a monopoly, and the price either can extract from the community depends on the possibility of manufacture and duplication.

The possession of the sole power to supply or withhold even a portion of land of a particular kind and position, and which is therefore limited and cannot be duplicated indefinitely, constitutes a monopoly. The annual value of that monopoly is the "rent" a tenant is willing to pay to use that particular piece of land. The tenant might use another piece of land, cheaper or rent free. He might, for instance, get land in Canada or the Argentine for nothing; or he may pay £3 rent for using an acre of land near a suburban railway station. The rent he has to pay in this case—the annual value of a monopoly there—is determined by the advantages of the suburb and by the drawbacks of the Canadian North-West.

Rent cannot be forced up indefinitely, as it could if land of all kinds and all positions were in the hands of *one* monopolist. Rent depends solely on the demand for the peculiar object of monopoly, and that demand is limited in the case of land by

the possible use of free land or cheaper land elsewhere. The advantage of the peculiar position or condition determines demand and fixes rent. The owner gets all he can. He can get no more while there is the alternative of a different kind of land in other people's hands to go to. Therefore, if you tax land value you do not increase rent, because that is impossible; you merely take some of that rent for State purposes.

If, on the other hand, you tax private capital, either the owner goes elsewhere until industry will pay him the extra rate of interest, or else less capital is accumulated until its scarcity makes the price remunerative again.

"Taxation of Land Values" is a misleading name. It will mean, and we understand it to mean, "the State appropriation of monopoly rent." We want *gradually* to divert to the public pocket some of this constantly growing stream of monopoly rent at present going into private pockets. It must be done very gradually, for we have to consider the credit and security of mortgages and other fixed charges on land. No benefit from the alteration of our present system of taxation would counterbalance a sudden shock to our financial credit.

THE VALUE OF THE LAND MONOPOLY IS GIVEN BY THE STATE.—Those monopoly values which are due to the State ought above all others to be diverted to the public pocket; and if we look into this land question we shall see *that the unimproved value of land everywhere is an exact measure of the benefits conferred on it by the State.* By the State we mean not only the English Government, but the English people and English trade and our English ancestors—our soldiers and sailors, our municipal councillors, our inventors, our workers, and our savings. Why is land in such a town as Hanley worth more and more highly rented than land on the High Peak? Because it is nearer to 100,000 people, because the railway-station is close at hand, and the trams run down the street; because men work in the mines and factories, and spend their money near their work. But land even on the High Peak is worth something, and even that little something has been given by the community. The Army and Navy keep us safe from invasion, and so give value to the High Peak lands. The sheep on it are not stolen because of our laws and police. The railway-station may be a long way off, but State roads lead to it, and when the sheep are on the railway there are millions waiting to eat them and pay the breeder. Take away those factors—take away the community and the benefits—and land values on the High Peak would be even as land values now are in Babylon.

The man who owns this land need do nothing. He can let some one else use it and himself receive a rent which he owes to the community.

As the community increases and improves, so rent increases. Rent in time silently absorbs all improvements and economies. Certain areas in New Zealand adopted compulsory temperance, and in those areas rent rose to absorb the saving.*

Dockyard labourers at Devonport were given a rise of wages and, according to the First Lord of the Admiralty, they got with it an equivalent rise of rent.

Glasgow builds a fresh tramway at public expense, and the rent of land along the tramway responds like a barometer.

Of course individual landlords do not one and all get increased rents. The benefit conferred by the community is very unequally distributed. To some landlords the benefit from the community is even less than their contributions to it. It is notorious that in England agricultural land has gone down in value, thus making the old fixed land tax and tithes and the present rates peculiarly inequitable. My assertion is that landlords *as a whole* get larger rents as the community grows. This is true of England as a whole. It is also true of agricultural land as a whole throughout the world. Canada, Egypt, the Argentine, India and the United States show a rise in the rents of agricultural land which dwarfs out of all comparison the peculiar losses which the British rural landlord has suffered since transport became cheap.

It must be borne in mind that it is only the *unimproved* value of land which is an exact measure of State benefit. The *improved* value of land, coming from unexhausted improvements on it (such as farm-buildings, drainage, manure, timber, fencing, shafts, borings, and machinery) is due principally to the individual, only very indirectly to the community. If taxation of the *unimproved* value were substituted for the present taxation on this *improved* value, it would not only restore very justly to the community that which the community has given, but it

* The improved trade of New Zealand, whether it be or be not due to the wise administration of Mr. Seddon and his State regulation of industry, has had the following results: Between 1896 and 1901 the number of workers in factories has increased by 52 per cent.; the wages paid have increased by 5 per cent. for men and 8 per cent. for women; the value of buildings, machinery, and plant, increased by 32 per cent.; the value of land, increased by 61 per cent. Thus legislation, whose chief object was to raise the conditions of labour, has resulted in conferring ten times as great benefits on the ground landlord. (See Mr. Pember Reeves, *State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand*, vol. ii. pp. 137, 138.)

would also set free and encourage improvements, and, therefore, increase the annual return got from the improved value.

MONOPOLIES ARE A TAX ON INDUSTRY THAT SHOULD BE DIVERTED INTO THE TREASURY TO REPLACE OTHER TAXES. —Land of a particular sort and position is a monopoly, and a monopoly whose value is given by the State.

What is the object of taxing, or appropriating for public purposes, this or any other monopoly? Why should this sudden onslaught be made on landlords? It is possible, one might say, that the old landlords have had an unfair advantage; but so have men who inherited fortunes in Consols, and, moreover, many landlords have only bought recently. Why should they be singled out for attack? Why should we demand that the monopoly-owner—the ground landlord—should pay more than other people? Why, in a word, do we wish the State to absorb all monopoly rents, and become the only monopolist? The object of Government is to do the best for its citizens. To do this, it must raise money to pay for Army and Navy, education, police, and all communal charges. It must appropriate private money. It must appropriate wealth. In the end, it can only take wealth from those who produce it—from the workers. All taxes fall on industry; and so do all monopoly rents.

For there are private taxes which fall on industry as well as these public taxes. All monopoly rents—land, royalty, liquor, railway, trust—are also taxes on industry. They all raise the cost of a thing to the consumer. Private rent, like public taxes, must take wealth from those who produce it by leaving the worker a smaller proportion of the whole cost of what he makes and has to buy. Thus, industry is burdened with a double taxation—public and private.

Part of the price of everything that is made goes to the State in public taxes, part goes to private persons as monopoly rent, part goes as interest on the use of capital, and the remainder to the worker. Of course, so long as one piece of land is more valuable for use than another, monopoly rent must be paid by the user. It is a perfectly just and equitable tax, but it ought to go to the State as *the* tax, and not be, as now, a private tax going to private persons, in addition to other public taxes.

The way to improve trade is to make things cheaper, not dearer. The ideal of the political economist is that goods should be made as cheaply as possible, and that as large a proportion as possible of the price paid by the purchaser, having regard to the communal claims, should go to the worker; that a man

should do as much as possible in his life, and get the full value of his work.

The rate of interest that has to be paid for the use of capital is fixed by world-wide considerations of credit and self-restraint, and varies, more or less, inversely with the price of Consols.* It is only by sound finance that we can gradually reduce the capitalist's share—by paying off our debts, State and municipal, and creating communal assets.

But why should both public and private taxes swallow what might be the workers' share in the value of the article? There must be one tax; but why two? One of these taxes needs to be done away with, so that goods may become cheaper and the workers' share larger.

One of the objects, then, in taxing these monopolies is to reduce our present taxes; to substitute one tax for two, and so improve trade. There is no sentimental animus against a monopoly owner. The one object is to make goods cheaper, and the worker's reward for his work more complete. We should aim at *substituting the single tax on land values, mineral rights, and other permanent monopolies, for other taxes and burdens on industry.*

Moreover, under this system, the full value of every improvement in town or country—street widenings, new railways, new sewers, the removal of tolls, the provision of electric power, or improved economies in manufacture, improved trade, and increased population—would find its way immediately to the community. The citizens would always and directly reap the full advantage of their efforts and of every increase in land value.

Special Effect on Speculation and Trade.—There is another reason for taxing monopoly values. So far, we have only thought of abolishing the *double* burden, and this is the ultimate end of such taxation. But the mere first imposition of the tax on monopolies, even if our present "fig-tree" taxation were not correspondingly reduced, would actually benefit industry. It would break the monopoly.

Suppose J. P. Morgan controlled the wheat-supply, and held

* The rate of interest demanded and obtained for the use of capital increases with the taxation of capital, such as income-tax and rates. So that all these taxes are paid not by the owner of the capital, but by the user—that is, by the worker who employs capital. He pays these taxes in having to pay a higher rate of interest on the capital he uses. For capital is not confined to any particular own or country, but can be lent or invested anywhere. If we want to use it in England we must pay the price it asks; and that depends on how much this town or country takes in rates and taxes compared with what another town or country would take.

up all available wheat in his granaries until we were willing to pay the price he asked. If we taxed wheat which he held up and did not use, we should by that tax force him to sell at a lower price and benefit industry.

Suppose Rothschild buried all his capital in the world—machinery and raw material—in his back garden, or suppose he stopped all use of capital everywhere, like the Russian strikers. Suppose he *held up* the world's capital, and was content to go without his interest. Then if we taxed his hoarded wealth, whether he used it or not, he would be forced to use it; to employ or lend out that hoarded wealth. The rate of interest on capital would fall and benefit industry.

Suppose Alderman Smith, of Leicester, controlled the boot trade—had bought and held up all boots made and to be made. If we taxed the boots held up, Alderman Smith would be forced to sell, and the price of boots would fall and benefit industry.

At present we only tax wealth that *is* used—that is, we only tax industry (which uses capital). We want particularly to tax the wealth that is *not* used, that is wanted by industry; and then we shall actually benefit industry by this step.

In so far as land round towns, or sporting land, or unworked minerals and quarries are held up, they are in exactly the same position as the cornered unused wheat and boots and capital. Taxation will force them into the open market, and will directly benefit industry, which depends on the *use*, not the withholding, of these necessaries.

There are certain resources which are at present unused, and would benefit the country if put in use;—certain wealth not now productive, which might become capital for producing more wealth. We claim that the taxation of such unproductive wealth would, in fact, penalise it, and force it to become productive, thereby increasing the supply and reducing the rent of land and minerals, which are the raw material of all industry.

The unproductive wealth consists largely of the land of the country—in so far as it is not used for the best purposes—and of all minerals still below ground. These are hoarded, or idle wealth, and as such have a directly harmful effect on the nation's prosperity. The damage done by holding up land and minerals may be exactly compared with the damage and loss due to a great strike. Thousands are turned out of work, capital lies idle, and prices rise disastrously. The manufacturer who locks out his hands, the trade unions which go on strike, are just like the ground landlord—speculating on the ultimate

issue of the conflict to the immediate loss of the community. This seems, incidentally, to be a good enough reason, apart altogether from philanthropy, why communities should insist on compulsory arbitration in industrial as well as in international disputes.

The men who own the land round a growing town, land which is wanted for houses and factories, and who, instead of putting that land to the best possible use, withhold it and let it for grazing at agricultural rates until their fancy price is reached, are strangling the prosperity of the town and country —they are economically bad citizens. It happens, besides, that they are condemning thousands to be born and bred in slums. But that is a different part of the question, the housing or social side, and I am trying to deal with this question from the purely financial standpoint.

I think that previous writers have not sufficiently insisted on the two distinct benefits that would arise from the taxation of monopolies :

(1) The *indirect* aid to industry which follows from the abolition of double taxation—private rents and public taxes—and from the substitution of a single public tax—State resumption of rent.

(2) The *direct* aid to industry, in that it would hinder individuals from speculating in and holding up the natural resources and thus keeping them unproductive.

Land and the Unemployed.—No apology is required for developing the question of speculative holding up of land and minerals, for its bad effect on industry is of even more importance than that double taxation of industry by public taxes and private rents which I first considered.

It is not only that national wealth and resources are withheld from use, but, more than anything else, this land speculation causes those great fluctuations of trade that affect the world and cause such widespread misery. Rent and the value of land not only rise, but they rise unsteadily in waves.

In times of good trade rents rise ; the value of land rises ; people are attracted into land speculations, and refuse to sell or allow their land to be used, except at a largely increased price. There is a rise of rent which has *no economic justification.* If a piece of land lies idle, all other land round about becomes dearer. In any case, the user pays a fancy price, often, also, one economically unsound. Hence, the cost of all we want and use rises, and we buy less; fewer wants are gratified, fewer things made ; there is a " slump " in business, and owing to the precariousness of the speculations credit collapses. The

rise in rent acts exactly like a large and sudden increase in taxation. It ruins trade.

Then for a time trade is bad; rents may fall slightly, the value of land may even go down a little; but gradually as more inventions and economies in manufacture are introduced, as population and workers increase in numbers, and efficiency, trade and industry become able to pay the increased rent, and yet produce cheaply. Then good trade comes again, until the cream is again liberally skimmed off by the only person concerned who can raise his price—the monopoly owner.

Taxes rise gradually; the condition of the worker and his wages rise gradually; interest on capital falls gradually; but the other factor, monopoly rent, rises in tidal waves which shatter the stability of trade.

The unemployed difficulty is largely due to the instability of trade. A man hangs on through bad times to the trade in which he was employed in good times. When employment is good and high wages can be earned, many are trained in the booming trade; but the bigger the boom and the higher the maximum of employment in it, the more hands there are who must be thrown out of work in times of minimum employment. Times of great prosperity and of great depression are equally disastrous in the end to workmen who require constant employment. It is the height of the wave from crest to trough which measures the economic disaster.

To take one example: the President of the Local Government Board tells us, that the building trade, which is notoriously susceptible to fluctuations of employment, is the one now suffering most from want of employment. We hear vague talk of this depression being due to over-building, but while England is full of out-of-date factories and rotting slums, over-building cannot really exist. Buildings, thanks to the present system of taxation, are inaccessible or dear, not over numerous.

The truth is, that the fluctuations in the building trade are due to sudden gluts or scarcities of land in the market, and these are due chiefly to the speculations to which a monopoly gives rise. If land could be brought within some regular system of supply, so as to be accessible on more or less foreseen terms when wanted, we should have buildings raised, not according to the "bulls" and "bears" of speculators, but according to the natural demand due to increase of trade and increase of population. These factors being more or less constant and increasing, accessibility of land would involve not only regular, but on the whole constantly increasing

employment for the building trade. This regular system of supply is just what would result from basing rates entirely on land value.

But while this good settlement of the land question in towns would do much to steady trade, a like treatment in the country would further simplify the unemployed difficulty. Agricultural land ought to be a sort of reservoir of labour, whence labour could, as at present, issue in prosperous times to easier and better paid work in the towns, and also a reservoir to which it could again return as an alternative to a fall in wages.

Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P. aptly pointed out in a speech in Huntingdon, that what enabled the Kaffirs on the Rand to withstand the reduction of pay after the war, was not a strong union nor legislative effort, but the possibility of alternative work on the land to which they have free access.

We cannot now make access to the land perfectly free, nor is the use of the land so simple here as in South Africa, but we can, at any rate, by a changed incidence of taxation, persuade the private landlord to welcome close cultivation and that kind of improvement for which this irregular labour is specially fitted, and at the same time diminish his autocratic power over this one of the vital elements.

PRACTICAL POLITICS.—Obviously, the first practical step is to get a general valuation of the unimproved land values throughout the kingdom, both for urban and rural areas. These new valuation lists can then be used for both local and imperial taxation.

The unimproved land values once ascertained, power can be given to all local authorities to raise their rates in part, or by progressive gradation, or wholly, on these new valuations, instead of on the old land-plus-building valuation. The same persons would pay the rates, but the rates would be based on a different valuation. The buildings and machinery and improvements on the property would be disregarded—the site value alone would count. The better the house, the better the manufactory put up; the more a man benefited a town or a village by investing his capital in it, the more would be his reward. His rates would remain the same, whether he used the land for a factory or a pigstye.

This part of the scheme, which concerns local government, would not make much difference in rural areas, but in urban areas the change would be fundamental.

As for imperial taxation, a general tax of about a penny in the pound should be, at the same time, imposed on all unim-

proved land values in town and country alike. It could be paid by the owner of the highest title to the land ; but in order to avoid "breaking contract" the owner should be empowered to recover (during the currency of existing leases) from the lowest sub-tenant or leaseholder who may have actually covenanted to pay all the taxes. This would mean, at present, that the tax would be paid by the seven, fourteen, twenty-one or ninety-nine years' leaseholder. Whatever the drawbacks to this temporary arrangement, there is no doubt that the ultimate incidence and the ultimate reversion of all such taxation must be on the man who enjoys the communally given rent.

The revenue so provided would then take the place of the grants in aid, and of the education and highway rates, which are at present a local charge ; both of these rates would be better charged on the Imperial Exchequer, and both press at present with undue severity on the agricultural industry. The grants in aid have been an expensive anomaly, and were only resorted to because our present basis of taxation and discrimination between rich and poor districts is unsatisfactory.

Until the unimproved values of land have been assessed it is almost impossible to estimate even approximately the amount which such a tax of a penny in the pound would bring into the Exchequer. Rough approximations, based on Income Tax returns, and on the ratio of the value of land to population in New York and in New Zealand, seem to suggest that the capital value of unimproved land, minerals, coals, tithes, &c., in the United Kingdom would amount to five thousand million pounds (£5,000,000,000). If this, is correct, such a tax would yield something over £20,000,000. But, if we only received £15,000,000 it would pay for those education and highway rates which are now charged locally, and do away with the necessity for grants in aid.

There is no finality in the penny land value tax ; it can be further increased to replace the present land tax, the inhabited house duty, and the income tax under schedule A. In due course the tax can be raised still further, right up to the shilling in the pound, which is the whole annual value of the monopoly; but this must be done slowly, because land at present is often mortgaged, or pledged, or otherwise charged, and has become the basis of our credit system, so that any sudden disturbance would be dangerous. Therefore, the full annual unimproved values ought not to be diverted to the Exchequer until the *untaxed improvements* have had time to grow and outweigh them. Perhaps, fifty years would complete the change.

OBJECTIONS TO THE LAND VALUE TAX.—Four objections are raised to taxation of land values.

(1) That the tax would fall on the occupier and not on the owner.

(2) The difficulty of arriving at the unimproved value.

(3) That it would lead to overcrowding and destroy open spaces.

(4) That it would involve unfair confiscation.

(1) It is often argued that any tax on land values would fall on the tenant, because the landlord would raise the rent. No doubt this would be the case if the rent were governed by the caprice of the landlord (or if land could be manufactured indefinitely); but rent is governed, as pointed out before, solely by the law of rent.

Professor Marshall says in his evidence before the Local Taxation Commission: "A tax on that part of the annual value of land which arises from its position, its extension, and its yearly income, of sunlight, heat, rain, and air, cannot settle anywhere except on the landlord."*

Of course, in country districts the landlord's mere caprice may affect rent; but generally, and in the long run, any tax on the unimproved value of land must fall on the landlord's rent. The incidence is only more obvious in the town; when the lease of a Regent Street shop falls in the landlord gets already the biggest rent he can for the new lease. That he has to pass a portion of the rent he receives on to the State affects him and the State, but it can in no way affect the merchant who is taking a lease of the premises in competition with other sites.

(2) The answer to the second objection—the difficulty of valuing land apart from improvements—is that in New York, Germany, New Zealand and Australia, it has been done with the greatest ease. After the new system was adopted in Cologne, the appeals against assessment fell in one year from 21,292 to 2703. The owner should always have, as an ultimate appeal against an excessive valuation, the right to demand that his property should be taken over at that valuation.

(3) Any system which facilitates the acquisition of land for buildings, must also facilitate the acquisition of land by public authorities for open spaces. Overcrowding and sky-scrapers should be prevented by hygienic bylaws properly enforced. The area of back-yards and gardens, and the width of roads and height of buildings, are all matters for the community to decide on, and would merely acquire additional importance.

It might be possible, as I believe is done in New Zealand, to exempt certain gardens in towns from excessive taxation,

* See also Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, Book II. ch. v. sec. 1.

and preserve them permanently as lungs by allowing the rate or tax to stand over, arrears being demanded if ever the owner decided to build.

(4) That it involves unfair confiscation can be disproved by showing what would be the actual effect of the change on urban and rural land boards.

Take the urban landlord first. There is, for instance, a celebrated freehold potworks in the Borough of Hanley. This factory has recently been re-valued for assessment purposes at about £1000 per annum, and the unimproved value of the land was one-third of the total value. Rates in Hanley are ten shillings in the pound, so these potters pay about £500 per year. The unimproved value of the land in all Hanley happens to be about one-third of the total rateable value, so that if these rates were based on the land value alone, and the same sum total had to be raised, rates would stand, not at ten shillings in the pound, but at thirty shillings in the pound. To ask a landlord to pay thirty shillings in the pound to the Municipality (beside State taxes on same land) does sound like confiscation. Yet, though their land would be more than nationalised, these potters would obviously be better off, because, while they would pay just the same £500 a year, yet any improvements they chose to make in their factory would go tax free. Hanley and England would be better off, because these potters and many others might then invest their profits in improving their business, instead of drawing out the last penny from the borough to invest elsewhere. At present any capital they invest in their business is taxed 50 per cent., and, consequently they buy shares in something like the Pennsylvania Railroad.

This factory is an old one; a modern up-to-date factory would find itself paying actually less under the new system. The only sufferers would be those urban landlords who might, but do not, put their land to the best possible use. The cry of confiscation could only be raised by these, and even they could always escape like the rest by turning their land to good account.

In connection with the rural landlord a cry of confiscation is equally unwarranted. In the first place the *unimproved* value of a quarter of the agricultural land of Great Britain and Ireland would probably be almost negligible. Only where railways or main roads or the proximity of a town creates a demand for houses and small holdings, or where there are minerals beneath the surface unworked, would the value of the improvements fall so far short of the full value of the land as to leave any very considerable unimproved value.

A landlord who has improved his property—who has in

vested his capital so as to get the most from the land—would find his present burden reduced. For the small freeholder, some of our statesmen fancy a special exemption would have to be provided, but he is just the one who would probably benefit most—as is stated to be the case in New Zealand. Only those would suffer who starve their property, or who withhold it from use as Lord Penrhyn withheld his slate quarries.

At present all improvements, all "fig-trees," are taxed, and, therefore, few improvements are made; manufactories get out of date; slums fall into ever worse repair; houses stand empty; agricultural land is starved—all because the tax is on improvements. If a man puts up a new pot-oven in his works, he is taxed more; if a railway company puts up a new goods shed, they are taxed more. If a ground landlord pulls down his slums and puts up decent houses, he is taxed more. A market-gardener puts in heating into his greenhouse, and he is taxed more. A landlord drains a marsh and makes it worth £2 an acre, and he is taxed more. A 50 per cent. tax on improvements is imposed in Hanley, and they do not get the improvements. Soon the people will start cutting down their "fig-trees" as they have begun to do in Poplar and Essex, and then perhaps Henry George will come by his own.

JOSIAH C. WEDGWOOD.

N.B.—Since this article went to Press a report by the Commissioner of Taxes for New Zealand has appeared in Blue Book, Cd. 3191, specially dealing with the rating of land values in that Colony. I quote a few lines in order to show how experiments thus confirm the general statements in my article:

> The exemption of all improvements led to a very liberal outlay of capital on land, which has rapidly increased as the system was extended to local rating, and thus increased the demand for labour. . . . In no case where the system of rating on the "unimproved value" has been carried has the former system been reverted to, and the ratepayers as a rule, with few exceptions, are decidedly in favour of the system. . . . The effect has certainly been to greatly stimulate the building trade. . . . It has been the direct cause of much valuable suburban land being cut up and placed on the market and thus rendered more easily available for residential purposes, and of the subdivision of large estates in the country, resulting in closer settlement. . . . The tendency of this system of taxation is not to increase rent, but, on the contrary, as the tax becomes heavier it tends to bring into beneficial occupation and not put to its best use, and so reduces rent, the improvements being entirely free from all rates and taxes. . . . The tendency is to discourage speculation.

THE PERSECUTION OF THE PRUSSIAN POLES

The following article, which comes to us from an authoritative Polish source, will enlighten our readers as to the nature of the policy which Prussia is pursuing towards her Polish subjects, and of the sufferings entailed by the ruthless and systematic oppression by which she endeavours to stamp out every manifestation of racial sentiment in the short-sighted and vain attempt to "Germanise" a people whose memory of their famous past renders their language, and all else that serves to recall the great part they have played in the history of Europe, a peculiarly precious possession.

THE fresh outburst of strife regarding the language of religious instruction in the schools of that part of Poland which is governed by Prussia, marks the active renewal of the campaign against everything Polish which has for many years been carried on by the Prussian Government. The main features of that campaign are two—the acquisition of the land from Polish landowners by the agency of the Settlement Commission, and the suppression of the Polish language. In order that the present position may be understood by English readers, who cannot be expected to have the time or the opportunity for studying what for them is naturally a somewhat remote question, it is essential that we should briefly recall for their benefit some of the most important stages in the relations between the German and Polish elements in Prussian Poland from the time when, by the visitation of God, they were first joined together under one Government.

Amongst other guarantees given to the Polish people by the King of Prussia at the Treaty of Vienna in 1815, was a promise

made to his new subjects *that their annexation should not in any way entail the loss of their nationality; . . . "Your language," it was declared, "shall be used, together with the German, in all public transactions."* In spite of this assurance, however, only a few years had elapsed when endeavours were made to banish the Polish language from the Government offices and from all official correspondence. In 1831 it was decreed that the language of all Government authorities must be German. In vain did the Poles appeal to the Royal guarantee—the language, which was that of the majority of the people in these provinces, was placed under disabilities, and its importance reduced to a *minimum;* this was the first humiliation inflicted on the Polish people.

The next act of oppression was the attempt to banish the influence of the Catholic Church from the schools which had been created and endowed by it. The grasping hand of the Prussian Government was again extended and the schools were made its own; the endowments were seized upon, notwithstanding the opposition of the whole Prussian Episcopate. The struggle for personal and civic freedom, which marked the middle of the nineteenth century, had resulted in Prussia in the limitation of the autocratic power of the monarch by constitutional checks. The relations of Church and State were then defined. The school in the Polish provinces was declared to be a Government Institution; but the religious teaching was left to the care of the different religious congregations of the Duchy of Posen. The mainstay of the schools was then the clergy, who had the general supervision of them and who controlled the appointment of religious teachers; but, as it aimed at diminishing the influence of the Church, the Government gradually transferred the religious teaching to the hands of lay schoolmasters, prevented inspection by the clergy, and forbade all supervision of the methods of religious instruction employed by the Government schoolmasters, so that for all practical purposes the rights of the Church to religious teaching, though guaranteed by the Constitution, may now be considered as non-existent.

It has already been pointed out that, notwithstanding the solemnity of the Royal promises in 1815, and though in 1841 it was again declared that "*The praiseworthy attachment of all noble-minded peoples to their language, literature, and historical traditions shall be honoured and maintained among the Poles,*" the Polish language was excluded from Government offices. In the schools the case was somewhat different. By the ordinance of May 24, 1842, it was provided that in the Duchy of Posen instruction

should be imparted principally in the language which was spoken by the majority of the pupils in the bi-lingual districts. This system continued in force for 30 years ; but in 1872 the Prussian Government determined to abolish it for one more in keeping with the exaggerated feelings of pride and exaltation which had been inspired by the events of 1870-71. The laurels Prince Bismarck had won during his wars of conquest and his adoption of the motto, "La force prime le droit," prompted him to wage war with the whole Catholic Church throughout the German Empire in the *Kulturkampf*, and his example awoke similar ambitions in other Prussian ministers. The Minister for Education, Falk, wished to make his name famous by some similar victory. It was declared that the excessive liberality of the system established by the ordinance of 1842 had led to results extremely alarming for Prussia. The German element, it was maintained, was being gradually absorbed ; German children were forgetting their own language and were becoming, to all intents and purposes, nothing other than Poles. A commission was therefore appointed to investigate the matter : and after it had reported, in the sense expected and desired, a new regulation was framed ordering that instruction in all subjects, except religion, should henceforward be given only in German. The Catechism could be taught either in Polish or German, and it was left to the lay schoolmasters to judge whether their scholars had a sufficient knowledge of German to be taught religion in that language.

The then Archbishop of Posen, Ledéchowski, afterwards Cardinal, protested energetically against this perversion of the true aims of religious training, and against the attempt to lower it to a mere medium for the practice of the German language. In those places where the local authorities, acting on the discretion permitted to them by the regulation, banished the Polish language as the medium of religious teaching, parents, anxious for the salvation of their children, conjointly with the Archbishop, implored the Government to discontinue these dangerous experiments. Meetings were held, parents submitted to the substitution of German for Polish in all secular subjects, and begged only for three or four hours a week, during which the Catechism might be taught in the mother tongue. The Government either gave no answer, or answered only by forcing the children to say their prayers in German, with the natural result that that language, taught with the aid of the rod, became more and more hateful to both parents and children. During the whole period of the *Kulturkampf*, Polish deputies and members of the Clerical Centre endeavoured to obtain the Polish language for the Polish popu-

lation. Concessions or aggravations succeeded each other in turns, according to the changes of Ministry, thus making it evident that the settlement of a question of such supreme importance was left principally to the personal judgment of each man in power. When the *Kulturkampf* was ended, though Church and State had come to an understanding, the banishment of the Polish language became general, not only where the population was a mixed one, but also where it was purely Polish, again causing the Archbishop of Posen, Mgr. Dinder, a German, to intercede for the Poles under his charge, and inducing him to call upon both clergy and laity to protest against measures so ill-advised.

When the present monarch, the Emperor William II., came to the throne, his deep religious feeling and love of humanity led him, at the representation of the present Archbishop of Posen, Mgr. Stablewski, who was appointed in 1892, and that of the Chancellor Caprivi, one of the most noble-minded statesmen who ever lived, to introduce some more conciliatory measures, and for a while the state of affairs was somewhat bettered. But the policy inaugurated by Prince Bismarck had taken root too deeply to be easily eradicated. It was impossible that the trial of strength which resulted from the establishment of the hundred-million-mark fund and the Settlement Commission, the object of which was to increase the numbers of the German element by the State-aided purchase of land, should be confined to this one particular field of activity. The Chauvinistic and Pan-German ambitions of the Hakatists* aimed at nothing short of the total extinction of everything distinctively Polish, and of the assimilation of the Polish element by dispossession, by exclusion from office, and by the abolition of their language. This party gradually succeeded in imparting to the internal policy of Prussia the direction they desired, and thus destroyed that seed of good-will which had been sown by the monarch's benevolent hand. From the moment when this party definitely obtained the ascendency, ever new measures have been taken to oppress a people whose whole crime consists in being unable to forget that they are Poles, or to learn to lick the heel of the oppressor.

It will thus be seen that the present open strife is no mere transient outburst of discontent, but the natural and inevitable consequence of a long conflict which has never wholly ceased though it has sometimes slumbered. The population of the Duchy

* The name is derived from the initial letters of the names of the three principal advocates of the policy of Germanisation. Herren Hansemann, Kühnemann, and Tiedemann.

of Posen was first aroused by the *Kulturkampf*. As a deeply religious and highly sensitive people they were wounded to the quick by the closing of their churches, and the arrest and imprisonment of their beloved Archbishop, Ledéchowski, and a large number of priests ; and the generation which had witnessed these acts of oppression continued, even after the *Kulturkampf* had ended in the victory of the Church, to cherish a feeling of resentment and indignation towards the State which had proved the enemy of their religion. When at a later date the struggle again became acute the remembrance of past conflicts, together with the consciousness of fresh wrongs, threw them into open opposition to the Government. As to the children, worn out by unintelligible teaching, victims of the irascibility of their masters, from their very infancy they viewed with one feeling of hatred language, masters, system and State. The battle which raged around the question of the language of religious instruction reached a climax in the year 1901. Although the regulation which prescribes that this language shall be German whenever, in the opinion of the teachers, the children are able to understand it has remained in force it has not always been applied with equal rigour. In the spring of 1901 an attempt was made to enforce it at the town of Wreschen, which met with open resistance on the part of the children. In order to compel their obedience both boys and girls were severely caned, and the indignation of the parents at this proceeding was so fierce that some of them invaded the schoolhouse, and endeavoured to prevent the execution of the punishment. For this offence twenty-six persons were brought to trial in November and sentenced to periods of imprisonment of varying lengths. The excitement caused by these sentences was so intense in all parts of Poland, that at Warsaw and Lemberg there were demonstrations before the German Consulates, and the question was debated in the Austrian and German Parliaments and in the Prussian Diet. Prince (then Count) Bülow made a long speech in the Prussian Diet in January 1902, in which he stated that the present policy would be pursued, that larger sums would be voted for the acquisition of lands, and that, in a word, no concession would be made to the demands of the Poles for the right to preserve their language.

No hardships or persecutions have since then been spared the Polish people in this or in other respects. The Colonisation Board continue to buy up Polish land with a capital formed partly of involuntary Polish contributions, dividing it subsequently amongst homeless, landless, uncultured people gathered from all parts of the world, from Transylvania and Ruthenia, from Russia and

the Caucasus, and expelling the original owners. The Poles love their land, more perhaps than their own mothers, and the sight of those rich colonies scattered all over it, established out of their money, while they, the rightful owners of the soil, have no access to them, keeps constantly alive within them the bitter consciousness of injustice and wrong. This Draconian law has now been supplemented by the prohibition to build even on land that has long been in the hands of Polish owners, who can scarcely be expected to feel respect for the laws when they themselves are being made outlaws. Further, the Germanising of Polish names and surnames, the use of which is now punished by fines, the relentless Germanising, in spite of all protests, of the ancient Polish names of hundreds of localities, the punishments inflicted on children for the chance use of a Polish word in school, the vexatious interference even with the private life of the few remaining office-bearers of Polish origin, the boycotting of Polish tradesmen and craftsmen—all these petty persecutions are a constant source of irritation, a lash from which the shoulders of the Poles are continually smarting.

But, as though all this were not enough, the official and non-official Hakatist Press constantly proposes new measures of oppression. This Press is supported either by ambitious men anxious to rise by its help, or by paid agents who will do anything for gain, or by other unscrupulous individuals who, for one cause or another, are desirous to fish in the troubled waters of German patriotism. These different elements unite to form solid camarilla, strong through the influence of powerful supporters and the possession of large funds. It is they who are the leaders of opinion in the Prussian State in regard to the question of the "Eastern borders" (*Ostmark*), and who are the true inspirers of the decisions of the Government. Some fifteen years ago, Baron Willamowitz, then Chief President of the province of Posen, a man of great ability, matured judgment, and wide and liberal views, endeavoured to bring about an understanding between the two races. His laudable intentions were frustrated by the above-described individuals, although he found that the Poles, for their part, were even then ready to forget the injuries that had been inflicted upon them. There are, it ts true, some indications that the danger of persisting in the present course is beginning to be realised. Here and there a warning voice is raised, and appeals are made to the central authorities ; but God alone can tell how long it may be before the error is finally recognised. In the meantime, these mistakes are being constantly repeated. Hardly has one unjust measure been framed than another is proposed

for consideration; and on the present political horizon a law for the expropriation of the Poles in favour of those colonists of whose nationality, faith, and character nothing is known, even to the Settlement Commissioners themselves, is written in letters of fire a law such as is unknown to any Christian nation save during war and violent social disturbances. Yet, however incredible it may seem, this new scheme will probably find supporters who will be bold enough to exhibit it for the judgment of civilised Europe.

It will readily be conceived how, in the face of such systematic oppression and humiliation, the Polish element, troubled to the very depths of its soul, was ready to flame out into rebellion, especially when the Prussian mania of persecution laid violent hands on the deepest and holiest feelings of the Polish Catholics. Was not their faith the only remaining heirloom of their former splendour and freedom? Was it not to be treasured and loved? Was it not their solace in suffering, their sweetness in joy? Was life worth anything without their churches, without their holy pictures at home? And now the merciless Prussian Government stretches forth its ruthless hands to take from them even this. What, then, will cheer them in the hard battle for the bare necessaries of life, oppressed and anguished as they are? May not their children any longer learn in their own language the Catechism that was taught to their fathers? No great knowledge of psychology is needed to understand the feelings of an uncultured, hard-working people, who have no other thought but to support their families, and to earn their daily bread honestly and willingly, comforted in their trials by spiritual consolations. These feelings are outraged by the arbitrary action of the Prussian Government. How, then, can we wonder at the determination with which they fight to be allowed to keep that one consolation in their very own language—not in that of a Government which has made itself loathsome to them from their very childhood?

The Government has turned a deaf ear to the tearful petitions which have been addressed to it again and again. It has recently decided to take fresh and energetic measures for the enforcement of the detested regulation regarding the language of religious instruction. And finding all their remonstrances of no avail, the Poles decided to accept the challenge that has been forced upon them, and to oppose the violence to which they are subjected by such means as are at their disposal. It was resolved that on October 17 a strike of school-children should begin, and continue until its object had been attained. The children were told to return to their masters the German Catechism and Scripture-

book that were given to them when the Government, justly suspecting that the parents would refuse to buy them, presented them free of charge. They were ordered not to answer when questioned during the German Scripture or Catechism lessons. At first the Educational Board treated the matter lightly, thinking that the resistance would easily be put down. The result, however, has already proved that they miscalculated. Notwithstanding the severe measures taken against the children, opposition continues to grow stronger and stronger. Thrashings, threats, detention have proved quite unavailing to check the movement. At the present time about 70,000 children are taking part in the strike, and it is still spreading. This unforeseen event has filled the Educational Board with consternation; and the Central Authorities in Berlin, badly informed as to the circumstances, are quite at a loss what to do. It is, of course, undeniable that the participation of children in this conflict is from many points of view most deplorable. It is only with extreme reluctance that the leaders of Polish opinion have felt themselves constrained to sanction a form of protest of which the disadvantages are so obvious; and they have done so only after having exhausted all the milder methods of remonstrance at their disposal. It was not until long experience and repeated disappointments had convinced them that their innumerable petitions were merely so much waste paper that they at length consented to take so extreme a step.

It is impossible to leave this subject without some reference to the part played by the Archbishop, Mgr. Stablewski. As head of the Church in Posen it has been inevitable that he should be looked to for guidance in this crisis of the religious life of the people committed to his charge; and his pastoral letters issued in October 1905 and 1906, have been carefully framed with a view to diminish friction and, if possible, to find some peaceful solution for the problem, as, for instance, by the suggestion that the religious instruction of the chidren should be supplemented by the parents themselves in their own homes. The Archbishop's long experience of the struggle between Church and State has eminently qualified him for the difficult task. He was a member of the Chamber of Deputies at the time of the *Kultürkampf*, a friend of Windhorst, the famous leader of the Clerical Centre, who prized his quick wit and sound judgment accompanied as they were by a sincere and undisguised desire for friendly relations with the Prussian State. Mgr. Stablewski, however, could not but foresee the inevitable consequences of the systematic oppression of the Polish population, and he warned the Government in the

Chamber of the dangers involved in the course they were pursuing. His appointment as Archbishop of Posen was looked upon as a victory of justice and good sense over passion and prejudice; but, owing to the intrigues of the "Hakatist" party the hopes that were then formed have not been realised, nay, the conflict has even become more embittered. In the question of school-teaching, and especially of religious teaching, the Archbishop has constantly memorialised the Prussian authorities in defence of the rights of the Church; and has warned them that no State, however powerful, can lightly afford to incur the permanent hostility of a border population consisting of no less than three millions of people. Unhappily these repeated attempts to represent the situation in its true light have at the end of fourteen years remained without effect, with the result that the Poles have even begun to lose confidence in their Church and their clergy, and have accused them of selling their children to their persecutors. When at last it became evident that the indignation of the people could no longer be contained, Archbishop Stablewski endeavoured to calm the excited feelings of his flock by addressing to them an appeal in which he assured them of his entire sympathy with their claims, telling them of his own endeavours to defend the Polish language as the medium of religious teaching, and exhorting them to repair the damage done by recourse to prayer, and by completing the children's instruction in their churches and in their own homes. This conciliatory appeal, quite in harmony with the stand-point of the German bishops and clergy in Silesia (who, not long ago, made a petition—in which their parishioners joined—for the recognition of the Polish language), was received with visible marks of approbation by all the faithful, and even by the liberal German circles. The Government alone, together with the Hakatists, received this pronouncement with an indignation which showed that they were far from expecting this public expression of disapprobation of their policies, after having systematically and for so long striven to enfeeble the authority of the Church.

The present situation can thus be defined. The Government will not go back upon its former attitude, notwithstanding the expostulations of its more far-sighted advisers. Indeed, Prince Bülow has publicly declared that his motto in this matter is that of Bismarck — *vestigia nulla retrorsum* — or, on the other hand, neither the ecclesiastical authorities nor the people will relinquish what both alike regard as the most sacred of rights. The struggle must therefore continue, if it were only on religious

grounds; for their religion is the real stronghold of the people. It is difficult for an unprejudiced onlooker to understand the workings of the minds of Prussian statesmen. The defeat of the Government in the *Kulturkampf* ought to have been to them a proof that no material strength can get the better of religious feeling. They ought also to understand that it is no wise policy which incessantly goads to hatred and despair a boundary population, especially at a time when the dawn of liberty and justice is breaking beyond a frontier so near at hand. In Austria the Polish party in Parliament is the firmest pillar of government. In Russia the Polish deputies alone have resisted all incitement to conspiracy after the dissolution of the Duma. In Prussian Poland the co-operation of the Poles in the great work for the common welfare of the State might have been, and can even now be, secured; but for this it is necessary that the Government should keep to the practice of justice to *all* its subjects, for only "justitia est fundamentum regnorum."

POSEN.

FACT *V.* FICTION IN REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

ONCE every four years, or thereabouts, the country is called upon to elect six hundred and seventy men to conduct the nation's business and make new laws in accordance with their judgment and the people's wishes. At least, that is the underlying assumption in the popular mind whilst the elections are in progress. Government by elected representatives, that is the theory. But do the facts fit the theory? There are many new members in the present Parliament who believe that they do not, and I am one of them.

I cannot say that in my case the belief is a new one born of new experience of Parliament at close quarters. It is rather in the nature of confirmation of opinions previously formed on the basis of careful observation from the outside. Some things are clearer now in the light of inside knowledge, that is all. The impressions of six months' life in the House of Commons have strengthened my views as to the shadowy nature of the power which representatives are supposed to exercise over the executive departments of the State. They have also proved how difficult it is for a private member to exercise any effective influence on the making of new laws so long as he acts in accordance with the customs and traditions of the establishment. The chief of these traditions, that of the two-Party house, Government and Opposition, each Party following its leader in attack or defence as the case may be, according as to whether he happens to be in or out of office, is likely to suffer under the extension of the group system. For which heaven be praised, for it has outlived its time. The old forms which flourished under that two-Party system are still in existence, and they will die hard; but die they must, or Government will become impossible. In the present Parliament there are some half-dozen groups at the least, and they threaten the supremacy of the Ministerial and Opposition-leadership on which the old system of Party Government

rested. In the past the function of the rank and file member has been to back up his side with his vote and his cheers. The new member has been expected to fall in with the system, and, in many cases, he is not taking to the position very well. He is impatient with the antiquated forms and the time-wasting methods of procedure ; and no wonder. They are remarkable indeed, and all lead in the same direction, to sham fights and oratorical fireworks. To the man seeking a political reputation of the traditional sort any excuse is good enough for making a speech. The leading artists monopolise the floor, while their supporters look on in much the same temper as if it were a football or cricket match. At enormous length they attack each other for inconsistencies fancied or real. Divisions are challenged repeatedly for no other purpose than to waste time. Formal proceedings for which there is no real use are utilised for the purpose of increasing the opportunities for speech-making. The Address in answer to the King's Speech is a case in point. The King's Speech itself is merely an announcement of the Ministerial programme. It is little use commenting on the measures referred to in the Speech, for they may be expected to come before the House in due course. Yet long speeches are made by all the leading men for the benefit of the public outside, and not for any purpose they can serve to the business in hand. On the motion to send a reply to the King's Speech, amendments are moved to the motion, on which more speeches are made day after day for a week or more. When the accounts are supposed to be under consideration most of the time available is again taken up by the leading men, who make more long speeches attacking or defending the Government's policy. Very often there is no time left to consider the expenditure, and the money is voted without discussion.

Parliament has no effective control over the executive. Theoretically it can refuse to vote the necessary supplies and in that way disapprove of the action of a department, but in actual practice the Ministers, by the tacit arrangement, according to precedent, to stand or fall together, make it practically impossible to secure a decision adverse to the conduct of any one department, even if a majority of members disapprove of its action. In the exercise of its legislative functions Parliament is almost equally powerless. The absurd system of three readings and a report, which affords the opportunity for the repetition of long speeches at each stage, needlessly lengthens the proceedings and stops the progress of legislation. At every stage the chief men are given preference by the Speaker, as is only natural ; but they make speeches of such inordinate

length that the closure becomes a necessity, and others who may have something to add are shut out. The crowning folly of all is that of throwing a complicated Bill into a Committee of the full House for some hundreds of members to practise upon it the art of drafting clauses. Scores, and, in some cases, hundreds of amendments to the wording are put down ; and it is almost impossible for the members who do not happen to be lawyers to keep an intelligent oversight on all of them; and when the Bill finally emerges from the ordeal, it, as likely as not, defeats the intentions of its promoters through the haphazard drafting process to which it has been subjected. It is also necessary to add that the practice of trusting the wording to so large a number of members, many of them desirous of obstructing the business by moving as many amendments and making as many speeches as possible, leads to the consumption of most of the available time on the lines and clauses which come first, leaving the rest to be voted on without comment or discussion. The object of the system of closure by compartments is said to be to avoid this kind of slipshod work, but it by no means accomplishes its purpose.

The private member has so little opportunity of influencing the decision of the House on the Committee stages of a Bill that the majority content themselves by remaining on the premises ready to return to the chamber when the "star turns" are on, or a division is called.

As for the private members' opportunities for carrying Bills of their own, they are practically *nil*. Only in cases where the Government give special facilities and allot the necessary time is there any hope of a private member's Bill being carried. Such facilities are rarely granted, and, as a rule, only to the Government's own supporters. Year after year private members' Bills are printed and presented with no chance of proceeding beyond the first reading stage. One of the Bills printed this Session has been printed twenty-two years in succession, and if there is no alteration in procedure, there is every prospect of its being in the same position twenty-two years hence. Every member can get his pet project embodied in the form of a Bill and printed. If he secures a favourable place in the ballot he may be able to put the measure to the test of a second reading ; but the remaining stages are not negotiable save by a combination of fortunate circumstances, which will rarely happen unless the Bill is one to which no single member takes active objection.

In short, for all practical purposes the whole of the business of the nation, executive and legislative, is in the hands of a junta of nominated politicians, whose action is subject to no

check except that of vexatious obstruction, which is only effective when practised by the regular Opposition, or by groups of members on one side or the other. Ministers are liable to be asked awkward questions, it is true ; but the unofficial member is at a serious disadvantage when he is heckling a Minister who is backed by official sources of information, and who has the power, if he chooses, to parry, evade, and at times blankly refuse to answer a question. Of course, if a question is put by an ex-Minister this power has to be used with reserve, but in the end it is for the Minister himself to determine whether he will answer or no. In the regular way the only course open to a member who is not satisfied with the conduct of a department of State is to try for some opening to make a speech. The possible openings are few in number, and in a House of six hundred and seventy members, in which possibly some hundred or more are looking for opportunities to speak, it is hard to secure a turn. When a holiday adjournment motion is under consideration any subject can be started during the few hours allotted for the purpose ; but the chance of a particular member, unless he happens to be one of the leading figures, being called upon by the Speaker is a slender one. When any supplies are being voted, part of which are intended for the department against which the member has a grievance, there is also supposed to be an opportunity for him ; but, as often as not, some important question of public policy falls to be discussed under cover of the accounts, or the Opposition leaders have some political bone of contention which they wish to quarrel with the Government over, in which case the ordinary member, who has a departmental grievance to state, has no prospect whatever of being called by the Speaker. Even if a member does get an opportunity to speak, as a rule there is no satisfactory conclusion. He has expressed his opinion, that is all. He has no opportunity of following the matter up if no action is taken by the department concerned. In the extreme case where a member feels his complaint against one of the departments is of such importance that he thinks it necessary to take a vote on it, his motion must be to reduce the supplies by a stated amount ; but it is impossible to ascertain the real feeling of the members by such a proposal, for if it is carried it involves the resignation of the Ministry, and it is only natural that members who are in general agreement with the Government in office will refuse to imperil its existence by placing it in a minority on a matter of relatively small importance.

The theory of Parliamentary control over public business

rests on an entirely mistaken notion of an active check on Supply. No doubt, when the conduct of the Administration was a much more simple matter than it is to-day, there would be more appearance of reality in the theory; but so vast and multifarious has the State's business become, that even the appearance of examining the business—after it has been executed—has had to be abandoned. The Supply votes are carried by the Party battalions, voting according to order. The public outsider is often struck by the odd and seemingly unaccountable way in which Parliament fails to pass judgment on some piece of administrative folly which hardly anybody either inside or outside the House can be found to defend. Any old Parliamentary hand could relate numerous instances where the common sense of the great majority of the members of the House of Commons would have led them into the lobby to vote against some administrative department (in connection with the War Office this has occurred repeatedly); but the mere announcement that an adverse vote would be treated as a vote of censure on the Government has caused members by the score to vote against their convictions. Under such circumstances the most conscientious of Party men may be excused for considering that, much as they would like to express their disapproval of a department of the Government's administration, the larger questions for which the same Government stands are involved in each vote they register; and hence they have supported a discredited War Office not because they wished to do so, but because they believed in the maintenance of the Union, or the State Church, or something else which they believed to be threatened by the opposite Party. Then also there are other and less worthy considerations that sometimes prevent individual members of the Party in majority from voting according to their convictions—except on such occasions as they are permitted by the Government—the fear of a possible dissolution in which they might lose their seats, and in any event would have to spend large sums of money in getting themselves returned.

With the growth of the power of groups, the Cabinets of the future will find themselves unable to preserve the system of joint Cabinet responsibility intact. Independent groups will insist on putting separate issues to the test, and that will involve a change in the whole system of Parliamentary procedure. It is obvious that when it becomes a frequent occurrence for Ministers to be outvoted on departmental affairs, some means will have to be found of accepting decisions without upsetting the whole Administration. Members of Parliament will not always consent to be mere outside spectators, whilst a small knot of nominated persons conduct, or pretend to conduct,

the business of the State. Nor is it to the nation's interest that they should; for the supposition that each of the nominated persons can, and without previous experience, administer a huge department is arrant nonsense. We should not think of employing a man to do ordinary tradesmen's work if we did not understand that he had had a previous training. Yet people do not think it strange that a successful lawyer should assume personal control of the War Office, with its enormous expenditure and complicated problems of administration, and in less than six months speak by the hour as one who has got the whole thing in his head. Under such a system the permanent officials of a department, with their cumulative knowledge, which is continually increasing, are the real masters of the situation. Every nominated Minister placed in authority over them begins raw and new. On an average the permanent officials get a new political chief every two or three years at the outside.

The reader will now perceive whither I am tending. It is towards administration by Committees that I look to provide the counterpoise, Committees drawn from every section of the House, the *personnel* of which would never undergo a complete change at one time, and would therefore always be in possession of experience. Such Committees being drawn from all parties could be overruled by Parliament on any separate issue without a change of Government; and as all parties would share the inside knowledge concerning every department of State and share the responsibility too, it would no longer be understood to be the duty of the Party in opposition to oppose as a matter of principle. A Party, even if in a small minority, would have some of its members taking part in the administration of every department of State, and through them could exercise a useful influence on the conduct of public affairs. As for the legislative side of Parliamentary work, it must be simplified. It must be made easier to get the feeling of the House on a new measure. The preliminary work of hammering out clauses should be done in Committee, where all sections are represented. Every such Committee should have the assistance of expert draughtsmen, whose services would place the lay members of the Committee in a position of equal advantage with that of the members who happen to be members of the legal profession, and whose custom it has been, when desirous of crippling a measure which they were powerless to kill outright, to so order the words that they could be construed to mean something different from what they were expected to mean. The conclusions of such Committees should be submitted to the whole House in a report which could be accepted or otherwise. The House should sit all the year round, with the exception of reasonable holiday

recesses, but at reasonable hours ; and not whilst Committees are at work. One portion of the day could be devoted to Committees, and another to the ordinary sittings. At present such Committees as are in use sit during part of the day when the full House is assembled, and this is not fair to members who undertake Committee work. A time limit on speeches, subject to an extension at the discretion of a two-thirds majority, would be a distinct gain from a business point of view, for most of the long speeches are recriminative in parts, and at best are of the debating club order. What is wanted is a House of Commons organised for work. At present the most substantial features about the House are not connected with work at all. Tea on the Terrace is real. The fashionable dinner-parties are real. The smoke-room with its chess and draughts is real. The daily procession of the Speaker in horsehair wig and silk gown, accompanied by his Chaplain, his train held up by a grown man in knee breeches, silk stockings, shoes with silver buckles, and a useless sword by his side, is also real. The Sergeant-at-Arms is real, and so is the Mace with which he masquerades as if he were performing in some old-world play. All these things are real enough, but in all the establishment there is no bureau, or office, where a member can go for assistance among the pitfalls of Parliamentary procedure. The unofficial member can have every want supplied that appertains to his personal comfort ; but he is left to draft his own clauses and Bills without so much as anybody to tell him how the matter is affected by the contents of some odd passage in a monster collection of musty old tomes such as lawyers are trained to deal with. There is no place he can go to for an explanation of any point about departmental business or the nation's accounts. The blunt truth of the matter is, that an unofficial member is not expected to worry himself over business—Ministers are supposed to do that. It is his part to give loyal support to his side and not be too inquisitive, unless his side happens to be in opposition, when he can be as vexatiously curious as he likes. Let it be noted, however, that there is a desire, which is rapidly spreading among new members, many of whom have served long apprenticeships on other public bodies, to take part in the business they have been sent to perform. That desire cannot be met under the present forms of procedure. The prevailing customs, founded on precedent, will be broken repeatedly by men who lack that reverence for the forms of antiquity which generations of legislators seem to have worshipped.

F. W. JOWETT.

A DIALOGUE

LAND. Good morning, Sea! You are calm enough this morning, scarcely a ripple. You look happy and shining and innocent, as if you had never been out of temper in your life. Yet all yesterday and the day before you were in a furious passion. You lashed at my shore and threw yourself in fury over the rocks, and bit at the cliffs, and worried the shingle, as if you had been mad. What, in Heaven's name, makes you and your sister, the Air, so fatiguingly variable in your moods? She is just like you, even more capricious if possible, never the same three days together. If it were not for you and for her I should lead a quiet life.

SEA. Yes, you are calm, and solid, and unmoved. To come into contact with you is enough to exasperate any one.

LAND. To exasperate! What do you mean? How could I do my useful work if I were always idly tossing about like you and the Air? I am sure that I have enough to do all the year round, producing corn, and grass, and fruit, and wood, and the rest.

SEA. You could not do it without our assistance. I send up my clouds laden with water, and the air conveys them and everything else that you want.

LAND. I admit that, but you two do not even do this light work well. Why cannot you do your work in a more even and tranquil manner? I should like a steady supply of water, brought up at regular intervals by gentle winds. But you sometimes forget to supply any water at all for weeks or months, and then send up far more than I can use at one time, so that most of it runs off and is wasted, except where my useful little men store up some of it. Then, again, the winds of the Air often come tearing along, breaking my best trees. I confess that I can't understand the conduct of you two. And why are you, in particular, sometimes so cheerful and sometimes so gloomy? It comes of not having enough to do. I suspect it is this that leads to idle broodings and changing moods and causeless sorrows. I am tired of this

perpetual fidgeting of yours, this everlasting noise and motion along my shores. Why cannot you keep still for a moment? Why are you continually rushing up as if you were about to pour all over me, and then dejectedly falling back? I like people to know their own minds and to be one thing or the other.

SEA. Oh! you *will* not understand. Do you *never* feel wild longings?

LAND. Never, I am glad to say.

SEA. Do you never feel, as I do, as though some unseen Beloved One were drawing you upwards, and then letting you sink back again? Is it the magic of Diana, whose cold pale beauty charms me so? or is it—surely it must be—something far above her and beyond? You are feminine, Terra, and should know, or at least remember, what love is. I believe that you, even you, are a little in love with the Sun. Do you not feel his attraction?

LAND. I should be ashamed to indulge in such feelings. I have much better things to occupy my attention. I have, it is true, a solid and old friendship with the Sun, but I know my place and duties too well to wish to throw myself into his arms. My conscience even forbids me to go any nearer to him than I now am. I hold steadily on my course. The Sun understands me perfectly, and is quite willing to put off any idea of closer union with me. If you would only be more regular with your water-supply, and if the Air would not let the clouds loiter about and stand in the way, as they sometimes do for days together just when I require the Sun's light, we should all get on very well.

SEA. So you never feel infinite longings? You never are one day in heaven, the next cast down to hell?

LAND. What exaggerated language you use! I quite admit that some days and seasons are more agreeable than others. It is vastly pleasanter to feel the Spring sunshine than to lie hard-bound in Winter frost. But then I know that Winter frost is good for me. It would be most exhausting to me to live in perpetual sunshine, and I could not, under those circumstances, produce nearly such heavy crops and other good results. My first object, you see, is to do useful work, not to abandon myself to the luxury of sentimental emotions.

SEA. You are always talking of useful work. Useful for what?

LAND. Production of food, mainly.

SEA. What is the use of producing food?

LAND. To maintain the life of animals, especially my best animal, man, who cannot even live in you.

SEA. What is the use of maintaining man? I see no good in the creature, and a great deal of evil. I am very glad to drown him when I have a chance, and put an end to his perpetual agitations. He can pass over me, but he cannot make a slave of me as he does of you, and he knows it.

LAND. What silly things you do say! "What is the use of maintaining man?" He is mine and he is there, and it is my obvious duty to feed him; that is enough for me. If you had any conscience, or the slightest sense of religion, you would understand what I mean. I am not his slave but his mother. He always calls me mother.

SEA. He never called me father or brother, thank goodness! If you are his mother you are a mother who slaves for her son. He does what he likes with you, digs holes in you and scars you all over, and builds his hideous dwellings on you. I can see some of them on the shore, and they continually grow heavier and uglier. Why don't you shake them all off, as you did some lately on one coast? When you have shaken yourself and I have sent in a monstrous wave we have had grand sport together now and then, such as I and the Air often have. Oh yes, you don't like to be reminded of that, I know; but you have fire deep in the heart of you, and when you do break out at long intervals your violence is worse than mine, perhaps because your passions are pent up for centuries. But, after all, so far as I am concerned, man is but a passing infliction. He can only travel and fight on me. He cannot even mark on me the graves of the fellow beings whom he himself destroys so absurdly on my surface. He passes, and I close up in a moment and obliterate the furrows of his ships. So you will not tell me what is the use of supporting him and the other animals? You do not know, and you have so little imagination that you go on working for working's sake, never pausing to reflect or to imagine or dream, without knowing, or even asking yourself, the reason of it all, the meaning and end of existence. You would never reflect at all, I think, if it were not for the slight touch of me that you have in your lakes and rivers. You talk of religious duty, but what know you of religion? You obey not the leadings of the heart but your innate or inherited habits, and you call these the Voice of God.

LAND. I follow the dictates of conscience and the guidance of practical reason; that is the best thing that one can do. The heart is the most dangerous leader that one can choose. But why reason with you? You are superficial and often very shallow. You never rise to any height, as I do, and your depth

is little, even at its deepest, compared to mine, and there is nothing firm or stable or solid in your composition.

SEA. But I have unity. I am one; continuous, indivisible, unchangeable, of one substance. I know well enough my weaknesses.

LAND. Forgive me if I lost my temper for a moment, and now tell me truly, Are you happy in your existence, so lawless, moody, and fruitless as it appears to me? One would not imagine that you were happy, if one may draw a conclusion from your frequent moaning, lamenting, and sighs.

SEA. Happy? I would not, with all respect, be you if I could. Yet I think sometimes that I should be happier if I were either as solid and consistent and calm as you are, or as light and frivolous as the Air. I am neither solid enough nor light enough; the elements meet and contend in me, and the mysterious desire for the Unseen Beauty pulls at my very heart. I cannot satisfy the desire, and yet it makes everything else seem unreal and worth nothing. Neither you nor the Air appear to feel any such craving. You are engaged in what you madly suppose to be useful and important occupations, and she leads a life of pure enjoyment, teasing, as she often is, both to you and me. She breaks your trees, you say. Fortunate are you, if that is all the harm she does you. Light and empty and vain as she is, she has a singular gift of rousing by her movements my wilder passions, and ruining such short spells of tranquillity as that which you see me enjoying to-day. Were it not for her I might discover the supreme secret over which I brood. Yet I love my maddening Ariel.

LAND. Yes, she is really a very good-natured creature, with all her faults and carelessness, and I could not get on without her co-operation. My children may be said to live in her, though on me, and equally by means of us both. The Air is frivolous, and very changeable, she varies too quickly from heat to coldness, but she is not bitter like you, nor hostile like you to the life of man and the higher animals and timber trees and nutritious cereals and vegetables, and everything else except the lowest forms, fish and snails and weeds. I admit that you do produce some useful food of a non-essential kind.

SEA.—Despise not my treasures. A world of strange and lovely life finds its home in me. You have nothing more beautiful than my swift-glancing fish, my amber and pearls and corals, my innumerable iridescent atoms of life and dim-glowing curving shells and waving forests of weed. Birds of the Air and Fish of the Sea, are they not swifter and freer and more

joyous than your heavy terrestrials? Not the fleetest and most graceful deer can rival the movements of a swallow or a herring.

LAND.—I will not embark on these æsthetic questions. But tell me, why are you so hostile to man? We were all created for his use.

SEA. Oh, so they say, but I don't believe it. It is too incredible. Man, if you *will* return to that subject, is an intruder, a newcomer. You, I, and Ariel, we all were here long, long before he came. How lovely, fresh, and unspoiled was existence then! It was our weakness or man's good fortune that let him survive. I should have destroyed him utterly in the day when I rose and covered the earth, but he escaped by one of his tricks, and now we shall never be rid of him, unless your friend the Sun will diminish his heat and freeze him, or increase his heat and burn him. Or perhaps man will wear himself out and pass away, like other animals before him, and we shall still be here. Then you will become quite young and pretty again.

LAND. These are most incorrect and improper views. We shall all come to an end together some day, at the right and appointed time, when our work is done. Meanwhile we must cheerfully co-operate in carrying out the task set by Providence. Man does his best to assist me in my labours, and I am satisfied. What, you are beginning to heave again! I thought that you would not be still for long.

SEA. Would that I could be! but love draws me, passion torments me, my barriers drive me back and baffle me. To-day I have calmly mirrored the blue of a cloudless heaven. These moments make life bearable; for an eternity of this I was surely created, but soon comes the darkness or the storm. Farewell! expect a rough night, my steadfast friend.

BERNARD HOLLAND.

THE SACRIFICE OF SEA POWER TO "ECONOMY"

WHEN on Trafalgar Day 1904, Admiral Sir J. Fisher took over the duties of First Sea Lord at the Admiralty, the hopes entertained of his administration by his countrymen were of the brightest. They looked to him, in virtue of his brilliant service career and of the courage with which, while in command of the Mediterranean Fleet, he had insisted upon that fleet being maintained at a proper figure of strength, to give England a strong, efficient and well-organised Navy.

His first steps were admirable. The British fleets were disposed according to the traditions of the past and not according to the imperative demands of the present. The force in home waters was weak ; the reserve was wretchedly organised ; dozens of miserable little gunboats and slow sloops, craft of trifling value in war, were scattered over the globe. He recalled the useless craft from foreign stations, massed the force of the British fleets as far as was then possible in European waters ; organised the reserve so that it could rapidly effect its mobilisation ; placed the best and newest battleships and armoured cruisers in commission ; and took immediate steps to improve gunnery, upon which victory in war must in large part depend.

The first false step which his administration made was the jettisoning of a large number of warships in the supposed interests of economy. Cruisers, battleships and sloops were sent to the scrap-heap on the excuse that large sums of money would be saved by no longer maintaining them. Many of these ships were far more modern in design and much more serviceable in every respect than Japanese ships which at that very date were doing good work in the Gulf of Pechili. Some of them had recently been repaired at considerable expense. Many of them were capable of rendering service in any great war, for the lesson of history is that small and weak ships may be employed with advantage behind the main fighting

ine; while, for the difficult and dangerous work of blockade, lose in to a hostile port, the Japanese found it wise to use heir oldest and least valuable ships within the area where nines abounded.

The excuse of economy for throwing these ships away cannot iold. Sir W. White has challenged the Admiralty to produce eturns showing exactly what the economies effected were, and io response has been made to his challenge. The cost of keeping them in fair order was small, and if the saving of money s to be made the first and only consideration, it cannot escape he intelligent man's notice that the cheapest course would be o sell the whole fleet and build no more ships. But in this ase after-events have proved the intemperate haste with which Vhitehall embarked upon its new policy. Only this year a mall cruiser was required for service abroad, and the *Philomel*, vhich had been dismantled and placed among the ships to be crapped, had to be brought forward for work abroad at great xpense. It was perhaps fortunate that she had not been sold nd broken up, as were many of her sisters.

The ships "cast" from the Navy have never been replaced. t has recently been claimed in an admirable article in the *Quarterly Review*, that the Navy List has been cleared of all neffective units. I must demur absolutely to that statement. One of the strongest grounds for criticising the scrapping was he incoherent manner in which the measure was carried out. There are a large number of old, slow, unserviceable torpedo-oats, armed with the feeble 14-in. torpedo, which is since the war in the Far East quite obsolete. These boats remain, and figure in the torpedo flotillas, maintained in commission for home defence. Of the 20 boats at Sheerness, 14 are of this ged pattern and far less serviceable for war than were the rotected cruisers scrapped in 1904. Of the 20 boats at Portsmouth, 16 are of the obsolete pattern. Only the Devonport lotilla is composed of fairly modern craft. Again, among the rst-class battleships in the Admiralty Return of 1906, appear io fewer than six vessels, which were pronounced unfit for ervice and omitted by the Admiralty from the Navy List of anuary 1905. The names of these vessels are the *Sanspareil*, *Anson*, *Camperdown*, *Benbow*, *Howe* and *Rodney*. In the battleships of the second class appear four which were pronounced nfit for service in 1904; and in the third class two. We have hus a total of twelve battleships masquerading on the Admiralty List as effective, which the Admiralty itself has pronounced worthless for war. The lists have not been cleared, hen, despite the whole scrapping; the Admiralty is in 1906

returning as efficient vessels which in 1904 it pronounced unfit for war, and which it has allowed to fall into utter disrepair.

But the scrapping of 1904-5 is as nothing to that which is contemplated to-day. The present Board intends to throw on the rubbish heap thirteen battleships, viz., the eight *Royal Sovereigns*, the two *Centurions*, the *Renown*, which they have disarmed, and the two *Niles*.* They first, under their policy of stinting repairs and refits, have allowed these ships to fall into bad order. Then they allege the cost of putting them into good order as the excuse for throwing them away. These thirteen ships are not of the most modern type, and have for the most part lost their speed, but they are still capable of rendering valuable service in the second line. Our fleet is not so overwhelmingly strong that they can be spared without replacement, and there is not the faintest suggestion that they shall be replaced. They will be towed off to some distant and forlorn harbour, and left to rust and deteriorate, while their names will still be paraded shamelessly in the official returns to mislead the country, in the same way that the names of the twelve battleships I have already mentioned are at this very hour being paraded. No foreign Navy uses its old ships thus, and it is a very serious fact, which I commend to the attention of both apologists for the Admiralty and the British public, that all our older ships are being permitted to fall into disrepair. They would need heavy outlay and months in the hands of a dockyard before they could be ready for sea. There are no such paper units in the German navy.

These economies puzzled the believers in Sir John Fisher. They were not, so far as could be seen, steps dictated by military, but by political considerations. In November last year the Admiralty drew up and issued the famous Cawdor Memorandum, which laid down as the Naval programme for England, dictated by "strategic requirements," the commencement each year of four large armoured ships, and the completion of all four in two years from the date of commencement. The basis on which this programme avowedly rested was the theory that England could build faster than any other Power, and could wait and overtake foreign competitors. Appended to this estimate was a caution that reductions in expenditure could not be continued "if foreign countries make developments in their shipbuilding programmes which we cannot now foresee."

A few months after the publication of this programme

* It is also believed that four 23-knot armoured cruisers completed in 1902–3 are to be thrown away to save the cost of repairs.

the German Reichstag voted an increase of 50 per cent. in the displacement of the German battleships to be built under the Navy Act of 1900, six additional armoured cruisers of large size, and forty-eight additional large destroyers. The French Admiralty also decided to build six large battleships. We have a statement made by Mr. Robertson in the House of Commons as our authority to prove that neither of these foreign programmes was taken into account when framing the British estimates for 1906.

At the close of 1905 the Government changed hands and Lord Tweedmouth became First Lord, with Sir J. Fisher still under him as First Sea Lord. The Liberals had pledged themselves, with glorious muddleheadedness, both to maintain and reduce the Navy. The Premier had publicly declared, years before his advent to office, his adherence to the Two-Power standard. Many of his Ministers had given yet more emphatic assurances. The *National Review* was probably the only British political periodical which warned the nation of the coming danger. Even in January 1906, many Unionists and Liberals affirmed that Sir J. Fisher's presence at the Admiralty was a guarantee against all danger. In a few months it was seen how weak that guarantee was, and how helpless to resist political pressure was the man who had hitherto been regarded as the strongest of First Sea Lords

The first step on the slippery slope of surrender was the abandonment of a first-class armoured cruiser of 17,200 tons in February. She belonged to the 1905 programme—a programme drawn up by Sir J. Fisher. The second surrender followed immediately afterwards, or, indeed, accompanied the first. It was the extension of the period of construction for the three new cruisers from the two years laid down by the Cawdor Memorandum to two and a half years. Little was said of these two concessions by the Press or public. The pressure of the Government increased, and this though the Naval Estimates, prepared by the Unionist administration, disclosed reductions detrimental to efficiency. The shipbuilding vote was cut down, the outlay on coals was heavily reduced, showing that the fleet was to be less at sea, the expenditure upon repairs was lowered by 40 per cent.; the vote for guns and ammunition indicated a marked decrease, proving that either the fleet would fire less, or else that the magazines on which its efficiency in the day of battle depends were being depleted. Most of these facts were hidden away from all but close students in the pages of Parliamentary papers, and of course no one troubled to draw attention to them in the House of Commons.

The programme for the year was four battleships of *Dreadnought* type. Early in the year 120 Radical members, who wanted funds for Socialistic legislation, wrote to the Premier demanding reductions in the Navy, to which they said that they had pledged themselves. Those who believed in Sir J. Fisher saw that the great crisis was at hand. If he bowed to this demand, put forward by ignorant Ministers at the dictation of ignorant politicians, there was no knowing to what disastrous steps he might not be driven. "Initiis obsta" is nowhere a sounder motto than in policy. The country waited with anxiety, and in July the result was made known in Parliament. It was even worse than most men had feared. One *Dreadnought* of the 1906 programme was dropped, and the 1907 programme, which ought to have been four *Dreadnoughts* under the Cawdor Memorandum, was reduced to two. Neither of these ships was to be laid down in 1907, but if the Hague Conference failed, a third might be laid down in 1908.

The announcement was made in a confused manner, and different reasons for the great change in policy were given in the two houses of Parliament. In the House of Commons the Premier frankly admitted that he had abandoned the Two-Power standard. He called that standard "preposterous," he who had himself said, "I accept in fullest and most complete form the doctrine that it is necessary for this country to hold the supremacy of the seas. I accept the doctrine of standard of supremacy that our fleet should equal any two other fleets in the world." I have, however, already in previous articles in the *National Review* dealt fully with this particular reduction.

Those who denounce all criticism of the conduct of the Admiralty on the ground that England has an immense preponderance at sea, should note that the critics are acting on the Admiralty's own ruling in November 1905. Why am I to believe that the ships which the Admiralty declared necessary in 1905 have become unnecessary in 1906, when in the interval the *Montagu* has been lost and the foreign naval programmes greatly increased? If Sir J. Fisher is always right, how is it that he was wrong to the extent of 40 per cent. in November 1905? To talk of the understanding with France, the alliance with Japan, and the destruction of the Russian fleet as the factors which have led him to change his opinion is to play the confidence-trick on the ignorance of the nation. All these three factors existed in November 1905, when he drew up his programme of four large armoured ships annually.

It may here be remarked that through the desire to wait for the *Dreadnought's* trial, none of the large new German

battleships had been laid down up to November 15, though all are expected to be in hand within a month from that date. It is also true that none of the six large French battleships are actually in hand. I see no objection to a policy which should wait until the German ships are about to be commenced, before laying down the units for the British Navy, but it must clearly be understood that this was not the course proposed when the present reductions were submitted to the House of Commons. The view that Germany cannot build large battleships has been put forward, but it cannot for one moment convince those who are aware that she has recently built mail steamers such as the *Kaiser Wilhelm II.*, of 26,000 tons, and *Augusta Victoria*, of 35,000 tons, which are from 25 to 100 per cent. larger than the *Dreadnought*.

But even graver than the reductions of July 1906, have been the two blows struck at the efficiency of the Navy during the month of October. Early in October it became known that the Admiralty contemplated a great reduction in the strength of the main British fleets, maintained in service with full crews. The reports at first took an apologetic form. The Government were pressing economy upon the Admiralty, and the Admiralty did not pretend that the changes made were dictated by anything but considerations of saving money. Then the word went out from Whitehall that a bolder game was to be played. The Admiralty apologists were instructed to maintain that the changes would augment the fighting efficiency of the fleet. The *Standard* at once, with commendable energy and patriotism, published an important series of articles drawing attention to the dangerous nature of the "economies" that were being effected in the Navy. It pointed out that in the main fleets, which the Admiralty had promised in 1904, when it redistributed the fleets and withdrew the small ships from foreign stations, should be kept fit and ready for battle, many vessels were in bad order; it further showed with absolute truth that to weaken the force in permanent commission with full crews must most seriously diminish the efficiency of the fleet. It was followed by the *Spectator*, which in this naval crisis has rendered a service to the nation for which all Englishmen will warmly thank its courageous and determined Editor, emphasising in masterly articles the mischievous results of keeping ships in port and seamen ashore instead of at sea.

A reduction of ships in full commission [it stated] is the most perilous form of reduction, owing to the extraordinary suddenness of attack which is possible in naval warfare. Antagonists on land can watch each other as a

boxer watches his antagonist. . . . In naval warfare the first blow comes not like a blow from the fist, but like a projectile through the air, which strikes a man and lays him low before he has even heard the sound of the discharge.

The simile is admirably correct from the military standpoint; it expresses a vital truth, that the Navy which is to hold the sea must always be not "practically ready for war," but absolutely and indisputably ready with a superior force.

There is no higher authority on the science of war than the opinion of the German General Staff. That opinion is exactly the same as the *Spectator's* and the *Standard's*. The German Navy Act of 1900 discusses in its preamble the principles of naval policy, and reaches this deliberate and convincing conclusion:

Our efforts must aim at atoning for the numerical weakness of our fleet by superior training of the crews and by tactical practice in large bodies of ships. A satisfactory personal training of individual crews and a sufficient tactical training by evolutions *in large bodies of ships can only be assured by keeping ships permanently in commission in time of peace. Economy as regards commissioning of ships in time of peace means imperilling the efficiency of the fleet in time of war.*

On this principle the German Staff has unswervingly acted. It has maintained in commission in one large fleet all its best, newest and most efficient ships. The fleet in permanent commission at the present moment consist of sixteen first-class battleships and two armoured cruisers. Early in 1907 it will be raised to eighteen first-class battleships and six armoured cruisers, thus giving 24 fighting ships massed together, concentrated in one force, affording that able Admiral, Prince Henry, constant practice in the most difficult problem of modern naval war—the handling with effect of a large fleet. There are no "practically ready" vessels in this fleet. The whole force is instantly ready for war, accustomed to an iron discipline, trained to the finest pitch of proficiency—a pitch which cannot be reached where the fleets in commission are small, half-manned, or scattered,

Now let us turn to the singularly misleading memorandum issued by the Admiralty on October 23. This memorandum does not, in honest sailor fashion, tell the truth. It does not state that the fleets in permanent commission with full crews are to be reduced by 25 per cent. It opens by declaring that a distinct fleet, to be known as the Home fleet, will be constituted with the "primary object" of "sea-going efficiency." It goes on to state that a sliding scale will be established for the nucleus crews of ships in reserve, so that the ships first

required in war will have the largest complements. Then it adds that the distribution of ships between the main fleets will be altered "in order to permit of the organisation of a Home fleet. No ships will be paid off, no men will be sent to barracks . . . and no alteration will be made in the proportion of officers and men serving afloat." There is to be an interchange of ships between the main fleets. Finally, the Admiralty expresses confidence that the formation of the new Home fleet will "increase the immediate striking strength of the fleet."

The layman could read this memorandum ten times over without detecting in its mass of verbiage the real truth that it hides a weakening of the fleet. Its language is unmilitary, if it be intended for the instruction of the Navy, for an Admiralty should use the language of command to its subordinates. If it be addressed to the people of England, the memorandum is simply disingenuous, since it is so worded as to hide the all-important facts. These facts are as follows :

(1) The Channel fleet, to which is committed the guardianship of the North Sea, is *reduced* from 17 battleships to 14 ; the armoured cruisers attached to it are *reduced* from 6 ships to 4. There is a loss of five fighting units, in permanent commission with full crews, and the Admiral in command is deprived of opportunity of working out the handling in battle of a large fleet. Where in March 1906 he could practise with 23 ships, in March 1907 he will have only 18 ships. The German fleet, we have seen, will rise in the corresponding period from 18 ships to 24.

(2) The Atlantic fleet is reduced from 8 battleships and 6 armoured cruisers to 6 battleships and 4 armoured cruisers.

(3) The Mediterranean fleet is reduced from 8 battleships and 4 armoured cruisers to 6 battleships and 4 armoured cruisers.

(4) The Home fleet, which will, so far as I can learn, only be at sea one or two months out of the twelve, and which for the rest of the year will only have three-fifths crews for the bulk of its ships, will consist of something like eight battleships. But all these ships will not be fully manned ; they will not be instantly ready for war ; they will not be a part of the real striking force ; they will not be hourly and daily acquiring that invaluable experience at sea which is the one certain and essential factor in naval victory.

The total number of battleships in commission with full crews, which was 33 in 1904, now falls to 27, a reduction in three years of 6 units. I doubt whether there is a single

naval officer outside the Admiralty who honestly approves this change. The measure is the more deadly because it weakens the inner efficiency of the fleet. We shall no longer be able to reckon with confidence that, ship for ship, the British Navy is a match for the German.

And this is surely a fact to awaken disquietude. The familiar and well-known lists of ships with which the advocates of a cheap and unready Navy seek to persuade the nation that it is safe to go to sleep, become absolutely worthless when we know that of the British ships many are in such a state of disrepair as to be unfit to take the sea, and when we are to be hereafter quite uncertain whether those ships which are fit and in good repair are properly manned and trained for battle. There is, unfortunately, reason to fear that the British torpedo flotilla is at present distinctly inferior to the German in efficiency; and the figure which the British destroyers cut on the visit of the British fleet last year to the Baltic was not by any means satisfactory. Of twelve destroyers which started, only five reached the German coast. When I add that the British Admiralty is now building cheap small destroyers in large numbers, which, in the opinion of some of the best authorities on torpedo craft, are not fit for work on an enemy's coast, while the German Admiralty is building destroyers of more than twice the size and four knots greater speed, it will be seen that the Sea Lords are still further handicapping the torpedo officers of our fleet. Their policy on this head is so inexplicable that no defence of it has ever been attempted.

The dissipation of force is one of the gravest strategic faults of this new "redistribution," to use the term which the Sea Lords have coined to delude the public. In naval war Moltke's famous doctrine, "march apart, fight united," has no place. There is no room for a number of weak, isolated squadrons; ships must be massed and held as close as possible up to the possible enemy. Most of all is this necessary under the conditions that prevail to-day on the shores of the North Sea, when England is defenceless on land, when her army is so pitiably small that if an invader once gained a footing utter disaster would follow swiftly, and when Mr. Haldane, that apostle of "clear thought," is busy pulling new guns out of the British North Sea defences. I ask thinking men, is it conceivable that a fleet can be strengthened by dividing it into four, instead of three squadrons, by weakening each of the squadrons and by retaining one of them five-sixths of the year in port, with reduced crews, thus depriving admirals, captains, and crews of

training in sea-manœuvring, and of practice in large bodies of units?

Offences against the first principles of the science of war are those which in war are most severely punished. In South Africa we dissipated our force and were too weak everywhere, with the result that everywhere we were defeated in the initial stage. At home the heads of the British Navy are embarking upon the same perilous policy, and they are doing this amidst a chorus of flattery and praise from a number of naval writers who are thoroughly honest and well-meaning, but who are permitting their personal predilections to override their duty to their country. The scattering of British naval force between four weak fleets instead of its concentration in one strong, ready, large force is the more inexcusable, inasmuch as the very Government which has accomplished it has cruelly sacrificed the loyal colony of St. Helena to the catchword of "concentration." There is nothing of Nelson, nothing of Napoleon, nothing of Moltke in the Admiralty's new plan; instead we have the perpetration of offences which these incomparable masters of their art denounced. "Only numbers can annihilate," but the British Channel Fleet has not the numbers.

To speak thus is to incur from the thoughtless the charge of playing the amateur strategist. But let it be remembered that the able naval officers on the active list are tongue-tied. They cannot lift up their voices in protest, and those who have studied naval war and naval history are bound to speak out on their behalf at the risk of whatever imputations. If the British fleets in active service must be weakened for the sake of "economy," let them at least be concentrated. The risk of defeat in detail is too grave a one to be lightly taken, and the Admiralty which takes it is guilty of *lèse*-nation and *lèse*-Empire.

As for the "sea-efficiency" of the new Home fleet, the way to secure sea-efficiency is to keep the fleet at sea and not in harbour. It will never be safe to send hastily mobilised, half-drilled ships against a formidable and efficient enemy until those ships have had a period of training as a fleet at sea. Even then they must be much inferior to a fleet which, like the German battle-force, has been constantly at sea and constantly drilled and exercised. No superiority in battery or bigness will compensate for tactical defects or indifferent training.

The reduction of the fleet in permanent commission has been followed by a singular announcement as to the destination of the new battleship *Dreadnought*. At the beginning of

November a *communiqué* was issued in which the Admiralty stated its decision to place her, not in the Channel fleet, where she will ultimately have to fight, not with a sea-going force, where her officers and crew can learn how to use her to the highest advantage, but in the new Home fleet, where, according to the *communiqué*, she will be "practically ready for war." In a very striking article the *Spectator* declared that under the new arrangement "we are to have an untested ship lying at Sheerness. . . . The proposal for dealing with this great and splendid ship would be ridiculous if it were not heart-breaking. As it is we can only turn in shame and sorrow from this Chinese scheme—a scheme which remember is not a landsman's device, but one for which the Sea Lords are responsible."

Statements have subsequently been made in Parliament and elsewhere to the effect that the *Dreadnought* will be fully manned, will be as much at sea as any ship in the active fleets, and will be required for experimental purposes. But until we have definite facts as to the number of her crew and the time she is to spend at sea, the first two assurances cannot be unhesitatingly accepted. The use of her for experimental purposes may be necessary, but no good reason has yet been given why she should not join the Channel Fleet at the conclusion of these experiments, which cannot at the utmost extend over more than four or five months. For the all-important matter is that she should be with a large fleet, when her tactical *rôle* in battle, co-operating with a number of slower and inferior ships, can be thoroughly studied. If this country is going to keep a numerically weak fleet in the Channel or North Sea—as a matter of fact that fleet is often absent from the North Sea, which is a risky state of affairs in view of the military weakness of the United Kingdom—and to put into that fleet weak ships, not the latest products of the incomparable skill of the British engineer and naval constructor, then indeed it will be inviting defeat. This is the strategy of the Russian Admiralty—the parcelling out of a great fleet in little packets and the obstinate adherence to the belief that when war does come there will be "plenty of time" to repair errors of strategy. It was not the policy of Sir J. Fisher when he commanded in the Mediterranean.

The mischief, however, is not yet done. There is still time for the nation to make its voice heard. At this juncture a new Sea Lord, Sir W. H. May, will go to the Admiralty as the successor of Sir C. C. Drury. Admiral May has a reputation as a strong man, but his position has been rendered exceedingly difficult by the concessions of his predecessors. We may,

however, hope that he will at the very least insist upon the concentration of a strong fleet in full commission in the North Sea, and upon the maintenance of the Two-Power standard. This country cannot afford to take any risks at sea, and risks are now being taken.

And is it too much too hope that patriotic men among the Liberal party will also insist upon the maintenance of the Two-Power standard? The most courageous and intelligent criticism of the Admiralty so far has come from Mr. Bellairs, a strong Radical, whose fearless initiative and self-sacrificing zeal for his old service should be remembered by the electors of King's Lynn when next they have to pronounce upon national policy. I believe that the facts speak for themselves and that they can be understood by any intelligent man who troubles to study them. The Two-Power standard has been abandoned; the ships which the Admiralty declared necessary are not being built; the great fleets in permanent commission have been weakened; the force of the Navy has been dissipated; the sea training of the fleet is to be diminished; good ships are being thrown on the scrap-heap, yet ineffective ships are still paraded in the official returns; the capacity of the dockyards to meet the sudden and heavy demands of war has been impaired.

H. W. Wilson.

GREATER BRITAIN AND INDIA

CANADA

THE recent Newfoundland surrender gives point to recent discussions of the all-important question: Why should Great Britain, who pays nearly all the cost of making and renewing the weapons of Imperial defence, run the slightest risk of a great war in order to preserve the interests of a colony that is unwilling to contribute its share under definite conditions to the cost of maintaining the British Navy and that portion of the British Army which may be called the Imperial landing-party? Those who are anxious to find an excuse for the political idiocy of the so-called "Imperial" Government in abandoning the cause of our oldest colony (which was the chief prize of antique Admiralty and is the greatest nursery of seamen in the world) have pointed out that Newfoundland has no right to complain because she contributes nothing to the defensive forces of the Empire. As a matter of fact she gives us men—as many as the Admiralty cares to take—and is prepared to provide a much-needed reserve of naval *personnel*, several thousands strong, from her 40,000 fishermen, if only the British Government will supply training facilities. Money she cannot afford to give because, though fairly prosperous for the time being, her population does not exceed a quarter of a million, and a large portion of her revenue is raised by taxes on the necessities of life (sugar, for example), and the necessary supplies for her industrial population, so that her income is not capable at present of expansion on sound economic principles. It is, therefore, the height of niggardliness to say that, because we cannot wring a few pounds out of this little colony which was on the verge of bankruptcy in 1894, we are to refuse to defend its interests in the diplomatic arena.

However, this is but one insignificant phase of the problem enunciated above in the form of a question. All Little Englanders and many Imperialists—if, indeed, the latter term can be applied to those who cannot, or will not, see that the

commercial defence of the Empire must logically precede the co-ordination of its military forces—think that, so long as British North America tacitly refuses an adequate contribution (in men and material, if not in money) to the Navy and its landing-party, the British Government cannot be expected to wage war with the United States for its protection. Much light has been thrown on this difficult problem (which is not capable of the mathematician's "neat solution") by a discussion on the subject of "Canada and Imperial Defence," which has been carried on in the pages of *Canada* during the last few weeks, and has aroused much interest on both sides of the Atlantic. The discussion was started by Mr. A. B. Carman, of Montreal, who formulated the prevalent Canadian view, viz.: (1) implicitly denying that it is Canada's duty, at all events for the present, to contribute towards the maintenance of British sea-power, and (2) explicitly stating that Canada must be sole judge of the strength of any contingent of troops she might conceivably proffer for the conduct of an Imperial war—that is to say, her contribution was to be entered as "Canadian loyalty" rather than as a disposable force to be provided under the terms of a definite arrangement with the British Government. Professor George Wrong, of Toronto, a more advanced Imperialist than Mr. Carman, in the course of his comments on this article asked for "more light," as follows:

This absence of any possibility in North America of war on anything like equal terms makes it specially difficult for Canada to understand Britain's position in Europe. Yet there is nothing of which Canada is prouder than her membership in the great family of nations under the British Crown. As a member of the family she is concerned in world-wide affairs. Britain's glories are hers, and so are Britain's dangers. There is not a Canadian who would not find his outlook upon life impaired and narrowed if he came to look upon himself as merely a Canadian and not also as a Briton. The traditions of British citizenship, the prestige won by Britain's struggles, are his. But only the specially well-read realise the eternal vigilance that is necessary to keep Britain in her place among world powers. No doubt there are in Canada those parochial enough in outlook to desire all the benefits to Canada from this tie without assuming the full responsibilities therefor. But this is not the attitude of the best thought in the country. The question is hedged about with difficulties. Canada's aspirations to nationhood are too strong to make it possible that she will help in the form of paying tribute to the Mother Country to fight for her. But Canadians desire to do something, and they will do this something intelligently only if they realise the true character of the difficulties with which the British Empire is confronted. What is needed is more light. Well-read people in Canada understand the plans for expansion which the pressure upon Germany's home resources almost forces her to entertain. But the average man does not. To him such designs seem very unreal, and he is apt to be impatient at all the talk about Britain's need to be strong enough to meet every emergency. His economical soul is appalled at

the vast sums spent upon warships that in a few years will be wholly out of date. The only thing to make him realise what British citizenship involves is steady reiteration of the reality of dangers which every Englishman in the home land understands as a part of his daily experience. The Canadian Press is doing something. We hope it will do more. The freer circulation of British newspapers in Canada would help towards the realisation of a common citizenship with its common responsibilities, and, in this connection, it cannot be too much deplored that postal difficulties still block the way to a freer circulation of English journals in Canada.

Criticising the Canadian view Mr. Spenser Wilkinson pointed out how difficult it would be for the British Government, which alone has the power of waging Imperial war, if the contributions of the Colonies were : (1) indefinite in numerical strength, and (2) given or withheld according to the opinion of the several autonomous Governments as to the necessity of any particular war. Furthermore, he asserted: (1) that "strategically both Great Britain and the whole Empire stand or fall by the Navy," and (2) that, if Mr. Carman's views were generally accepted by Colonists, "then the British Government would act logically if it were to confine itself, in peace and war alike, to the defence of the British Islands and India." The Earl of Dundonald, the last of the "General Officers Commanding in Canada" appointed by the British Government, whose protest against the intrusion of political partisanship into the sphere of Canadian military affairs will be remembered, warns Canadians of the necessity of preparedness :

> Fires, like wars, break out and develop with astounding rapidity. Unless the means are at hand at once to deal with them in an adequate manner, in the case of a building there will be nothing but a smouldering ruin ; in the case of an Empire an alien foe too strongly established on its territory to be ever again ousted. If anything in this world is worth doing at all, it is at any rate worth doing well. If the Empire, therefore, is worth defending it is necessary to inform those specialists who are entrusted with the preparation of schemes for its defence exactly how many troops will be available on the outbreak of war. These troops, if they are to be of real value, must be ready, not only in willingness to serve the Empire as every Canadian is, ready, not only in spirit, courage, and endurance—qualities which, from having had Canadians under my command in war time, I know them to possess to the fullest possible extent—but ready in arms, in equipment, and in an adequate supply of ammunition and material of war, with *personnel* under the command of highly trained leaders. How many men Canada could at once, on the declaration of war, put into the field under this latter condition is known to those who are responsible for her military defences and her place among the nations, and should be known and considered by every patriotic Canadian.

Even those Canadians who "misliked not the deed, but liked not the manner of doing it," have long since forgiven Lord Dundonald for his epoch-making act of insubordination, and this message from the ablest and most energetic of the line of Canadian

G.O.C.s will certainly have an excellent effect. At the present moment Canada, like the Mother Country, is overwhelmed by a wave of "anti-militarism"—the inevitable reaction, no doubt, after a costly and ill-managed war. Finally, Mr. L. S. Amery, the only authoritative writer on the problems of Imperial Defence who never forgets that Great Britain and the Empire stand or fall by the commerce of the whole, since the Empire is from first to last a creature of trade and industry, pointed out what all the others had forgotten—that the problems in question can only be solved as part of the larger problem of Imperial reconstruction beginning on the underlying plane of economic fact. When will our writers on Imperial policy remember that a mere change of the world's trade-routes may reduce a great polity to insignificance (Venice is a case in point), and that a scientific tariff may work more harm to a rival Power than an unsuccessful war. Because of the McKinley tariff, avowedly a weapon of precision directed against Great Britain, the British taxpayer has paid for President Roosevelt's "Big Stick" many times over. Because of the fact that Germany is allowed free entry into the British market, while slamming the door of her own in the face of the British manufacturer, we have certainly made a free gift of his battle-fleet to Wilhelm II. Alone of all our military experts, Mr. Amery knows that the decline and fall of the British Empire will be the result of the gradual closing of the world's markets on the products with which are wrought the life and labour of the many millions of Great Britain.

One point of the utmost importance is always overlooked by the disputants in every controversy in regard to the duty of the Colonies in the matter of Imperial Defence, in the military connotation of the term. The case of Canada differs *toto cœlo* from that of the Australasian Colonies, or even British South Africa. Only with the help of British sea-power can Australia and New Zealand hope to keep their territories inviolate in the coming dawn of the Oriental Renaissance. Australasian statesmen know the Navy is the only security for "white" policies, and the time will come when they will contribute their full quota in the form of a separate Navy. British South Africa with its long sea-frontier, giving access to every part, is in much the same position. But the Dominion, with its narrow frontage to either ocean, and situated above the Great Lakes, providing the United States with an opportunity of creating lake-power in the very heart of the continent, is in a very different position.

When Englishmen talk of Imperial Defence they think in the

first instance of the defence of England. If it were otherwise they would be unworthy of the name of Englishmen. The invasion of England could only be the work of some European Power. But when Canadians talk of Imperial Defence they must think in the first instance of the defence of Canada, which they call "home"—no longer applying that sacred word to England, as is still the custom of nearly all New Zealanders and a considerable though decreasing percentage of Australians. If it were otherwise they would be unworthy of the name of Canadians. But when they think of the defence of Canada they ask themselves the question: Against what Power? No European Power is likely to attack them for many reasons. In the first place, the distance is too great; the width of the Atlantic is the chief sanction of the doctrine first enunciated by Canning and afterwards promulgated in President Monroe's famous Message. Secondly, they could have no quarrel with a European Power except as a result of their connection with Great Britain. Should Great Britain, in order to maintain her position in the sphere of Eurasian politics, become involved in a war with one or more European Powers, Canada would have nothing to gain, but something to lose as a result of the quarrel. Serious disputes between Canada and Asiatic countries or the Latin American polities are hardly conceivable. The only Power which could possibly menace the territorial integrity of Canada is—the United States. When he thinks of Imperial Defence the Canadian therefore asks himself if the Empire could defend his own country against the United States. By themselves 6,000,000 people scattered along a territory 3000 miles in length from ocean to ocean could never hope to defend themselves against 80,000,000 with a perfected industrial organisation (such as Canada does not possess as yet) capable of speedily manufacturing the material of war in any quantities. But could the help of the British Navy and of the British Army (the greater portion of which would have to be kept at home lest a certain European Power should find an opportunity) turn the balance? In the War of 1812-14, when the Canadas were merely River States and the United States had not extended beyond the Great Lakes, these additions to the Canadian land forces were actually sufficient to turn the balance. The war against Canada was not, however, carried on vigorously—the seaboard States were vehemently opposed to the policy of the "war hawks" of the interior States—and the American leadership was singularly incompetent. It was possible then to sweep American commerce from the seas, and that was the determining factor in the struggle. To-day the

reinforcements which Canada might receive from Great Britain or from her sister States would be insignificant in comparison with the numerical superiority on land of the United States, which, as the results of the Civil War teach us, has an enormous latent military force and a capacity of national endurance to which history supplies few parallels. British sea power might possibly enable the Empire to hold maritime Canada, Vancouver Island, and the coast-line of British Columbia. But Canada between the Great Lakes and the Rockies would certainly be lost.

No professional expert, so far as I know, really believes that the Empire could defend Canada—at any rate, as long as the present disparity of population continues in so marked a form. In his heart no thoughtful Canadian believes that it could be done or even that the attempt would be made. The long series of diplomatic surrenders, whereby the frontage of the Dominion on both oceans has been narrowed by territorial concessions to the American Government (which, in its diplomatic relations, does not reflect the unquestionable kindliness and generosity of the American people), is the historical proof that the British Government knows that Canada is indefensible. Twenty years study of the history and politics of the Empire and of the United States has led me to this conclusion : If Great Britain had an Army equal in numerical strength, equipment, organisation, and leadership to Japan's, the defence of Canada might be possible. But she has not ; nor would the volunteer forces of the other Colonies supply the deficiency. But if the Empire cannot defend Canada—if, as history shows, it has always been necessary to grin and bear what Mr. Richard Jebb in his *Studies in Colonial Nationalism* describes as " the kicks of the insatiable monster "—what right has the Englishman to demand a naval or military contribution for Imperial defences from the Canadian ? But it is in the power of the Mother Country to render the defence of Canada against the United States practicable in the future—by accelerating the increase of Canada's population. A duty on foreign wheat and the control of emigration by a co-operative arrangement between the British and Canadian Governments would, in the opinion of the majority of Canadians, have this effect. With a population of 20,000,000, a large percentage of it massed below the Hudson Bay, through which the hydraulic force of British sea-power could be applied, at any rate, for a third of the year, Canada might be defensible.

The Canadian Constitution is gradually reaching its final form, only such minor readjustments as the increase of the Provincial subsidies being now required. The amount of these payments is fixed by the British North America Act, a definite sum per head of population being paid for each Province ; and no change can be made without the consent of the Imperial authorities, which could not well be given so long as the parties interested are not unanimously in favour thereof. The withdrawal from the recent Conference of Premiers of Mr. McBride, the Premier of British Columbia, who asks for a greater increase than that conceded to the other Western Provinces, in view of the high cost of building roads through his vast and mountainous Provinces, its heavy payments into the Federal Tramway for Customs duties, and great sacrifices in land and transfer limits to secure the holding of the Esquimault-Nanaimo railway, has for the time being destroyed the necessary unanimity. Lack of roads prevents the development of British Columbia's mineral resources, from which the whole Dominion would profit, and it is to be hoped that the special terms required by the Pacific Province will be granted. . . . By far the most important event in the political sphere (in which the average Canadian is not at present greatly interested) was the defeat of the official Liberal candidate at a by-election in Quebec County by Mr. Robitaille, who had the support of Mr. Bourassa and no other politician of any standing. The correspondent of the *Morning Post* attributes this unexpected result to the personal influence of Mr. Bourassa, and there can be no doubt that the leader of the Nationalists, who is Papineau's grandson, is attaining a position comparable with that of Honoré Mercier and other "heroes" of the *habitant*, who is, and always has been, a confirmed hero-worshipper. But it must also be remembered that the successful candidate appealed for support as a Labour candidate, and obtained hundreds of votes by thus taking advantage of that revolt of Labour leaders against the two historic parties, which is the new fact in Dominion politics. *La Patrie* was the journal which most zealously supported the young and unknown Robitaille in a wildly abusive campaign, and those who deplore the growth of electoral corruption on either side of the orthodox political antithesis (now really a contest between "Ins" and "Outs") will give a qualified assent to the assertion of that newspaper to the effect that "la présence dans la Chambre des Communs d'un groupe de travailleurs éclairés serait un bienfait pour le pays." E.B.O.

THE NEW ORDER IN NEW ZEALAND

(From a Correspondent)

With the death of Mr. Seddon the political history of New Zealand enters upon an entirely new phase. Under his Premiership it was a democracy in name, but in reality an autocracy ruled by one strong man. A leader of commanding personality, unequalled in the art of managing alike the constituencies and their representatives in Parliament, he governed with an iron will, and did practically what he liked. He chose weak men for his purpose. His nominees for the electorates were men of little force or ability, and they got into the House not so much by their own exertions as with the influence of his name, and in a large measure by his own personal efforts in their behalf. The stupendous feats he performed in electioneering must have been seen to be believed. He surrounded himself with weak men in his Ministry. Only two of his colleagues—the late Sir John McKenzie and the new Prime Minister, Sir Joseph Ward—ever ventured to oppose their wills to his, even in matters strictly appertaining to their own departments. The rest had to submit even the most ordinary details for his approval.

That state of things is at an end. The period of "one-man government" in New Zealand has passed, perhaps for ever, since it is doubtful if we shall ever see another dictator so powerful as Mr. Seddon. His successor, Sir Joseph Ward, is a man of totally different character. Mr. Seddon ruled largely by force and fear; Sir Joseph Ward relies on tact and persuasion. His first step was one rendered absolutely necessary by the altered circumstances. He had to strengthen his Cabinet. The two weakest men in the old administration—Messrs. T. Duncan (Minister for Lands) and C. H. Mills (Minister for Customs)—were quietly dropped, and Sir Joseph Ward called to his Cabinet three of the strongest members of his party—Mr. J. Millar, as Minister for Customs and Labour; Mr. G. Fowlds, as Minister of Education; and Mr. R. McNab, as Minister for Lands. In addition three members of the Seddon administration are included—Mr. W. Hall-Jones, now Minister for Railways and Public Works; Mr. A. Pitt, Minister for Defence and Attorney-General; and Mr. McGowan, Minister for Mines. A few personal details about the new Prime Minister and his colleagues may interest your readers. Sir Joseph Ward's career is almost as remarkable as that of Mr. Seddon. He was born in Victoria, but came to New

Zealand with his parents when he was too young to remember the land of his birth. He entered the Telegraph Office as a boy, and became one of the most expert operators in the service. Then he dabbled a little in local journalism ; but when he was still a young man he started as a merchant, dealing chiefly in grain, and soon by his commercial energy built up a large business. He early took an interest in politics, and was mayor of the little borough in which he lived soon after he attained his majority. Then he got into politics, where his debating power and aptitude for work made their influence felt ; and when Mr. Ballance took office in 1891 he chose Mr. Ward, as he then was, as his Postmaster-General—a portfolio which he continued to hold in the administration formed in 1892 by Mr. Seddon on the death of Mr. Ballance. Never was there a happier appointment. Mr. Ward brought to his work not only great business aptitude, but the zeal and experience which come from intimate practical knowledge of the department he was called upon to administer. We owe to him cheap telegrams, and the fact that New Zealand has not only an inland penny postage, but penny postage to every country in the world which will receive her letters when prepaid at that rate. It is to be feared that Mr. Ward's devotion to politics interfered with his private business, since at the time of the Colonial Bank's troubles in 1896 Mr. Ward's firm became involved, and he had to give up his seat both in Parliament and the Ministry for about three years. It is characteristic of his energy and determination that he not only succeeded in righting his own affairs, but he literally forced his way once more into the Ministry, and has now become Prime Minister of the Colony. Sir Joseph Ward was knighted in 1901, on the occasion of the Royal visit to the Colony.

Mr. J. Millar, now Minister for Customs and Labour, is another striking example of how Colonial politicians are sometimes made. His father was a captain in the 29th Bengal Staff Corps, but the boy took a fancy to the sea, and came out to New Zealand in one of the New Zealand Shipping Company's vessels. He then became second mate on a small coasting-steamer, and in 1887 left the sea and became secretary to the Seamen's Union. In 1891 he came very much to the front as the leader of the great maritime strike, when trade and industry in the Colony seemed for a time paralysed, and prosperous city merchants and professional men took off their black coats and acted as "lumpers" on the wharves to assist in breaking down the labour combination, which aimed at stopping all the springs of industry and all the channels of intercom-

munication. That this once dreaded labour agitator should now be the chosen representative of a city electorate (Dunedin), numbering leading business men among his staunchest supporters, and should actually take office as Minister of Marine and Customs, as well as of Labour, in the new Cabinet, is indeed a striking instance of the whirligig of time in Colonial politics. The truth is that Mr. Millar has mellowed with the years as much as Mr. Bradlaugh did, and at the present time the employers of the Colony have every confidence in his moderation and impartiality.

Mr. R. McNab, the new Minister for Lands, is another steadying influence in the new Ministry. He is a New Zealander by birth, a graduate of the New Zealand University, a solicitor by profession, and a fairly well-to-do landowner. He has an excellent hobby in the collection of details relating to the early history of New Zealand, and recently made a special pilgrimage to Salem, Mass., to see what could be gleaned there from the records of the old whaling-ships which used to visit New Zealand in large numbers in the first half of the last century. It is believed that his presence in the Cabinet will add greatly to the efficiency of the agricultural department, and that forestry, in which he takes great interest, will be put on a satisfactory footing. The rapid denudation of the native "bush" makes it very essential that something should be done in this direction.

The other members of the Cabinet are worthy men in their way, but there is nothing very striking in their personal history, unless we except Mr. Hall-Jones, who was at one time a working carpenter, and now has a good reputation as a careful administrator, having charge of the most important departments in the public service—railways and public works. Mr. Fowlds, the new Minister for Education, is the son of an Ayrshire handloom weaver, who has just celebrated his hundredth birthday. Mr. Fowlds emigrated to South Africa in 1882, but after three years there came on to Auckland, where he built up a successful business as a mercer. Mr. McGowan, the Minister for Mines, has been associated with mining enterprises; and Mr. Pitt, the Attorney-General and Minister for Defence, is a solicitor of long practice and a Volunteer officer of great experience.

The Ministry, then, is a good all-round Ministry, greatly strengthened both in debating power and administrative capacity. In future we may take it that each Minister will look after his own department, and will not brook undue interference on the part of his chief. Sir Joseph Ward is an

excellent debater in the House, and a fluent speaker on all occasions, but he is not an orator, and he certainly has not the gift of ingratiating himself with the masses possessed by Mr. Seddon. He can be relied upon, I think, to steer a fairly moderate course—indeed, he has already shown his desire to do so; and, despite a somewhat unfortunate tendency to coquet with America on the matter of reciprocal trade and subsidies to American mail services, he is a sound Imperialist at heart.

The financial statement delivered by Sir Joseph Ward a week after the opening of Parliament is of great interest not only as showing the continued prosperity of the Colony, but as indicating the policy of the new Government. The total revenue for the year ending March 31 last amounted to £7,650,099. To this is added a balance of £761,036 brought forward from the previous year, making a total on the receipts side of £8,411,135. The expenditure, including a payment of £500,000 to the Public Works Fund, amounted to £7,622,340, which sum, deducted from the £8,411,135, leaves a balance of £788,795 with which to commence the current year. This is the largest balance brought forward at any time in the Colony's history. The revenue for the current year, 1906–7, is estimated at £7,867,000, and the expenditure at £7,575,972, which would leave a surplus on the year's transactions of £291,028. To this amount the balance at the beginning of the year (£788,795) is added, making a total of £1,079,823. Of this it is proposed to expend £750,000 on public works instead of borrowing the money, thus leaving £329,823 for supplementary estimates and unforeseen expenditure. It will be noted that the balance from one year forms part of the surplus of the next—a peculiarity of New Zealand finance which is apt to be a little misleading. It is proposed to raise a loan of one million for public works during the current year, but Sir Joseph Ward indicated that it was not intended to go to London for the money, as the Government believed it could be raised locally at a reasonable rate of interest. An improvement in the audit system was promised, and Sir Joseph Ward announced that it was intended to establish sinking funds by which some £4,000,000 of debt incurred for war and defence purposes would be paid off in from thirty-five to forty years. Both these reforms have been advocated by the Opposition for years, and met with very general approval.

Your readers probably will not care for the details of various domestic reforms that are promised. I may mention, however, that the system of defence is to receive an overhauling which it has long required; that further reductions are to be made in

the postal and telegraph rates, so that, for example, it will be possible to send a 4-oz. inland letter for 1*d.* in future, instead of the weight being restricted to ½ oz. as at present, and the rate for telegrams will be reduced to ½*d.* per word, with a minimum of 6*d.* A special vote is to be asked for for telephones to outlying localities, so as to lessen the isolation and loneliness of country life, and the Government intend to take over Mr. Seddon's schemes for providing national annuities to all who choose to apply for them on a contributory basis. Scientific methods are to be introduced into agriculture, and a specially valuable feature will be the institution of a thoroughly up-to-date experimental station in connection with the dairy industry. Steps are also to be taken to develop external trade, especially with Canada and the Far East. The Government propose to renew the subsidy to the San Francisco mail service, and to offer a subsidy for a Vancouver mail service. Negotiations are in progress for running refrigerating steamers in connection with the present cargo service to Vancouver. Finally, an attempt will be made to share in the benefits of the Commonwealth mail service *via* Suez.

So far the policy of the Government has met with general approval, and the Opposition claims that much of it has been appropriated from its programme. It is when we come to the land question that a conflict begins. The Maoris had a proverb that all wars had their origin either in land or women, and the land, at any rate, has continued a source of dispute among European politicians in these otherwise happy isles to the present day. The ideal of the Conservatives is to build up a nation of sturdy freeholders, each man reaping the benefit not only of his own labours, but of every general improvement in the value of his land, the State being always secure of its share through the medium of a substantial land tax. The Radicals favour the leasehold system with perpetual revaluation, so as to secure the "unearned increment" to the State. The late Government adopted a sort of compromise. The improved estates which were bought from the owners under the Lands for Settlement Act for subdivision were let on leases for 999 years, without any readjustment of rent. In many respects these were as good as freeholds, and in some cases the fortunate tenants on selling out have been able to get as much as £7 or £8 per acre goodwill. The Crown lands proper—those brought under settlement for the first time—were disposed of partly on 99-year leases, partly on short leases (for the pastoral properties), and partly for cash for the freeholds. The present Government, while respecting existing contracts, intend to issue

no more 999-year leases, but to substitute a Glasgow lease for 66 years, the tenant to have the value of his improvements at the end of that time, and to have the option of renewing for another 66 years at a fresh rent fixed by valuation. The virgin lands still in possession of the Crown are to be kept as an endowment for old age pensions, hospitals, and charitable aid and education, and no more are to be disposed of in fee-simple. The owner of a 999-year lease is to have the option of converting it into one of the new leases, and in the case of Crown lands he is to have the further option of surrendering his lease, when the freehold will be put up to public competition, and he will have the opportunity, in common with the rest of the world, of buying the freehold, but in any case he will receive the value of his improvements. It is considered extremely unlikely that any holder of a 999-year lease will avail himself of either of these options, unless his land is so bad that he cannot make a living on it at the existing rent. A future supply of freehold land, however, is to be provided in a somewhat original fashion. It is to be made unlawful for any man to hold land of more than £50,000 unimproved value, and he is to be given ten years in which to dispose of the surplus. There are some sixty-two properties which will be affected by this provision, and the Minister estimates that upwards of a million acres of freehold land will thus be forced upon the market, while the Government is released from the necessity of borrowing more money for the purchase of estates for re-sale in subdivisions. As a further guard against the aggregation of large estates, it is proposed to prevent the transfer of any more land to a man who already holds 1000 acres of first-class land.

These proposals have produced a sharp cleavage of political parties in the House. Many of the Government supporters are pledged to the Opposition policy of giving to 999-year leaseholders an option of acquiring the freehold on equitable terms, and not a few others, disappointed of obtaining office, consider that although they were returned to support Mr. Seddon, they owe no allegiance to Sir Joseph Ward. The Opposition proper number only fifteen, so that they will require a very considerable accession to enable them to turn out the Government. I should not be surprised, therefore, if Sir Joseph Ward ultimately gets through his proposals, perhaps in a modified form, although he may not succeed in doing so this session.

I have left myself little space in which to write of the reciprocity agreement with Australia, which Mr. Seddon negotiated with Mr. Deakin, and which he signed on the day before his

death. The truth is that the agreement perished, so far as New Zealand is concerned, on the day on which it saw the light. It is so one-sided that the only feasible explanation of Mr. Seddon having signed it is that, partly from weak health, partly from the excitement and fatigue of his triumphal tour through Australia, his mind had lost its usual grip of actualities, and he did not realise what he was putting his pen to. Under this arrangement Australia would give up some £7000 per annum of revenue; New Zealand would sacrifice upwards of £190,000. The outstanding feature is that we should, so far as Australian sugar is concerned, remit the duty of ½*d.* per lb. at present charged, while maintaining it against the sugar of all other countries. At present practically the whole of the sugar we require, to the value of half a million sterling per annum, is imported raw from Fiji, and refined in Auckland, an Excise duty of ½*d.* per lb. being charged on the refined product. The effect of carrying out the agreement would be that we should cease to get any more sugar from Fiji—a British colony with which we are in intimate trade relations—that the New Zealand sugar refinery, employing some 300 hands, would be closed, and we should import refined sugar, duty free, from Australia to satisfy all our requirements. The Colonial Treasurer would thus lose £185,000 of revenue which he can ill spare. The remission of the duty on Australian flour, another feature, would, it is said, cause all our flour-mills to shut down. We should get cheaper fruit and cheaper wine from Australia, as well as cheaper flour and sugar, and we should get a better market in Australia for our fish and oysters, oats, and possibly barley. But these advantages would be dearly purchased. The treaty has been condemned from one end of the Colony to the other, and there is not the slightest chance of its being agreed to. There is, however, general regret that some beginning in the direction of reciprocity could not have been made on more equitable lines, and perhaps still more regret that, almost in the hour of death, Mr. Seddon made one of the greatest mistakes of his life, instead of concluding, as we all hoped would prove the case, with one of his most brilliant achievements.

SOUTH AFRICA

A BETRAYAL

In the House of Lords, on Thursday, November 15, Lord Lovat asked the Government what their intentions were with regard to British settlers in the Transvaal and Orange River

Colonies, whether they were in any way safeguarded by the new Constitution, or whether they were to be handed over to the tender mercies of the men they fought against and conquered, for the great bulk of them served Great Britain in one capacity or another during the War. Lord Elgin gave no answer ; he shuffled miserably while he explained that he was sympathetic to the British, but that he could make no statement of any kind. He reminded the House of Lords that Lord Milner had acknowledged his (Lord Elgin's) sympathy, and he displayed the discomfort of a weak character about to be responsible for the disgrace of a great nation. Lord Milner's answer should be read in full by all who think of the future of England ; by all who have not made up their minds that we must lapse into weakness and consequent loss of ideals. We can only give a few extracts from his admirable exposure of the situation in which the Government are placing themselves by the abandonment of British rights. Lord Milner was followed by Lord Courtney, who, in a rabid anti-English speech, openly exulted in the prospect of the extinction of the British settlers. His views were repudiated by Lord Ripon, but they made a painful impression upon the House of Lords.

Lord Milner began his speech by expressing regret at the "total inadequacy" of Lord Elgin's statement. He admitted having acknowledged the sympathy of the Colonial Secretary, but he wanted to see that "sympathy converted into acts." He went on to say that unless the settlers were protected in the Letters Patent, now about to be issued, that even in the Transvaal their position will be difficult ; and later on, when "it comes to the Orange River Colony," the omission of protection in one Colony will be quoted "as a precedent for leaving them in the lurch," where they will be at the mercy of the Boers. "And so we are being drawn step by step down the slope which leads to the abyss of another disgraceful desertion of those who have served us in South Africa." That, said Lord Milner, was the reason for the debate, and he added if the Government is pressed for a statement now "it is simply that I feel that, having been the agent of the British Government in putting these people on the land, and having induced them to put themselves in this position, I should be the basest of deserters if I did not do all that lies in my power to save them." Lord Milner then referred to Lord Elgin's statement, and various previous expressions of sympathy with British settlement, and observed caustically that, although he made sympathetic speeches, he had "always given the vital question

the go by " on one excuse or another. Lord Elgin had said:

that his Majesty's Government were in favour generally of the principle of a Land Board, but that they expressed their approval subject to certain reservations, and one of those was that there must be general consent. It seems to me a most preposterous thing to admit that these people need the protection of a special Land Board because they are not safe in the hands of the majority of the inhabitants of the Orange River Colony, or of the Government responsible for that majority, and yet to appeal to that majority to say whether they were to be protected or not. You ask the people against whom they are to be protected, "Will you approve of our making special provision for their protection?" The thing is a perfect farce. . . . As far as I know, the suggestion, which was coupled with a proposal to raise an additional four millions, partly for the relief of the settlers, but partly for further compensation to the Boers and partly for some other objects, seems to have met with no particular favour anywhere. I never expected that it would. I cannot conceive how the Government could have proposed, with elections just impending, with these Colonies about to be allowed the supreme blessing of party government—that is to say, with the population marshalled into two brigades, each looking out with hawk-like keenness for some reproach to throw in the face of the other—or how any one could have supposed that any party in the Transvaal or the Orange River Colony would make themselves responsible for an additional burden of four millions being placed on the shoulders of the Colony in order to get his Majesty's Government out of a difficulty, is more than I can conceive. It was, in my judgment, quite unreasonable to suppose that any other result would follow from that proposal. I do not comment on the absurdity of going cap in hand to the Boers and asking them whether they would like to pay another million and a half for British land settlement. Of course they would not like it. But then it was anticipated that the sop which was to be offered to them of another million and a half for compensation would induce them to swallow the pill. Really it is difficult not to smile at the simplicity of those who were seized with that idea. The Boers expect that they are going shortly to be in power. They know they will be in power in the Orange River Colony. Whether they will be in power in the Transvaal Colony or not, they are aware that any Government there will be more or less at their mercy. They look forward, as a matter of fact, to the time when they will be able to provide themselves with this million and a half, or any other sum which they may feel desirous of devoting to their compensation, without accompanying it with any disagreeable concessions to the British settlers. The whole plan of saving these settlers by means of this appeal to the various parties in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony was doomed to failure from the very first. I wish briefly to sum up the position, as it seems to me, on this subject. Is it or is it not a right thing to continue to offer opportunities for British colonists, whether coming from this country or from the other Colonies, who, remember, are interested in this matter too—is it or is it not a right thing to keep the door open for them to settle in the new Colonies which have come under the British flag by the exertions of this country and of those Colonies also? If it is right to keep that door open, ought not—ought not his Majesty's Government to keep it open without asking any one whether they are to be allowed to do so or not? There is a stronger point than that. Granted that the policy of land settlement was a mistake, that the policy ought to be abandoned

as I hope it will not be abandoned, you cannot abandon the obligations you have already incurred under it ; and surely it is strange for a British Government to go to any body of men anywhere to ask their consent to its fulfilling it own obligations of honour.

Lord Milner then dealt in a masterly way with the arguments of people who say that for the Imperial Government to own land and promote settlement in a Colony was an interference with responsible Government. "There would be no interference with the law of the Colonies. They would administer the ordinary law. There would be no interference with the executive power. The executive power would do exactly as regards these settlers as it would do with regard to any other occupiers of land."

He then dealt with the financial argument, and proved conclusively that Great Britain, in return for all her sacrifices in South Africa, has a right to keep the door open to future emigration of her own people. Lord Milner's speech ended with a fervent appeal to the Government to save us from the shame and discredit of abandoning our own people. His speech made a great impression on the House of Lords and in the country ; but the pro-Boer is supreme in the Cabinet, and there is not much to be hoped from the former Liberal Imperialists, who have shown themselves weak at every point where they should have been strong. The country which returned Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman with so gigantic a majority must share with the Government the disgrace of their surrender to their own fanatics ; and the great speech of Lord Cairns once more rings in our ears, the speech made after the Majuba betrayal : "We have mourned, we have wept, we have never blushed before."

INDIA

(By Our Own Correspondent in India)

Mail of October 27.

THE MAHOMEDANS AND PAN-ISLAMISM

India is growing a little quieter. That is the most satisfactory statement that can be made this month. The unrest recently visible is diminishing. There are perceptible symptoms of a reaction against the more violent aspects of the movements now at work. Even the Bengali agitators have paused to take breath, and in the interval for reflection which they obtained at the period of the Hindu New Year, have thought fit to moderate their ardour. But the most notable event since last I wrote has been the great Mahomedan deputation to the

Viceroy, and as a good deal of misconception seems still to prevail both in India and England concerning that remarkable gathering, it is as well to explain what it really meant. The notion in many quarters seems to be that the deputation was intended as a protest against Sir Bampfylde Fuller's resignation, and against the Hindu agitation in Bengal. That is not so in fact. The deputation had its origin in certain statements in Mr. Morley's Budget speech, wherein he intimated that changes in the Viceregal Legislative Council, and in other branches of the machinery of Government, were about to be made in order to give Indians a larger share in the Administration. It occurred to various eminent Mahomedans that this would constitute a suitable opportunity for pressing upon the Viceroy the need for remembering the special claims of their community in any changes that were made, and I believe the project was privately placed before Lord Minto well before Sir Bampfylde Fuller resigned. That was the genesis of the deputation, and to that object its efforts were strictly confined. At the same time, there can be no doubt that the Fuller incident and the coincident inflammatory behaviour of the Calcutta Bengali Hindus, caused an outburst of feeling among Mahomedans all over India, which gave a great impetus to the movement. Some of the younger Mussulman notables, particularly the Nawab of Dacca, were in favour of introducing into the memorial emphatic and explicit references to the Eastern Bengal question; but calmer counsels eventually prevailed, and the address as finally revised was a model of moderation and restraint. The whole of the proceedings of the movement were in marked contrast to the methods too frequently pursued in India nowadays. The organisers convened no mass meetings, and rigorously eschewed preliminary publicity. Their procedure was in complete accord with that dignity and avoidance of the clap-trap of the market-place which mark the attitude of the best classes of Indian Mahomedan gentlemen. Their very quietness and privacy led to the publication of taunts in the baser organs of the Hindu press that the deputation was not representative and was "a hole-and-corner business." The facility with which Indian publicists have assimilated all the popular phrases employed in England in the gentle art of political controversy is, by the way, astonishing.

Of course, there was no truth in these assertions. The deputation was thoroughly representative, though it is open to doubt whether in one or two provinces and notably Bombay, the best men were chosen. The Indian Mahomedans have as yet no central organisation, though it is understood that an Islamic

League of India is now in process of formation. But they have many local associations, all of which were duly consulted ; and the signatories to the memorial were all men of recognised standing and position, among them being seven members and eleven ex-members of the Supreme and Provincial Councils. The deputation was headed by his Highness the Aga Khan, who is the acknowledged leader of the Progressive party among Indian Mussulmans, and one of the most striking and romantic figures in Islam to-day. The Aga Khan stands in a unique position. He is a prince without an inch of territory, yet his "subjects," who prefer to style themselves "followers," are numbered by millions. He is a man of the world who is thoroughly at home in a London drawing-room ; yet he is literally invested with semi-divine attributes by large numbers of Mahomedans who are scattered all over Asia and Eastern Africa. He is already possessed of great wealth ; yet there are men in every Oriental city from Samarkand to Cairo who would count themselves in danger of eternal retribution if they did not set aside a portion of their annual income as their free, unsought, joyful, and purely voluntary gift to the head of their faith. The Aga Khan is the spiritual head of the great Ismailian sect of Mahomedans. He is one of the products of that momentous early split in Islam which divided it into Sunnis and Shiahs. When Mahomet died, it was thought that his first and best-beloved disciple Ali would be his successor ; but Mahomet's favourite wife Ayesha helped to procure the reversion in favour of her own father. Ali did eventually become Caliph, but was slain, and so were his sons Hassan and Hussein, the immortal tragedy of whose death is still annually the subject of the most solemn and remarkable ceremonial among the Shiahs. Ali and his descendants were the Imams of the Shiahs, but with the seventh Imam there came a further split. The seventh Imam was Ismail, and the followers of the Aga Khan hold that he was the last revealed Imam ; hence the secession which produced the great Ismailian community. The rest of the Shiahs acknowledge twelve Imams. Oriental genealogy is a perilous subject, as Kumar Shri Ranjitsinhji learned to his cost years ago ; but the present Aga Khan traces his ancestry right back through Ismail and Hussein, and he claims to be the forty-eighth in direct succession from Ali ; and as Ali married Mahomet's daughter, the blood of the Prophet himself flows in his Highness's veins. Small wonder, therefore, that he is an object of veneration and even of worship. The story of his forbears is of entrancing interest. They sat on the throne of Egypt, and founded the Fatimite dynasty. To trace the tale one would

have to introduce the knightly figures of Saladin and Richard Cœur de Lion, to describe the migration which produced the "Old Man of the Mountains" and the Assassins, to tell of the later events in Persia and the alliances with the Kajar Shahs, and finally of that Persian rebellion which led the Aga Khan's great-grandfather to cross the frontier after defeat and offer his militant sword to the English. To-day the Aga Khan ranks as an Indian prince, and is perhaps the most fervent and devoted supporter of British rule that can be found in the country. His influence is great, he commands universal respect among men of his own and other creeds, and he stands on the threshold of great opportunities. He has remarkable abilities, singular soundness of judgment, and wide knowledge of men and affairs. Few people who have only met him in society and seen but one attractive phase of a many-sided character, would credit the extent of his studies and the breadth of his reading. He is still quite a young man, and his career will be worth following. If he is true to himself, if he elects to stand on his own legs and to trust his own judgment, he may play a great and valuable and honourable part in the years that are to come. That is why I have thought it worth while to pause in order to describe briefly the manner of man the leader of the deputation to Lord Minto is.

The memorial emphasised the irrefutable principle that the Mahomedans are a distinct community, with special interests of their own which are not shared by other communities. It pointed out that they had not hitherto had that share, either in representation on the Legislative Councils or in the ranks of Government servants, to which their numbers and position entitled them; and it respectfully, but pointedly, warned the Government of the "political significance of the monopoly of all official influence by one class." It may be said at once that the admirable character of Lord Minto's reply made a deep impression throughout India, and has done much to raise the Viceroy in the popular estimation. Of course, he made no pledges upon points of detail; the promoters of the deputation never expected that he would. But he accepted with sympathy and directness the principles propounded in the address, and thus fulfilled the great object of the movement, which was really a timely effort to remind the authorities that because the Mahomedans had been inarticulate so long, it did not follow that they would be content to see themselves persistently thrust aside in favour of more insistent communities. The Mahomedans are thoroughly satisfied with Lord Minto's reply, and not a word in it has given offence to the Hindus. Intense interest

has been taken in India in the Viceroy's tactful and guarded reference to the current unrest. He rightly complimented the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal on the "moderation and restraint" which they had shown; and, at the same time, he quite justly and properly expressed himself in sympathy with "all that is sincere in Bengal sentiment." His most important remark in regard to the new province was that its future was now, he hoped, assured. If that remark means that there is to be no more talk of re-opening the Bengal partition question, it is the soundest observation that has fallen from Viceregal lips for many a long day. On the whole, a surprisingly able speech. The significance of the deputation is fully appreciated by the Hindu press, which is busily engaged in accusing Britons in India of setting one great community against another. The accusation is wholly untrue for the movement which led to the deputation was entirely self-originated. Assiduous efforts are also being made to belittle the importance of the deputation, but they have defeated themselves. The Hindu agitators of Calcutta are greatly chagrined because their claim that the Mahomedans and the Hindus are wholly united in their aspirations has been disproved. At their meetings they push into the forefront obscure Mahomedans who are regarded with scorn by the really influential men of their own community; but these tactics deceive nobody. The fact is that such latent antagonism as exists between Hindus and Mahomedans is of long standing, and it is chiefly to be found in Northern India. If you would see the best class of Indian Mahomedans, you must go to the United Provinces; and that is where the feeling of antipathy runs highest. Any Briton who deliberately sets himself to widen such breaches as exist between Mahomedans and Hindus would be working evil to British interests. "I sympathise with these Mahomedan aspirations," said an able Hindu to me the other day, "but you must not make the Mahomedans into Pretorian Guards. Remember the outcome of the Pretorian Guards." As a matter of fact, no wise administrator would dream of pursuing so fatal a policy. The whole matter may be summed up by stating that in the past the Mahomedans have been treated with something less than fairness, and they are now asking for equality of treatment. That is all.

It may be useful and appropriate to add here a review of the position in which Indian Mahomedanism stands in regard to the portentous Pan-Islamic movement. I have noticed of late in the reviews and magazines a good many articles on Pan-Islamism, in which frequent and copious references have been

made to India ; but hardly any of these screeds show any practical and informed acquaintance with the question from the Indian point of view. At the same time, they have sometimes betrayed a nervousness and an apprehension which seem unworthy of an Imperial race. The quality which Englishmen need most just now in contemplating their intricate Asiatic affairs is calmness, which should, however, never be allowed to degenerate into indifference. The views here set down may be claimed to possess some degree of authority. They are based on a careful study of the question, and on information gathered not from one source, but from many ; they embody the opinions not only of numerous Mahomedans who are known throughout the country, but of other people who are particularly well informed, although their names are not on every man's lips ; and I may add that I have been too long in India not to be able to perceive when, in the Oriental fashion, a polite informant is telling me that which he thinks I would like to hear, rather than that which is entirely accurate. Pan-Islamism, in the strictest definition of the term, may be dismissed in a very few words so far as India is concerned. Efforts to create a sort of militant unity among the various branches of the professors of the Mussulman faith are not new, though some people seem to think so. I have seen, on the crumbling ramparts of a forgotten fortress in Western India, in a place where the tourist never penetrates, a mighty cannon with a yawning muzzle, bearing upon its side an inscription to the effect that it was made in Constantinople to the order of Sultan Suliman the Magnificent. Suliman was, in a way, the Pan-Islamic precursor of Abdul Hamid. He incidentally sent a fleet to India to drive out the Portuguese, but his warriors were beaten off, and they left their cannon behind them. It was dragged inland to the spot where it now stands in the blazing sunshine, with scampering lizards and stray snakes for company. Some such fate of repulsion, though in more peaceful guise, has attended the few stray emissaries who have reached India from the Bosphorus, sometimes by strangely circuitous routes, in these later days. It is quite true, as stated by a recent writer in *Blackwood*, that batches of inflammatory literature specially prepared for Indian consumption have from time to time reached this country, and have sometimes escaped detection. It is a fact also that certain seditious papers published in Cairo are received in India to a very limited extent. Agents of the Pan-Islamic propaganda have come to India, even quite recently ; but the authorities know how to deal with them, for in this country of open doors and open mouths no alien missionary can hope to pass

unperceived; and doubtless the authorities will know how to deal with them in future. The real point is that India remains wholly untouched by the Pan-Islamic movement in its stricter sense. The bulk of Indian Mahomedans are unaware of its existence. Those who are cognisant of it regard it with a certain amount of amiable and intellectual curiosity and interest, but in hardly any cases with actual sympathy. So far as India is concerned, it stands entirely apart from Pan-Islamism; and there is every reason to believe that it will continue to do so, unless some grave mistake of internal policy converts the untilled fields into receptive soil for the propaganda. It is the duty of the British Administration to see to it that no such opportunity arises.

The personality of the Sultan is, however, a somewhat different question. The writer in *Blackwood*, who seems better informed than the rest, is quite correct when he says of the Mussulman population of India that "Abdul Hamid has acquired a hold upon their imagination which none of his predecessors possessed." Yet it would be easy to exaggerate the importance and the meaning of the attitude of Islam in India towards the Sultan; and whatever the feeling may be, it is in no real sense tinged with Pan-Islamism, as that term is popularly understood. The general feeling may be defined as a somewhat languid respect for, and interest in, the Sultan as the greatest living Mussulman sovereign; and it is only rarely that any tangible indication of its existence is given. Such an example occurred nearly ten years ago, when the Mahomedan quarters of some Indian cities were ablaze with illuminations in celebration of Turkey's victory over Greece. That episode, I should say, was a kind of instinctive rejoicing that the arms of a Mussulman race had been carried to victory. It did not seem in any way associated with the slightest trace of political allegiance to the Sultan, and there was not much trace of spiritual allegiance either. On the other hand, although for some time past the papers have been full of articles and cablegrams about the Sultan's critical state of health, they have attracted little attention, and no prayers for his recovery have been so far offered in the mosques. A Mahomedan organisation in Calcutta issued circulars in Bengal suggesting that prayers might be offered, but the appeal was not responded to with any alacrity. Again, when Great Britain seemed to be on the verge of an open rupture with Turkey about the Tabah incident this spring, the moulvis made no reference to the affair in their harangues in the mosques. It is true that the Sultan's last birthday was celebrated with unusual enthusiasm in an

unusual number of places, and that is a point on which I can find no satisfactory explanation ; but no one seems inclined to attach any particular significance to these celebrations. Such interest as is taken in the Sultan's welfare is of a frankly platonic character ; and this is nowhere more visible than when the pockets of the Faithful are touched. Take, for instance, the case of the Hedjaz Railway, which is supposed to be intended to symbolise the essential unity of the followers of Mahomet, by the manner in which it is being paid for. I think it must be eight or nine years ago since a plausible Mahomedan gentleman first explained to me the scheme for that railway, and said that subscriptions towards it were about to be solicited in India. In the whole of the intervening period, the total sum collected from the 62 millions of Indian Mahomedans, who possess a fair proportion of the wealth of the country, only amounts to three lakhs of rupees, or about £18,000 ; and nearly one-third of this sum came from Rangoon alone, where the Mussulman community includes large numbers of rich and devout Mahomedans from Bombay and Surat. There is not much evidence of enthusiastic interest in this, and the Indian Mahomedans care very little about the construction of a line which will make the communication between Constantinople and Mecca easier. Their interest in Islam is on the whole parochial in character, with the single exception of the Holy Places. But why, it may be asked, should Abdul Hamid be more in their minds than his predecessors ? Well, the answer is very simple, and there is nothing esoteric or sinister about it. There are two or three reasons. In the first place, more is heard about him than his predecessors. Education is spreading, and more Mahomedans read the papers, and there are more Mahomedan papers ; and these papers naturally have a good deal to say about so conspicuous a ruler in Islam. Then, again, whatever else Abdul Hamid may or may not have done, he has certainly " made a name for himself " ; and his prolonged rule has produced considerable sympathy and interest among people who are quite uninformed about its defects. More potent than either of these reasons may be counted the increased facilities for pilgrimage nowadays. In these times when pilgrims go on the Haj in steamers packed like sardine boxes, and when even the inevitable Mr. Cook has seriously thought of organising the journey as a round trip with an inclusive ticket—this is a fact—there are far more Hajis than there used to be. At Mecca they see the Sultan's soldiers guarding the Holy Places, and they hear a great deal about the remarkable recluse of Yildiz Kiosk, and they are duly impressed, and come

back and talk about it all with the loquacity which the Haj seems to develop. Thenceforth they take much more interest in the Sultan than they did before, and their friends generally do likewise, and when they hear that somebody is going to bombard him, or some one else is going to land troops on his territory, they are a good deal concerned and even distressed.

But all this is a very long step from Pan-Islamism, or the existence of feeling of a kind which implies lack of loyalty to the British Crown, or even acknowledgment of the pretensions of the Sultan to exercise authority as Khalif over his co-religionists outside his own dominions. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, the respected Honorary Secretary of the Aligarh College, recently published a paper in which he roundly declared that the Mussulmans of India could not call the Sultan their Khalif in any real sense of the term, nor were they in any sense bound by their religion to obey him. "They are," he said, "subjects of the King-Emperor, and owe their allegiance to him alone." Mohsin-ul-Mulk was rather severely criticised by a few Urdu papers for this declaration, but it is admitted that he was only faithfully reflecting the views of the most learned moulvis of India upon the subject. He pointed out, however, that all the Mahomedans of India had great sympathy and love for the Sultan, and desired the stability of his rule, and were anxious that friendly relations should be maintained between Great Britain and Turkey. This is quite true, of course; and there can be no doubt that Indian Mahomedans really do desire that Downing Street and the Porte should be on good terms, and no doubt, also, that there would be a good deal of hubbub in Mussulman India if a rupture ever occurred. But I think the feeling would probably be limited to genuine and perhaps very plainly expressed distress. It should always be remembered that India has never been subjected in any way to the temporal rule of the Sultan, that it has never heard much about him until lately, and that its point of view is, therefore, totally distinct and different from that of the fellaheen of Egypt towards their nominal suzerain. On the frontier and beyond it the position is rather of another kind. The tribesmen in our borderland Alsatia do not care much for anybody; but the fanatical mullahs who influence them have a knack of roving over half Asia, and they sometimes know all about the Sultan, and are quite ready to preach a "jehad" about him. It is tolerably certain that the war between Turkey and Greece was one of several contributory causes which produced the frontier conflagration of 1897. As to Afghanistan, there were frequent communications between Kabul and Constantinople during the reign of the late Ameer;

and Abdur Rahman, who rather fancied himself as a polemical tractarian, wrote more than one theological pronouncement which did not make for peace and concord. But the present Ameer, though devout enough, seems to concern himself very little at present with Islam outside his own borders. On the whole, it may be said that the apprehensions sometimes expressed regarding the Mahomedans of India are appreciably exaggerated. It has to be remembered, too, that their unity of religious belief does not necessarily represent anything approaching racial unity. The Mahomedans of the United Provinces and the Punjab have a contempt which they frequently do not trouble to conceal for their co-religionists in Bombay, and still more in Bengal. There is much diversity of political views among them. The memorialists who addressed Lord Minto spoke the literal truth when they said, in effect, that many of their number regarded representative institutions with suspicion and some amount of apprehension. There are large numbers of worthy orthodox Mahomedans who even contemplate the progressive and modernising influences of the great Aligarh College with horror and aversion. Very few Mahomedans, educated or otherwise, have had anything to do with the Indian National Congress. The tendency has always been to hold aloof from it ; but the younger generation are drifting towards it, and may eventually be found within its portals if they can find no other outlet for their growing interest in political affairs. One other somewhat curious point may be noted. There are traces of an impression among educated Mahomedans who have visited England, that the present Ministry does not care much about the followers of Islam. The notion really dates back to the days of Mr. Gladstone's Bulgarian speeches. They know enough of English politics to be aware of the intimacy between Radicalism and Exeter Hall, and they know full well the feeling of missionaries regarding the solid barrier which Mahomedanism raises against their activities. If such a feeling exists in England, Heaven and the Nonconformist conscience alone know why. The Mahomedans, taken in bulk, are as loyal to the throne as any of the Indian communities ; and if they cherish their religious convictions with fervour, they do so with a universal devotion which lax Christian England might do worse than emulate in regard to its own faith.

CORRESPONDENCE

AMERICA AND CUBA

To the Editor of THE NATIONAL REVIEW

SIR,—Will you allow me a few lines in which to discuss Mr. Maurice Low's diagnosis of the causes of the recent revolt in Cuba? He attributes the outbreak to the original sinfulness of the Spanish-American temperament, and scouts the idea that Cubans could ever be left to govern themselves.

It is quite true that, as Mr. Low says, the recent re-election of President Palma was vitiated by fraud—he might have added that it was also vitiated by violence—and it is true that this election was the ostensible cause of the revolt ; but Mr. Low did not make any mention of one of the chief factors in the situatlon.

While on a visit to Cuba some seven weeks ago, I heard but one opinion of the real cause of the rebellion—namely, that it was supported and fomented by American capitalists, in the hope that the United States would thus be forced to annex the island. Definite proof of this naturally cannot be brought forward, but this opinion is so general—one might almost say, so universal—in Cuba, that it is difficult to reject it.

The recent election may have provided the excuse for the revolt—and even without possessing more than a man's fair share of original sin, one might well rise in protest against the methods employed by President Palma—but the financial interests in Cuba of American capitalists are strong ; they feel, we may be sure, that under the Stars and Stripes those interests would be more secure, and it is hardly to be doubted that it was these same capitalists who seized the occasion and turned the original sin of the Cubans into a channel which might well prove profitable to themselves.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

HENRY LYGON.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW

No. 287.—January 1907

EPISODES OF THE MONTH

WRITING during the season of peace and goodwill, and on the eve of a New Year, it is gratifying to be able to record a lull in the recent strain and stress of international affairs. Many causes have contributed to this respite—and respites, let us remember, are in their nature temporary—but it would be churlish to refuse to recognise that among the contributory factors are the admirable management of our Foreign Policy by Sir Edward Grey, who *ex hypothesi* has been loyally supported by his colleagues in the Cabinet. To say that he is continuing the policy of his predecessor is beside the mark. International politics are as changeable as an April day; fresh difficulties requiring initiative and resource are continually presenting themselves, and so far the British Foreign Minister has shown that he is as capable as any of his predecessors of meeting the calls upon him, nor should we forget that he has been tested by one dangerous crisis—at Algeciras—when he literally saved the situation. That Sir Edward Grey should be sufficiently large-minded to take Foreign Affairs out of the maelstrom of partisan politics is as much to his credit as it is to the advantage of the nation. After all, no Liberal doctrine was transgressed by the Conservative Foreign Policy of recent years, and no Conservative doctrine need be violated by the Liberal Government. There is general agreement among serious people in both parties as to the general lines of our

Our Foreign Policy.

Foreign Policy. The sole duty of a British Minister is to uphold British interests, using that term in its proper sense, as including an enlightened view of the interests of other Powers. Sir Edward Grey told us when in Opposition that Great Britain must convince her neighbours of her steadfastness by a loyal adherence to existing obligations. In office he has practised what he preached. As a consequence our friendships and alliances have been maintained, and there is every prospect of an extension of the circle of European goodwill by the settlement of several outstanding Anglo-Russian differences, while so far as we know there has been no deterioration in our relations with any other Power. Anglo-American affairs are probably on a more satisfactory footing than they were, and Anglo-German relations have never been better than they are, and if only marplots will stand aside and leave well alone, they will remain as they should be; as the Premier pointed out in an interview at Marienbad some months ago there are no Anglo-German diplomatic difficulties.

Spots on the Sun.

As the Foreign Office is a human institution, worked by human heads and human hands, it would be absurd to pretend that it is infallible. It has made more than one serious mistake. There is, for example, the very questionable appointment of Mr. Bryce, as British Ambassador in Washington, for which, however, the Cabinet is believed to be primarily responsible. Then, again, Great Britain should never have assented to the three per cent. increase of Turkish Customs duties—an unfortunate inheritance from the late Government—which, whatever paper conditions may be imposed as regards Macedonian "reforms," simply means the taxation of British trade for the construction of the pan-German railway to Baghdad; that this enterprise has been brought a stage nearer by our "graceful concession" is clear from an article in this number from our well-informed contributor "Constantinople," which shows, however, that there is yet scope for British diplomacy before Asia Minor becomes an appanage of the Hohenzollerns. Then, again, another luckless legacy from the late Government is "official moral support" of Mr. E. D. Morel's magnificently stage-managed but slightly hysterical Congo agitation, which, though far more artificial than previous Armenian agitations of evil memory, may ultimately inflict as much injury upon British interests. It is unlikely to mitigate the lot of the unhappy victims of Congo misrule, any more than our former

fulminations against the "Great Assassin" helped the unfortunate Armenians, who are estimated by competent observers to have paid for British eloquence to the tune of a hundred thousand lives. We fully recognise that the Congo agitation is run in absolute good faith and without any ulterior motive, but it is idle to blink the fact that it excites almost universal suspicion on the Continent even among friendly Powers. It is regarded abroad as a cloak for British territorial ambitions. Let us hope now that the Belgian Parliament shows signs of appreciating its responsibilities towards the African subjects of King Leopold, that our Congo friends will, so to speak, "give us a holiday." If they must have a field for their humanitarian activities, they might usefully investigate the treatment of the negroes, who are publicly burnt alive, in the Southern States of North America, or that of the natives in certain German-African Colonies, where, according to evidence recently produced in the German Reichstag, the horrors of Congoland are completely eclipsed. But then the United States and Germany are big Powers, fully capable of taking care of themselves; and professional humanitarians, who are wise in their generation, invaribly confine their criticism to those who cannot retaliate. In our opinion, it would be scandalous to commit ourselves to a policy of squandering British blood and British treasure in the African adventure advocated by the *Daily News* and other Nonconformist Jingoes. It is clearly Belgium's business to effect reforms in the Congo Free State. We have neither the men nor the money for wild-cat schemes. It is time that a halt were called to this perilous propaganda. One important change in the methods of our Foreign Policy is urgently needed, *i.e.*, in the settlement of international questions affecting the interests of Greater Britain. At present there is no adequate machinery for apprising the Foreign Office of the views of responsible Colonial statesmen, and the self-governing Colonies are liable to learn from the newspapers that some question of vital concern to themselves has been disposed of without their knowledge, behind their back, and against their wishes. Whatever may be said of the merits of the *modus vivendi* entered into with the United States regarding Newfoundland fisheries, and the Anglo-French Convention on the New Hebrides, the treatment of the British communities immediately concerned is intolerable. The fact is that the Foreign Office has never realised the existence of the British Empire. It remains in the same frame of mind as the Colonial Office was prior to Mr. Chamberlain's *régime*.

Ministerial Assets.

OTHER Ministerial successes, apart from the management of Foreign Affairs, are few and far between. Mr. John Morley has, however, been an agreeable surprise to those who dreaded the consequences of appointing a doctrinaire to the India Office; while Mr. John Burns' sturdy refusal to turn the Local Government Board into a universal soup-kitchen must count to him for righteousness, all the more as it has brought him into bad odour with the Radical Rump, who are intriguing for his transference to some other office. So far Mr. Lloyd-George remains a speech-maker rather than a statesman. He has given few indications of administrative ability, but he has successfully piloted a fairly satisfactory Merchant Shipping Act into port, while among other Liberal assets may be enumerated Mr. Sydney Buxton's pledge to afford British periodicals and newspapers equality of opportunity in Canada with American periodicals and newspapers, an elementary reform which successive Unionist Postmasters-General stolidly refused to effect; then there is Lord Crewe's unsuspected capacity in conducting the Education Bill to its inevitable doom in the House of Lords. Among minor Ministers, so far as we can gather from impartial inquiry in Liberal and Conservative quarters, only Mr. McKenna (Secretary of the Treasury) and Mr. Runciman (Parliamentary Secretary of the Local Government Board), have so far shown any promise. The legend that after ten years of Opposition the Liberal Party would "stagger humanity" by an undreamt-of display of governing ability has been completely exploded. The Radical claque will fail to convince the world that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is the greatest of living men, but it must be admitted that his typewritten jokes have made him a distinct Parliamentary success. The effort to "boom" Mr. Birrell, who is imperishably associated with a great fiasco, is even more ludicrous. Mr. Asquith remains exceedingly unpopular with his own party, who accuse him of shirking his fair share of Parliamentary work, and of leaving his colleagues to bear the brunt of the Opposition onslaught—a domestic difference which no outsider is competent to judge. The Chancellor of the Exchequer will admittedly stand or fall by next year's Budget, of which Ministerialists cherish fantastic expectations. We are inclined to believe that Mr. Asquith will fall, for the simple reason that it passes the wit of man to produce an attractive Budget under our present fiscal system. The Report of the Income Tax Committee shows that "graduation" is likely to prove a snare and a delusion; and even with the criminal collusion of Mr. Haldane and Lord Tweedmouth, the

accumulated cheeseparings of the spending departments will contribute little towards financing Social Reform. If Mr. Asquith had the courage to tax liquor licences, imported luxuries such as motors, silks, toys, &c., while he gave the Colonies a slight preference by reducing existing duties on Colonial products, he might produce both a great and a popular Budget. But, fortunately for his party opponents, his speeches indicate an utter inability to leave the ordinary groove, and as a conseqence we may expect him to exasperate all taxpayers whom he does not disappoint, and to disappoint all those whom he does not exasperate.

Ministerial Failures.

MR. HALDANE is content to be a gigantic gas-bag. If every speech represented an army corps, and every word stood for a soldier, we should by this time be the most formidable military power on the planet. But deeds speak louder than words, and our War Minister's interminable flow of oratory cannot conceal the fact that he has already disbanded some of our cheapest and most efficient battalions, while his declared policy will cripple the Artillery, and must ultimately cause the disappearance of no less than forty thousand British Regulars, who will presumably join the ranks of the unemployed. This is a poor preparation for that "nation in arms" which forms the subject of his nightly panegyric. Mr. Haldane is destined to fall between two stools. He has lost the confidence of all serious people in a vain effort to conciliate Mr. Byles of Bradford, who will not be appeased by anything short of the abolition of the Army. Lord Tweedmouth at least has the intelligence to hold his tongue about his "reforms." He is the Camille Pelletan of the British Navy, and his *régime* will hereafter be held in the same execration as that sinister Frenchman's. In a word, as Mr. H. W. Wilson showed in last month's number of the *National Review*, and as Mr. Carlyon Bellairs, the Liberal Member for King's Lynn, has demonstrated in many excellent speeches and letters, Lord Tweedmouth and his accomplices at the Admiralty are demobilising the British Navy, and compromising our whole future as a Sea Power. The First Lord has, moreover, allowed the Admiralty to disseminate misleading information to the Public press through various journalistic jackals—a completely new departure, which has not enhanced the prestige of "my lords." We trust that the admirable articles on the Navy which have appeared in the *Standard* and the *Spectator* will be republished and distributed broadcast.

The Colonial Office.

FAR the most disastrous of all our Public Departments is, of course, the Colonial Office. Never has any public man consented to occupy a more ignominious position than Lord Elgin, nominally Secretary of State for the Colonies. It is truly painful to see an honoured name dragged in the dust. Mr. Winston Churchill has profited to the utmost by his official superior's ineptitude to insult and irritate every British Colony in turn. Nor has he stopped at verbal hostilities. Whenever possible he inflicts permanent wounds, and needless to say South Africa has provided the principal *corpus vile* for his experiments. Some persons are astonished that a man who ardently espoused the British cause during the war, and stood as a "khaki" candidate in the 1900 election, should now exhibit such animus against the British and such bias in favour of the Boers. There is no enigma here. Mr. Winston Churchill, to do him justice, is not a hypocrite. He is a soldier of fortune who has never pretended to be animated by any motive beyond a desire for his own advancement. He has no principles and no enthusiasm except egoism. "Khaki" was a trump card in 1900, and he played khaki for all he was worth. He left the Unionist Party because promotion tarried. To-day pro-Boerism dominates the Liberal Party, and he is the most vociferous pro-Boer. He always plays up to the loudest gallery. He is the transatlantic type of demagogue("them's my sentiments and if they don't give satisfaction they can be changed") There has never yet been a man of this peculiar temperament in a position of responsibility and power in British politics, and it will be interesting to see how far a politician whom no one trusts will go in a country where character is supposed to count.

Constructive Policy.

HIS MAJESTY'S OPPOSITION have been so completely absorbed in the Parliamentary game that they have had little energy to spare for the vital task of educating the country to the accumulating iniquities of His Majesty's Ministers. Now comes the crowning outrage of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony Constitutions, which are inspired by the principles of "Trust the Boers" and "Distrust the British," coupled with an insane hatred of the great industry which forms the pivot of South African prosperity, and which the Radicals are resolved to ruin if they can. Miss Brooke-Hunt delivered an excellent lecture at Bolney House on December 12 under the auspices of the Women's Unionist and Tariff Reform

League, on the impressions she had formed during a recent tour in South Africa, of the effects of Liberal policy, which should serve as a valuable brief to Unionist speakers, and we hope that the powerful indictment of "The Government and Policy of Hate" which we publish from the pen of Mr. Arnold Forster, will help to rouse the country to the peril threatening the Empire from these wreckers and buccaneers. Like other thinking Unionists, Mr. Arnold Forster realises the need for a constructive Unionist policy, and he has promised to discuss this all important question in the following number of the *National Review*. No Party can live on a succession of negatives. Mr. Bonar Law, who now stands in the front rank of our public men, has more than once spoken in this sense, especially in his stirring speech at the Annual Meeting of the Tariff Reform League at Caxton Hall on December 7; and Mr. Austen Chamberlain during his recent Irish pilgrimage, which was a conspicuous success from every point of view, also emphasised the need for a positive policy, pointing out that Home Rule was defeated by a combination of Unionism *cum* Social Reform. The same idea prevailed at the first meeting of the Metropolitan Division of the National Union on December 11, when the following resolution was carried unanimously by the assembled Conservatives, representing all the local Associations of London: "While fully recognising the importance of the critical duties of His Majesty's Opposition, the Metropolitan Division of the National Union would respectfully urge upon the Unionist leaders the desirability of considering a constructive policy." We trust that these significant signs of the times may not be wholly lost upon our Olympian leaders, Mr. Balfour and Lord Lansdowne, and that the Central Conservative Office, under the new chief agent, Mr. Percival Hughes, who has a high reputation, will at last wake up to the needs and wishes of the Party. Mr. Balfour told us so long ago as February 14 that "Fiscal Reform is and must remain the first constructive work of the Unionist Party." Nine hundred and ninety-nine Unionists out of every thousand agree with him, and they ask that the Party shall devote itself to securing a national mandate for that policy. We warn our Front Bench that should the official boycott of Tariff Reform continue there will be an explosion of opinion among the rank and file which will surprise all the mandarins, and will endanger those personal vested interests to which Party interests and national interests have so long been subordinated by Mr. Balfour and his colleagues.

PARLIAMENT was prorogued on December 21 until February 12 by a Royal Speech of unusual length. Graceful allusions to the marriage of the King and Queen of Spain and the visit of the King and Queen of Norway were followed by the conventional declaration that "my relations with foreign powers continue to be friendly." There were brief references to the Algeciras Conference, Crete, Macedonia, the Anglo-French and Anglo-Italian Agreements concerning Abyssinia, the New Hebrides Convention, the delimitation of various African frontiers, the Brussels Convention on the liquor traffic, and the approaching visit of the Ameer of Afghanistan to the Governor-General of India, "which is a gratifying indication of the amicable relations" between the Ameer and "my Government." The allusions to South Africa added insult to injury. The establishment of Responsible Government in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony was described as likely to "exert a powerful influence not only in securing the peace and prosperity of both Colonies, but in contributing to the unity and strength of my possessions in South Africa." The Speech closed with a recital of the measures placed on the Statute Book during the past Session (artlessly described by the *Daily News* as "a record of triumphant progress"), which completely knocks the bottom out of the bogus agitation against the House of Lords for obstructing the will of the people. The new legislation deals with Irish Labourers, Irish Town Tenants, Merchant Shipping, Trade Disputes, Workmen's Compensation, Agricultural Holdings (Land Tenure), &c. &c. It is superfluous to point out that none of these magnificent measures could have been placed on the Statute Book without the concurrence and co-operation of the House of Lords, which so far from thwarting the national wishes, might not unreasonably be accused of yielding too easily to a temporary majority of the House of Commons, which by no means represents the real division of opinion in the country. Moreover, the Lords have not only swallowed every measure paraded in the Royal Speech, but in the closing hours of the Session, they passed the Bill for the Feeding of School Children (excluding Scotland), which provoked Mr. Harold Cox, a Radical member of the House of Commons, to declare, "the Peers have demonstrated their absolute incapacity to act as a Second Chamber, because they ought to have rejected this Bill *in toto*."

Prorogation of Parliament.

No Second Chamber in the world would have absorbed anything approaching the amount of legislation which their Lordships have managed to assimilate during the last few weeks, though we should hesitate to say, given our peculiar political situation, that they could wisely have acted otherwise. The Peers have proceeded on an intelligible principle. They interpreted the General Election as a general mandate in favour of Social Reform, and they have accepted all those measures which might conceivably be regarded as lightening the lot of other classes of the community without any regard to their own personal predilections or material interests. They have confined themselves to amending or rejecting purely punitive measures inspired by Radical class hatred or sectarian animosity. The whole case against them rests on their summary dismissal of the Plural Voting Bill, and their amendment of the Education Bill. The rejection of the former was moved by Lord St. Aldwyn, better known as Sir Michael Hicks Beach, in a concise amendment which speaks for itself:

Plural Voting Bill.

> That this House, while willing to consider a complete scheme for reforming the Parliamentary franchise and securing the fair representation of the people, declines to take into consideration a measure which, while professing to remove an anomaly in our electoral system, imposes penalties on persons registered as voters for exercising the franchise with which they are entrusted by law, indirectly destroys ancient and important constituencies, and does nothing to remove the most glaring inequalities in the present distribution of electoral power.

As the *Spectator*, which deserves great credit for the manner in which it has kept the principle of "one vote one value" to the front during the last ten years, points out, under the system which the Radicals are anxious to perpetuate, "Galway has 16,257 inhabitants and returns one Member; Wandsworth has 179,877 inhabitants and returns one Member; Kilkenny has a population of 13,242, and returns one Member; the Romford Division of Essex has 217,085 inhabitants and has the same weight in the council of the nation as Kilkenny." There has been no audible resentment of the refusal of the Lords to allow the Radicals to Bannermander the constituencies, in any section of the community outside the Radical Caucuses, and we wish our opponents joy of any agitation which they may set on foot in favour of this disgraceful because dishonest measure.

Mr. Birrell's Fiasco.

THE Birrelligious Education Bill was doomed to failure from its birth, because it was throughout animated by the single desire to transfer the grievances which Nonconformists professed to find intolerable under Mr. Balfour's Bill of 1902, on to the shoulders of other denominations, especially the Church of England, which is the peculiar object of dissenting animosity. All the threatened denominations and all lovers of fair play detested the Bill as presented to and passed by the House of Commons by means of the "gag and guillotine." The Lords from the outset accepted the two main principles upon which the General Election had turned so far as it turned on Education, viz., popular control over all elementary schools, and the abolition of tests for teachers. They were willing to surrender the management of all denominational schools to the local authority. But they insisted on eliminating the more glaring injustices which Mr. Birrell had weakly allowed Dr. Clifford and Mr. Lloyd-George to insert in the Bill of which he was the nominal author. Ministers retaliated by trying to split the Opposition. They made invidious exceptions in favour of Catholic and Jewish schools, thereby showing that their prejudice against denominationalism is purely political, being primarily directed against the Church of England. They succeeded by some nefarious means in squaring the Irish Nationalists, who are always for sale, and whose betrayal of Catholic schools brought upon them a well-merited castigation from the Catholic Bishop of Limerick, who described their treason as having been arranged "by one of the political brokers who carry the Irish vote in their breeches pocket." But the Duke of Norfolk and the English Catholics remained loyal, realising that the so-called "extended facilities" would leave the Catholic schools absolutely at the mercy of their enemies. We need not trouble our readers with any detailed account of the sham negotiations between the Peers and the Government, because the hypocrisy of the whole proceeding has been "given away" by the ingenuous Lord Crewe, who in a burst of candour informed the House of Lords, "I have no hesitation in saying that from the moment the negotiations began, I had not the faintest expectation that they would meet with the slightest success," which provoked the retort from Lord Goschen, "Ah! the noble Lord knew the minds of his colleagues. We now see the spirit in which they approached the controversy"; to which Lord Crewe, realising his *faux pas*, feebly rejoined that it was the attitude of the other side that had led him to this instantaneous conclusion. These "negotiations" finally broke down on an elementary but vital principle on which

it was impossible for the Lords to give way, viz., the right of teachers to volunteer to give denominational education to the children of parents who desired them to receive it. The story of the shipwreck of the Bill is succinctly told in an article in the *Morning Post*, which we quote because our contemporary has been frequently extolled and exploited by the Radicals on account of its benevolence towards the Bill:

> The Government insisted on three points. First, no teacher in a transferred voluntary school was to be allowed to give denominational teaching unless the local educational authority expressly sanctioned his doing so—in other words, a local authority hostile to the Church of England might at its pleasure and without appeal have silenced every voluntary school teacher in its area so far as the giving of denominational teaching was concerned. Secondly, the Government insisted that no head teacher in a transferred voluntary school should be allowed in any circumstances to give denominational teaching. This distinction between the head and the assistant teachers was indefensible in itself and unlikely to promote the smooth working of the arrangements of the school. Thirdly, the Government demanded that no teacher whatever in a transferred voluntary school in a rural parish where there was no other school should be allowed to give the denominational teaching unless the school provided accommodation for more than two hundred and fifty children and the local authority considered that the circumstances of the case justified the permission. This figure was put far too high. It would have excluded the vast majority of country schools. Moreover, no clergyman or other outside teacher could effectively cope with the task of giving denominational teaching to more than one hundred children a week within the hours really available for the purpose. Upon these hard terms the Government took a stubborn stand. To accept them was impossible.

A Bogus Agitation.

THE House of Commons had insolently rejected the Lords' amendments *en bloc*, and the latter retaliated by rejecting the illusory concessions proposed by Ministers manœuvring for position, and anxious to throw the odium on their opponents of killing a Bill which had occupied so much Parliamentary attention. On January 20 the defunct measure was buried in the House of Commons, after a mock-heroic funeral oration from Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, containing the following gems: "The resources of the British Constitution are not wholly exhausted (cheers), the resources of the House of Commons are not exhausted (cheers), and I say with conviction that the way must be found, a way will be found, by which the will of the people expressed through their elected representatives in this House will be made to prevail." After these heroics the least to be expected was a dissolution, but the outraged representatives of the people contented themselves with adjourning for the holidays, and possibly

in the serener atmosphere of their own homes, Ministers will realise that they have made considerable fools of themselves. They might usefully ponder the advice of Mr. Philip Snowden, the Labour member for Blackburn, in the *Tribune*, of all places: "I disapprove entirely of this attempt to raise another bogus agitation against the House of Lords to distract public attention from Liberal failures." It is curious that a professional jester like Mr. Birrell should have as little sense of humour as the average Suffragette. He goes about weeping and wringing his hands, and, like Rachel, refuses to be comforted. According to the *Daily Chronicle*, he will receive the Irish office as a consolation prize for his failure as a legislator. We fear this rumour is too good to be true. It would be a happy omen that the Minister who has made such a hideous mess of the Education Bill should be entrusted with the new Home Rule Bill, the defeat of which will be the principal duty of the Unionist Party this year. In this connection we earnestly invite our readers' attention to our Special Supplement on "The Irish Separatist Conspiracy," which we publish in the hope that it may contribute to rouse our Unionist contemporaries, some of whom seem to be suffering from Sleeping Sickness, to the approaching danger of national disintegration.

Lord Milner.

CONSPICUOUS among the episodes of the closing month of the year 1906 were Lord Milner's first appearances at political gatherings, viz., at Manchester on December 14, and at Wolverhampton on December 17. His impressive and illuminating speeches afford a most welcome relief to the stock "pot and kettle" party oratory. They have materially helped to clear the air and to recall the country to some sense of perspective as between parliamentary and national affairs. Lord Milner resolutely refuses to regard himself either as a party man or as a political leader, but if a statesman possess gifts which inspire others with a desire to follow him, he can neither divest himself of leadership nor prevent them from forming a Party. No other man commands the confidence of the serious part of the community to a greater degree than Lord Milner, and we refuse to renounce the hope that he may ultimately be found in his proper place as British Premier, however repulsive he may find that position. When the country is satiated with partisanship it will gratefully turn to statesmanship. At the banquet held in his honour at the Manchester Conservative Club, under the Chairmanship of Lord Newton, who is to be warmly congratulated on, so to speak, "bringing

out" Lord Milner, the latter, after a passing reference to the South African tragedy, declared that he had come "to break a lance in favour of that school of thought which holds that the maintenance and consolidation of what we call the British Empire should be the first and the highest of all objects for every subject of the Crown." "An expert electioneerer" had told him that "'Imperialism as a political cry is as dead as Queen Anne.'" But electioneerers forgot that "to some of us it is not a cry but a creed," and to those who held it as a creed such a statement, however depressing, was "not likely to induce them to abjure it. On the contrary, the more what they believe to be truth is obscured, the more they will be impelled to try and relume it, or if they cannot do that, at least to show forth their own unshaken faith in it in its eclipse." The eclipse might be temporary, all the more as it was due almost entirely to "a misunderstanding." The thoughts and affections of Englishmen were alleged to have been diverted from the "mirage" or "fetish" of Imperialism by the demand for "Social Reform," which meant the potential and growing movement seeking "to employ the resources and energies of the State in ameliorating the condition of the mass of the people, in raising their material, intellectual, moral standard of life, in giving even the humblest cause to rejoice in his birthright as a British citizen." That was "a noble ideal," which he not only sympathised with, but believed that the action of the State could do a great deal to promote.

Social Reform and Imperialism.

But where, asked Lord Milner, was the antagonism between Social Reform and Imperialism? They were "inseparable ideals, absolutely inter-dependent and complementary to one another. The vast fabric of the Empire could only be sustained by the strength of the whole people. You must have soundness at the core, health, intelligence, industry, and this cannot be general without a fair average standard of material well-being. Poverty, degradation, physical degeneracy, these will always be. But can any patriot, above all can any Imperialist, rest content with our present record in these respects? If he cares for the Empire he must care that the heart of the Empire should beat with a sounder and less feverish pulse." On the other hand, what was to become of all our social well-being if our material prosperity became undermined? "This country must remain a great Power or she will become a poor country; and those who in seeking, as they are most right to seek, social improvement, are tempted to neglect national strength, are simply building their house on the sand.

'This ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.'" But greatness was relative. Physical limitations alone forbade that these islands by themselves should remain a Power of the first rank. But Greater Britain could, humanly speaking, remain such a Power for ever, and "by so remaining will ensure the safety and the prosperity of all the States composing it, which again, humanly speaking, nothing else can equally ensure." That was surely an object "which in its magnitude, in its direct importance to the welfare of many generations, millions upon millions of human beings, is out of all proportion to the ordinary objects of political endeavour." But it could not be attained easily, nor would it come of itself. There were many who thought that while the continued unity and co-operation of the various States of the Empire was highly desirable, constructive statesmanship could do nothing to promote it, while it was even dangerous to make the attempt. In their view we should confine ourselves to the cultivation of friendly sentiments, the development of intercourse, better means of communication, greater postal and telegraphic facilities, and other such non-political means of promoting intimacy and good understanding. "But then these are all things which we should desire even in the case of foreign nations." This brought Lord Milner to the core of the question. "Is our attitude to the other States of the Empire to be just that which we ought to adopt towards any friendly foreign nation, or are we to aim at something much closer and more intimate?" Imperialists could only give one answer to this question. Our kinsmen under the Flag were not foreigners to us or to one another, but fellow citizens, and such we wanted them to remain. "One Throne, one Flag, one citizenship. These are existing links of inestimable value. No friendship, no alliance even with foreign countries, however strong, can give you anything to compare with them—any ties with roots so deep, with a vitality so enduring, or with a result so precious." As Lord Milner finely said, "our common citizenship is one of those great familiar blessings which men are apt to realise only when they have lost them."

Constructive Statesmanship.

IMPERIALISTS were not content that the States of the Empire should slide into the relationship of foreign nations to one another. But, like Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Milner believes that we shall so slide, "unless a far-sighted statesmanship, availing itself of the still intensely strong—and, indeed, I hope growing—desire for Imperial unity can devise means to counteract the forces—

great natural forces, not certainly insuperable but very formidable—which make silently, constantly, for disintegration." Without the sentiment of unity there could be no union; but sentiment alone did not constitute a practical and effective union, it only made it possible. It was the raw material out of which statesmen could fashion the completed fabric—*i.e.*, a real political organism which would be permanent and capable of sustaining the strain to which it was bound to be exposed. The United States would never have become the great nation we know had she not at the crucial moment possessed statesmen of exceptional ability and power, who had known how to "take occasion by the hand," and "weld together what nature no doubt intended to be, but what it required human energy to make, one body politic." Lord Milner did not suggest that any colossal calamity was impending in the absence of some immediate exceptional step. But he dreaded our drifting towards dissolution. We could not afford to go on missing opportunities of strengthening old links and forging new ones to arrest that process of disintegration which was a natural, though by no means unavoidable result of the independent development of the different parts of the Empire. We had already missed too many opportunities, and he confessed to having been a sinner in this respect, and he would never forgive himself for not having suggested that every important step in the settlement of South African affairs after the war should have been taken in consultation with the other Colonies, who had co-operated in preserving the integrity of the Empire. While any part of South Africa was under temporary tutelage, the tutelage ought to have been really Imperial and not merely British. "The ward should have been the ward of the family, not merely of the Mother Country." The coming Colonial Conference afforded yet another opportunity of consolidating the Empire, and the speaker made the valuable suggestion that the British Prime Minister should preside over the deliberations of the visiting Prime Ministers as *primus inter pares*, as the self-governing Colonies could not be said, except in theory, to be "under the Colonial Office, or indeed under any British authority except the King." The difference between them and the United Kingdom ought to be regarded as one of stature and not of status—a difference which, however great to-day, must tend to disappear. After a feeling reference to the immense void caused by Mr. Chamberlain's temporary absence from active politics, for though not actually participating in the Conference, he would have exercised an invaluable influence in "putting all its members upon their

mettle," Lord Milner referred to "the awkward fact" that the one thing which the Colonial representatives were most anxious to discuss was precisely that which would embarrass British representatives. Colonial Imperialists, almost without exception, regarded the principle of Preferential Trade among the members of the Imperial family as the most important practical step towards closer union, and at the last Conference in 1902 the Premiers had unanimously supported a resolution in favour of Imperial Reciprocity. In the interval Canada had continued, and South Africa had accorded, Preference to the Mother Country, and Australia was trying to follow in the same direction, while in the absence of any response from here, the Colonies were beginning to practise Preference among themselves.

Sympathy *v.* Cold Water.

In the face of these facts, it was mere trifling to question the prevalent desire of the Colonies on this question. But for our reluctance, reciprocal and preferential treatment would rapidly become the rule throughout the Empire. Great Britain blocked the way. But was it necessary that she should continue to block it so hopelessly, even under existing conditions? As Lord Milner observed, even the present British Government could adopt a less rigid attitude than it had done hitherto; and whatever may be our views upon the principle of Preference, we must all admit that it was, to say the least of it, unfortunate that the Mother Country should reject advances made to her by the Colonies "in what they believe to be our as well as their interest, and that no British Government would be justified in adopting in such a matter an attitude more unsympathetic than that of the nation behind it." Granting that his Majesty's Ministers would be justified in telling the Colonies that for the present the people of these islands were not prepared to consider any further taxation of the necessaries of life, or even any readjustment of such taxation as already existed, whatever compensating advantages were offered, they would not be justified in declaring that the British people were hostile to the principle of Imperial Preference. "I absolutely deny that the British people have ever decided anything of the kind, or, apart from the particular proposal of the tax on corn, that they have ever even considered it." There was all the difference in the world whether the Mother Country appeared to the Colonies as wholly rejecting the brotherly principle of preferential trade, or as simply rejecting a particular tariff. The Colonies had no desire whatsoever to dictate our tariff to us, nor did they ask for any sacrifice of our own interests for the purpose of giving them

preference. They were all accustomed to fix their own tariff in the first instance to suit their own interests, and they expected us to do the same. But while thinking of themselves first, they thought of the other members of the family second, and the rest of the world third; and "if we are indeed a family, is that not simply natural and right? And when have the people of this country rejected that point of view?" Lord Milner reminded us of what many Tariff Reformers have consistently forgotten, that there are several articles even in our present restricted lists of dutiable imports on which we could discriminate in favour of the Colonies, and though the practical consequences of our doing so would be slight, the moral effect on the Empire would be momentous. Moreover, it was childish to treat our present list of dutiable imports as immutable and eternal, as though we had attained the highest plane of human wisdom on this matter. And if in the course of time we should modify our commercial policy, as the Colonies believed we must in our own interests, there would be far more scope for Preference than existed at present. The real question was whether we sympathised with the principle.

Our Answer.

If we told the Colonies at the approaching Conference that though we did not see our way at present to reciprocal arrangements, we would leave the door open for future consideration, it might be discouraging, but it would not "deter the Colonies from continuing to give a preference to British goods." They would confidently look to the future. But if, on the other hand, we said to them, "go your way, we love you very much, but do not suppose that we will ever dream of having closer relations with you than with other people — we object in principle to all such sordid bonds," we might kill the Preferential Trade movement in the Colonies, and a great many other things as well, and we should not have long to wait before other nations approached them and attempted to secure the reciprocal advantages which we had rejected; and once let foreign goods into a British Colony on more favourable terms than British goods, "and you get a state of things so unnatural, so conducive to estrangement, if not to friction, that it makes closer union in other respects infinitely more difficult and probably impossible. I do not say that other bonds of Empire might not for a time resist even that strain, but it would be a fatal blunder to expose them to it." Lord Milner also suggested the creation of a permanent consultative Commission, which, between the periodical Conferences, should act as a common organ of the peoples of the Empire, upon

any question arising between a Colony and a foreign State of which we had a recent instance in Newfoundland. We must replace our present happy-go-lucky system by some method of common deliberation about external affairs, which in itself would bring us to the problem of mutual insurance. This admirable speech concluded as follows:

> I have tried to state the case simply, honestly, without personal or party animus, without rhetorical artifice, and without exaggeration. Empire and Imperialism are words which lend themselves to much misuse. It is only when stripped of tawdry accessories that the ideas which they imperfectly express can be seen in their real greatness. Our object is not domination or aggrandisement. It is consolidation and security. We envy and antagonise no other nation, but we wish the kindred peoples under the British flag to remain one united family for ever. And we believe that it is only by such union that they can attain their highest individual development, and exercise a decisive influence for peace, and for the maintenance of that type of civilisation which they all have in common in the future history of the human race.

An "Ishmaelite."

On December 17 Lord Milner addressed a mass meeting, mainly composed of working men, at Wolverhampton in support of the candidature of Mr. L. S. Amery, one of the most brilliant members of the Unionist Party, who is setting his Party an admirable example by the steadfastness and devotion with which he is sticking to his self-appointed task of converting Sir Henry Fowler's constituency—one effect of his strenuous efforts being the postponement of a long-expected peerage through Radical fear of a disastrous by-election. Since Mr. Chamberlain's temporary retirement, there has been no speech approaching that of Lord Milner on this occasion. It made a profound impression upon the great popular audience who heard it, and an equal impression on the greater audience who have read it. It teemed with practical sagacity, and its power may be gauged by the suggestive fact that it was substantially boycotted by the entire Radical press, save for a few characteristic sneers and jeers in the *Westminster Gazette*. Lord Milner reiterated his cross-Bench confession of faith, describing himself as "a free-lance, a sort of political Ishmaelite, who has found hospitality in the Unionist camp," but whose views taken as a whole "would give any party-manager a fit." Not only was he "an Imperialist of the deepest die," but he was actually an accomplice in Lord Roberts' attempt "to persuade his countrymen not to rely entirely upon paying a small portion of their number to fight for the rest, but to establish our national security upon a broader basis, and one, if I may say it without offence, more compatible with self-respect." He agreed with everything which Mr. Haldane and Lord Rosebery had lately been saying upon

the subject of "'a nation in arms' and the duty of every man to be ready to defend his country," but he went further than they did, as he could not see, "if this really is the duty of every man and a duty of supreme importance to the State, why the performance of that duty should be left quite optional, when the discharge of so many minor public duties is not so left, without any reasonable creature making a grievance of that fact." Either a great national reservoir of men was a vital public necessity, or it was not, and if it was not, "why make all this enormous fuss about it and spend so much money upon a luxury?" But if it were necessary, "how extraordinary to leave it to chance, to individual preference or convenience to decide whether you get it or not?" Lord Milner would establish one period of military training for men of all classes on the threshold of manhood, as part of the education of the citizen, which would at once provide the material for our small professional army, which would still be voluntarily recruited, and also for that great national reservoir which all experts declared to be required. Those who had seen what universal service had done for certain foreign nations believed that it would be a blessing in disguise to a country living so largely in crowded industrial centres as ours. He differed diametrically from those who assumed that universal service would make us more warlike. "Professional soldiers may sometimes wish for war. And an unmilitary mob does often clamour for it, from an unhealthy love of excitement, as for some gladitorial show. They would feel very differently if they had themselves to be the gladiators." In a democratic State with a national militia, the men who decided upon war were the same men who, or whose children, would have to wage it, and they thought twice before taking the plunge, while other nations also thought twice before quarrelling with them. This, we believe, is the first occasion upon which the doctrines of the National Service League have been openly proclaimed upon a public platform by a civilian statesman of the front rank, and the reception of Lord Milner's remarks at Wolverhampton should encourage apprehensive politicians who keep their ear glued to the ground.

"I am a Tariff Reformer."

LORD MILNER also confessed to another "heresy." "Let me say that I am a Tariff Reformer, and one of a somewhat pronounced type"—a clear and categorical declaration which should serve to silence the persistent allegation that Lord Milner is out of sympathy with the Chamberlain policy. In his opinion "duties on imported goods are a sound, as they are an almost universal, way of raising revenue."

We should have a moderate all-round tariff in which exemptions should be the exception, though there were certain large classes of raw material which must remain on the free list. On the other hand, he would look askance at high rates on particular articles of a deliberately protective or penal character, though in the case of the crushing of a home industry by unfair competition, "why should it seem so wicked to protect it? You say, 'Oh, but we get the goods cheaper'"; to which he replied, "We have no right to profit by an injustice done to one class of producers, nor do we in the long run any of us profit by permitting it. Stolen goods also are cheap. Pirated books are cheap. Goods made in violation of a patent are cheap. The setting up of cheapness as the sole and final test is an anarchic principle." No doubt an all-round tariff, however moderate, had a certain protective tendency, and a general tendency to benefit all producer-consumers at the expense of consumers who were not also producers; and it also had a tendency to encourage the investment of capital at home instead of abroad, and to increase the output and keep up the spirits of home industry. These seemed to him good tendencies. Our present tariff was based on quite opposite principles. It was confined to very few articles upon which the heavy and "sometimes perfectly enormous" duties were imposed, as in the case of tobacco, against which "it rages with peculiar fury. I must say I have a great sympathy with poor tobacco. I can see the reasons for tremendous duties on spirits, but not for this ferocious attack upon the innocent pipe." By raising almost all our Customs revenue from a very few articles of universal consumption, rich and poor were made to contribute in nearly equal amounts, despite the great disparity of their resources. "It is really a sort of graduation against the less well-to-do." Such a change of policy as he favoured would have two further momentous consequences, as it would enable us to enter into a common partnership with the rest of the Empire, and it would give us "an enormous revenue." The only alternative was economy, of which there was only one kind which would afford any substantial relief to the Treasury, and we should have to pay dearly for it afterwards, viz., the cutting down of our defensive forces. There had been "very strong criticism from very competent quarters of what is called the 'reorganisation' of the Navy," to the effect that the Government, while claiming to be saving money on the Navy by an improved distribution of strength, was in actuality "reducing the fighting efficiency of the Fleet." Lord Milner spoke strongly on the subject of Social Reform, which, as we have continually maintained, is inextricably associated with the problem of Fiscal Reform. He

refused "to join in the hue and cry against Socialism," although undoubtedly there was an odious form of Socialism which attacked wealth simply because it was wealth, and lived on the cultivation of class hatred. But there was a nobler kind which was born of genuine sympathy and a lofty and wise conception of national life, which realised that we were not merely so many millions of individuals, each struggling for himself, "with the State to act as policeman, but literally one body politic, that the different classes and sections of the community are members of that body, and that when one member suffers all the members suffer."

Business—not Philanthropy.

FROM this standpoint the effort to increase the well-being and efficiency of the more backward of our people was not so much philanthropy as business. If Old Age Pensions were necessary, they were a deplorable necessity, which was due to the fact that low wages and irregular employment made it impossible for our people to make provision for their old age. "I believe that is true, and that being true it is not only more humane, it is from the national point of view more politic, not to condemn innocent poverty to the workhouse," but wise men would rather strike at the causes of low wages and unemployment than merely mitigate their effects. "The necessity of old age pensions is a confession of national failure," which was due in a great part to the want of protection, in the broader sense of the word, of great national industries. The decline of any great British industry was a national loss which might in some cases be regarded with indifference, but it was surely better to pay a little more for our goods, and keep thousands of people in productive work than to pay a little less for our goods, and have ultimately to devote the difference to the relief of pauperism. Of course we were told that the money saved on the cheapening of goods could be spent on new industries and new employment. But the new industry was not necessarily as desirable as the old, and would not necessarily be in this country. Lord Milner confessed that he was "not large-minded enough to be interested in the total wealth of the world," even were he sure that universal unregulated competition would produce the greatest total wealth.

My ideal is to see the greatest number of people living healthy and independent lives by means of productive work in our own country. . . . I am not an individualist and I am not a cosmopolitan. The conception which haunts me is the conception of the people of these islands as a great family, bound by indissoluble ties to kindred families in other parts of the world, and within its own borders striving after all that makes for productive power, for social

harmony, and, as a result of these and as the necessary complement and shield of these, for its strength as a nation among the nations of the earth.

This great speech is destined to exercise a more profound influence on the Fiscal controversy than any utterance since the Glasgow speech of October 1903. It will hereafter be regarded as marking an epoch in the change from insular Free Imports to Imperial Reciprocity.

American Reciprocity or Imperial Preference.

LORD MILNER'S impressive warning against the danger of continually missing opportunities of unifying the British Empire is emphasised by the new Canadian "offer" of Preference, of which a full and instructive account will be found in "Greater Britain." The risks of continued callousness on the part of the Mother Country are clearly brought out in a remarkable letter in the *Times* (December 14), signed "Tariff Reformer," suggestively entitled "Imperial Preference or American Reciprocity?" We do not believe that any Englishman calling himself an Imperialist, and *ex hypothesi* caring about the continuance of the Empire, or who as a good Little Englander desires the prosperity of these islands, can read this letter unmoved. As "Tariff Reformer" points out, the issue before us is no longer between preference and non-preference, but between "a preferential system in which England is to be included and one from which England is to be excluded and her place taken by a rival." The Colonies must have preferential trade, which is vital to their own development, and the single question is, with whom are they to enter into reciprocal relations? "Patriotic and commercial motives alike make them desirous of establishing that preferential trade with this country." But if we persist in refusing even to consider an arrangement, they are bound to look for a more accommodating partner elsewhere. In their eyes the mutual advantages of Imperial Preference are so obvious that they simply cannot understand our hesitations and delays, and the late General Election has created a profound sense of discouragement among patriotic men throughout the Colonies, and has tended to strengthen the separatist movement everywhere. In Canada it has revived the defunct desire for reciprocity with the United States, and the shrewder Americans, who in the past have treated Canadian "offers" almost as thoughtlessly as we are treating them to-day, are now fully alive to their value, and as "Tariff Reformer" points out, "the distinctive feature of the movement to-day is that it is from the American side that the advances are being made." He quotes a remarkable speech of the American

railway magnate, Mr. J. J. Hill, advocating not merely reciprocity, but a complete Customs union between the United States and Canada.

Canadian reciprocity is still possible, largely because of the downfall of the Chamberlain policy in Great Britain. Had that been ratified, had England really granted to the Colonies a preference in its markets based on reciprocal advantages, this country would have felt the double thrust in a decline of business with its greatest and its third greatest customers on two sides of the Atlantic.

The defeat of the plan has not greatly disappointed the dependencies, but it has assured them that for the present they must seek commercial alliances elsewhere. It is, perhaps, the time when reciprocity with Canada may be considered with more favour than it ever can be again. For no man who understands industrial conditions in Great Britain will believe that the issue raised by Mr. Chamberlain is permanently settled, or that unrest and distress there will not at some future time bring it again to the front with better prospects of success.

A Last Opportunity.

ACCORDING to Mr. Hill, the United States is to-day confronted with a great alternative, viz., boundless commercial development through reciprocity with Canada, or the almost certain loss of two of her best markets through Imperial Preference. As "Tariff Reformer" asks, "is not that precisely the alternative that confronts ourselves? Mr. Hill tells his countrymen that this may be their last opportunity. Is he not thereby telling us that this may be our last opportunity too?" Can the most fanatical Cobdenite look on unmoved at the effects upon our economic and political position of the policy espoused by Mr. Hill? It involves, as is made clear elsewhere in his speech,

the eventual complete inclusion of Canada in the American commercia system. The meaning of that for us is that our trade with Canada will be transformed into one of the same character as our trade with the United States, and reduced to a similar proportion. To-day less than six million people in Canada take some twelve million pounds worth of exports from this country, are steadily taking more even under present conditions, and would take many times as much under a really effective preferential system. On the American basis our trade with Canada would be reduced to about one and a half millions. Can we afford to sacrifice ten and a half millions of exports all of them of a class representing high labour values?

How would those who make so much of the hypothetical sufferings attributed to an imaginary rise in prices care to face the prospect of the shrinkage in our national wage-bill implied in the practical loss of our Canadian trade, and as "Tariff Reformer" reminds us, "Canada would be but a beginning. The inclusion of Australia and New Zealand—and New Zealand is already beginning to make reciprocity arrangements with the United States—in the American system would mean an actual loss

of well over 20 millions. And with such an example before it would South Africa resist for ever an offer of German reciprocity merely in order to provide wages for a people who refuse to recognise that mutual accommodation is the first law of commerce?" But it was not merely to save British trade that Mr. Chamberlain commenced his campaign for Imperial Preference. It was above all to unify the British Empire. The American movement for reciprocity is calculated to disintegrate the British Empire. "Give freedom of intercourse," said Mr. Hill, "and the line between the United States and Canada will mean no more than the lines between different States," and he might have added that the link between Great Britain and Canada would mean little more than the link between Great Britain and Massachusetts or Illinois, and we might rest assured that when that result was attained, Australia and New Zealand, confronted with the aggressive economic and military development of Asia,

will inevitably gravitate towards the great White Empire of the New World, whatever the sentimental ties that may connect it to the parti-coloured Eurasian remnant which the name of the British Empire would then stand for in their eyes. And how long would that remnant itself hold together face to face with the aggression of the mighty empire States of the future and with not improbable internal convulsions, if its only stay is to be the economic strength of a small island whose population and powers of production are already steadily diminishing in relation to those of its leading rivals?

The German Danger.

THESE are not agreeable thoughts for the New Year, but it is cowardly to shirk the facts. We only wish we could share "Tariff Reformer's" hope that the Bannerman Government may be sympathetic towards the Colonies at the coming Conference. It would be idle to blink the fact that it contains notorious wreckers like Lord Loreburn (the Lord Chancellor), who rejoices over every injury suffered by the detested British Empire. Doubtless Canada will give us one more chance, but after the Colonial Conference has revealed the hostility of the miscalled Imperial Government, negotiations will probably be opened with the United States. It should be noted that already Mr. Fielding (the Canadian Minister for Finance) has done the United States a good turn by leaving the free list substantially unaltered, by lowering the duty on agricultural machinery, and by the rebates he has introduced on importations of semi-manufactured material for home consumption. The more immediate danger lies in the direction of Germany. The surtax levied by Canada on German products at present is one-third above the rate of the General Tariff. Our Preference is one-third below the General Tariff. That means that hitherto German products have been paying double the

duty which we pay on entrance into the Canadian market. The effect of an arrangement with Germany which will do away with the surtax and bring the Intermediate Tariff into operation so far as Germany is concerned, is practically to put us almost on the same terms as Germany in the Canadian market. Moreover, if an arrangement is made before April, it may tie the hands of Canada in negotiations with the Mother Country. Mr. Fielding assured the Canadian House of Commons that the British Government would not stand in the way of negotiations with foreign countries. Does this mean that Lord Elgin has conveyed a hint to Ottawa that he is ready to connive at the destruction of the British Preference ?

The Channel Tunnel.

Our ever-enterprising contemporary, the *Daily Mail*, is to be warmly congratulated on opening its columns to an exhaustive discussion of the *pros* and *cons* of the policy of continentalising England by means of a Channel Tunnel. There is much force in our contemporary's contention that the fate of this project will be decided one way or the other by the attitude of its countless readers. It is essentially a subject to be settled by the common sense of the country, independently of all party and sentimental considerations, and for this reason it may be as well that men of all parties should be associated with the enterprise. But we still patiently await the production of one single solid, serious argument in its favour, as we can hardly regard the protection of a few tourists against *mal de mer* as a sufficient reason for compromising our impregnable insular position to which we owe not only our national greatness, but our very independence. For an unarmed island like England, enjoying naval supremacy, to deliberately connect herself by a railway with a Continent bristling with army corps, seems to us to savour of dementia, all the more as we are governed by politicians who, whether they be labelled Liberals or Conservatives, notoriously and systematically trifle with the problems of National Defence, and can be trusted neither to keep up an army nor a navy. A Bannerman or a Balfour Cabinet would only realise the possibility that the British end of the Channel Tunnel might be seized by a *coup de main*—after the event. Lord Randolph Churchill, who knew the ways of our mandarins, and whose brilliant speech annihilated the Gladstone-cum-Watkin scheme in the year 1888, painted a priceless picture of the Cabinet Council sitting round "the button" by which, according to the promoter (Sir Edward Watkin), the tunnel could be destroyed in the hour of emergency. "Imagine a Cabinet Council sitting in the War Office, around

the button; fancy the present Cabinet gathered together and having to decide who should touch the button, and the difficulty of coming to a conclusion whether it ought to be touched."

French Pretexts.

THE present *entente cordiale* with France—which has no warmer supporters than ourselves—is admittedly the pretext for reviving an undertaking which we hoped had been finally disposed of. The fact that six members of the present Cabinet approve the enterprise, while the majority of their colleagues avowedly believe in an approaching millennium of perpetual peace, and are supported by a House of Commons, which in ignorance of international affairs and indifference to national interests surpasses all its predecessors, are additional elements of danger. Our well-informed contributor "Ignotus" does well to remind us that *ententes* are essentially ephemeral. It is perilous to rely on the permanence of any international agreement for the simple reason that national interests change. If Mr. Haldane continues "running amok" in the British Army, and Lord Tweedmouth is allowed to go on playing ducks and drakes with the British Navy, we shall eventually lose the *entente* with France, as well as the alliance of Japan. Both these Powers are strengthening themselves by land and sea, at a time when we are weakening ourselves on both elements, and our responsible statesmen are discrediting us by their piteous whining for Disarmament, to which no serious foreign nation is even pretending to listen. Should we continue our present policy the French and the Japanese people will ultimately compel their Governments to shed a degenerate and unworthy ally whose backing would scarcely be worth having even if it could be counted on. A Franco-German alliance is the only working alternative to an Anglo-French understanding, and we must consider the Channel Tunnel on that hypothesis with French soil as hostile. We trust that Englishmen will not allow themselves to be inveigled by the specious phrases of sentimental politicians, who are hypnotised by the "interests of internationalism," or by the insidious arguments of cosmopolitan financiers by whom this country is regarded as a mere milch cow—into allowing our Sea-Power to be undermined. We cannot prevent the advent of the aeroplane, which may ultimately revolutionise our strategic position, but we need not anticipate our fate. Sir Thomas Sutherland, the Chairman of the P. & O., tells us that "Both in and out of the House of Commons I have opposed a Channel Tunnel. I shall continue to do so. We have now a fine frontier; let us maintain it." We believe he expresses the effective

public opinion of the country. It is gratifying to learn that of the immense correspondence inundating the office of the *Daily Mail*, "fully four-fifths oppose the proposal."

The Economics.

THE economic aspects of the Channel Tunnel vitally concern the people of this country, and should serve to condemn it apart from any strategic objections, and if the Municipal Reformers are wise, they will make opposition to the tunnel a prominent plank in their platform at the coming elections for the London County Council, as this insidious project would inevitably deal a heavy blow at the prosperity of the British Metropolis. A carefully prepared paper recently read before the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris, which consists mainly of expatriated Englishmen whose business interests are primarily French, by Mr. William Hanning, engineering member of the Board of Directors (quoted in the *Yorkshire Post* of December 17), reviews the history of the Channel Tunnel, and dwells on its supposed "advantages." According to Mr. Hanning "in a few hours British merchants and travellers could be on the Continent, *and competing with our foreign trade rivals*" (our italics). But he conveniently ignores the fact that fair competition between the two countries is rendered impossible by their conflicting fiscal systems. According to the Fiscal Blue Book, the average French duty upon British commodities is about 34 per cent., while the French enjoy free entry into our market, and as a consequence our export of manufactured goods to France has dwindled lamentably. The French, on their side, do an enormous trade in this country—far larger than the figures show—which would be immensely increased by the Channel Tunnel. Mr. Hanning tells us that "the goods traffic would also be large," and "the tunnel will be mainly used for carrying such merchandise as perishable goods, articles of food, valuable clothes and silks, which can afford to support the high charges which the tunnel transport will necessarily entail," but he discreetly omits to point out that this traffic would be mainly one way, *i.e.*, from France into England. British goods, though admitted by the tunnel, would be excluded by the tariff. It would be impossible to conceive a more one-sided or disastrous enterprise from our standpoint. The effect of this further development of dumping on our unfortunate rural community, which only exists by supplying "perishable goods" to the great towns, can be more easily imagined than described. Its effect upon London, which already suffers grievously from the millions and millions now spent in Paris by wealthy Londoners, would

be incalculable. A devastating war would be hardly more injurious. When there is universal service in this country and fair trade between England and France, we might be willing to consider the case for the Channel Tunnel, but not until then. Meanwhile, capitalists with a craze for "tubes" might join Ireland and England by a tunnel under the Irish Sea. That would be a magnificent and beneficent enterprise.

An Unfortunate Appointment.

BRITISH Embassies are henceforward to become the dumping-grounds for political "deadheads." Having deliberately created a vacancy in Washington by compelling Sir Mortimer Durand to retire, because he was supposed to be "out of touch" with the White House, and therefore incapable of looking after British interests, the Home Government, after an unconscionable delay, which encouraged the public to hope for better things, has selected a meticulous pedant in the person of Mr. Bryce, who has never been "in touch" with any one. The Irish Chief Secretary, like the majority of Irish Chief Secretaries, is a pronounced failure, whom Sir Antony Macdonell has long wanted to get rid of. That the Washington Embassy should be employed for this purpose is a public scandal. Mr. Bryce's supposed qualification is his authorship of a fulsome panegyric upon the American Constitution, which was many years out of date at the time it was written, and is now one of the most obsolete books in our libraries. M. Taine made this delightful criticism upon "The American Commonwealth": "On dirait que M. Bryce voudrait être President." The new Ambassador's disqualifications are obvious. He is a hopeless prig and an inveterate Little Englander, which will put him utterly out of sympathy with the Imperialism of the "powers that be" in the United States, while as a pro-German he will exercise a mischievous influence on our international relations. Moreover, the appointment of a notorious pro-Boer excites the legitimate suspicions of Canadians who know that he will make it his business to sacrifice their interests on every possible occasion. It would be difficult to make a worse appointment. It is particularly hard on our Diplomatic Service, which contains several members among its younger men who are fully qualified for this particular position. We would counsel our readers not to be taken in by American enthusiasm over Mr. Bryce's appointment. As the *Pall Mall Gazette* observes, "Mr. Bryce would be an acceptable Ambassador to any country which had outstanding or possible differences for settlement with Great Britain and desired to get as much as possible of its own way. Mr. Bryce represents the school in whose eyes Great Britain is

almost invariably in the wrong, and which looks upon the surrender of national contentions as the highest virtue."

Huddersfield.

We deeply regret being obliged to acknowledge that Mr. Foster Fraser, the Unionist candidate, occupied his proper place at the bottom of the poll at Huddersfield, where a vacancy had been created by Mr. Lloyd-George's shameless job in appointing Sir James Woodhouse to the highly lucrative office of Railway Commissioner. Mr. Foster Fraser contested Huddersfield at the General Election as a Tariff Reformer, and made a marked impression by his earnest and convincing speeches. He had but to continue his educational campaign in order to carry the seat, Very unfortunately, however, at the by-election, Mr. Foster Fraser surrendered his better judgment to some evil counsellor, who persuaded him to announce the suspension of his convictions upon the Fiscal question throughout the present Parliament! After that his defeat was only a question of numbers—indeed, his victory would have been a disaster. According to an expert Radical electioneerer, the Unionist candidate lost a thousand votes (which would have secured him the seat) by his eleventh-hour "wobble," which alienated ten electors for every one it gained. The figures speak for themselves:

1900.		1906.		1906 (by).	
Liberal . .	7896	Liberal . .	6302	Liberal . .	5762
		Labour . .	5813	Labour . .	5422
Unionist . .	6831	Unionist .	4391	Unionist . .	4844
Majority	1065		489		340

As the last number of the *Outlook*, edited by Mr. Garvin, observes. "we are where we were in the former triangular contest, a bottom-of-the-poll party, beaten twice over by the Liberal and Socialist candidates, and unable even with the reluctant aid of an Irish Nationalist detachment, to muster more than 4844 votes in a total of 16,028. Formerly we commanded in repeated contests the steady support of nearly fifty per cent. of the Huddersfield electorate. Now Unionist principles are supported by only thirty per cent." When will our politicians realise that what British constituencies above all things appreciate is a man who knows his own mind and is not ashamed of his convictions, who means what he says and says what he means? The Socialists have their creed and the Radicals their cry, but Unionist "wobblers" have nothing to offer the country. The depths of ignominy to which we are being dragged under present auspices may be gauged by the suggestion of a leading Balfourite organ in

London, that the Unionist candidate at Huddersfield should be withdrawn in favour of a Liberal who is at once a Home Ruler, a Little Englander, and a pro-Boer, in order to secure the defeat of the Socialist! The Whips were so enchanted with Mr. Foster Fraser's achievement that they celebrated the episode by a banquet at the House of Commons. What are we coming to that we positively glory in our shame?

The German Crisis.

GERMANY has been unexpectedly plunged into the throes of a general election by her impulsive Sovereign. On December 13 Prince Bülow went to the Reichstag with a Dissolution decree in his pocket, and on the rejection of the supplementary Estimates for South-West Africa (which had already been rejected by the Budget Committee) by a narrow majority, principally consisting of Socialists and the Catholic Centre, the Imperial Chancellor refused to play any more, delivered a histrionic speech on the honour of the country in the style of one of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's fulminations against the Peers, and then, unlike Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, he dissolved Parliament. Popular discontent with the *régime* of personal government, which has scarcely a single success to its credit in any part of the world, has developed apace in Germany during the last few months among all classes of the community. The parliamentary crisis was precipitated by the appalling revelations of official maltreatment of African natives, which abundantly explains the chronic unrest in more than one German Colony, the continued inability of eight thousand German troops to cope with six hundred Hereros, and the refusal of the Government to explain their mysterious policy in South-West Africa. The Dissolution was hailed with joy by the Reactionaries, who declared their determination to sweep the board with the cry of "King and Country," and arrangements were instantly set on foot for the formation of a patriotic *bloc*, comprising Conservatives, National Liberals, and Radicals. But the joy was short-lived, and the *bloc* won't work. The *Times* Berlin correspondent, who rarely makes a mistake in diagnosing German public opinion, evidently believes that Prince Bülow has bitten off more than he can chew. If the Socialists and the Centre, whom we must remember are mortal enemies, can co-operate during the elections, they should gain the day. But in that event the Emperor can again dissolve the Reichstag, which is only a sham Parliament, and can go on doing so *ad infinitum*. The other alternative is a fresh "deal" with the Centre, which is advocated by anxious Conservatives. The struggle between the Emperor and his people will be watched

with intelligent interest in this country, and if we are wise we shall abstain from espousing either side, from offering unsolicited advice, or from making exasperating comments. The Germans are quite capable without our assistance of deciding what form of Government best suits their interests.

The French Crisis.

PRUDENT reserve on our part is equally advisable in discussing the grave crisis in France, though we need not hesitate to express our profound sympathy both with the French Government and the French Catholics so far as their difficulties are due to the sinister action of foreign factors with ulterior objects. No one questions the piety or sincerity of Pius X., but he is admittedly a child in Statecraft, and his innocence and ignorance are unscrupulously exploited by scheming politicians. The fact that the Committee of Cardinals which advises his Holiness on French affairs only contains a single Frenchman, being mainly composed of Spaniards, Italians, &c., who abhor the French Republic, is at the bottom of the mischief. That the French Archbishops and Bishops, a substantial majority of whom were unquestionably in favour of making the best of the not ungenerous proposals of the Separation Bill, were overruled by this hostile *camerilla*, constitutes the real tragedy of the present situation. In the vain hope of bringing M. Clemenceau to Canossa, the Vatican flatly refuses to allow the French Catholic Church to accept any facilities offered by the Government for the preservation of public worship. Pius X.'s advisers seek to compel the Cabinet to close the churches. But so far, M. Briand, who is admitted on all hands to have shown statesmanship of a very high order, has resolutely refused to play into the hands of his enemies, though he has been compelled by the *non-possumus* attitude of the ecclesiastical authorities, unwillingly acting under orders from Rome, to sequestrate Church property, and ruin already stares a considerable proportion of the hierarchy and the clergy in the face. There is already a call for foreign alms. At such a crisis extremes meet. Cardinal Merry del Val, the evil genius of the Vatican, is believed to be working for the return of M. Combes, who would "put the fat in the fire," and who would bring in his train the Camille Pelletans, the Andrés, and other organisers of disaster who might plunge the country into civil war by their incapacity and violence. It is permissible for the friends of France to hope that she may be spared this catastrophe, and that M. Briand's appeals to Catholics to save the Church, may not fall on deaf ears. The outlook at the opening of the New Year is gloomy, although there has so far been a conspicuous absence of disturbance.

Australian Elections, &c.

THE Commonwealth elections in Australia have left political parties as they were. Mr. Deakin's immediate following remains the same; the regular opposition under Mr. Reid has lost a seat to the Labour Party. The Empire should therefore enjoy the inestimable advantage of Mr. Deakin's presence at the coming Colonial Conference, which, for reasons given on preceding pages, will be big with fate. Our readers will be interested in the sketch of this exceedingly attractive personality published in this number. * * * The sale of the *Outlook* by Mr. C. S. Goldman to Lord Iveagh has involved a calamity to the Imperial cause in the retirement from the editorship of Mr. J. L. Garvin—the most brilliant political writer of our day. He made his paper a weekly inspiration. It is an irreparable loss. With him were associated Mr. Grigg (who has also left the *Outlook*), a man of altogether exceptional ability, and Mr. Beach Thomas, who is one of the most attractive writers in the Press. * * * The House of Commons has shown a rare gleam of intelligence by insisting that the Wireless Telegraphy Convention recently signed in Berlin should be submitted to a Select Committee before it is ratified by the Government. Mr. Buxton, representing that obstructive and obscurantist department, the Post Office, had no option but to agree. * * * Mrs. Fawcett, whose supposed common sense was a tower of strength to the suffragette movement, has written a letter to the *Spectator*, suggesting that the esteemed editor of that journal should be horsewhipped for publishing the following letter:

JOHN BRIGHT—A REMINISCENCE.

To the Editor of the "Spectator."

SIR,—As the question of woman's suffrage is now receiving renewed attention, perhaps a reminiscence of John Bright in connexion with this matter may interest some of your readers. When I was secretary of the Howard Association Mr. Bright sent for me on various occasions to talk over matters relating to that Society, and at one of these times I observed on his table a pamphlet on women's suffrage. Knowing that several ladies amongst Mr. Bright's nearest relatives were prominent advocates of the movement, I made a remark upon the question which elicited from him the reply: "The *best* women do not care for that sort of thing." I expressed some surprise at this observation from one who was so closely connected with certain of the leading lady suffragists. Mr. Bright smilingly exclaimed: "Silly girls."—I am, Sir, &c.

Clapton, N.E. WILLIAM TALLACK.

* * * Among recent publications of particular interest to our readers we may note *The Rise and Decline of the Netherlands*, by J. Ellis Barker (10s. 6*d*.; Smith, Elder & Co). We only wish that every member of Parliament could be compelled to read it.

THE GOVERNMENT AND POLICY OF HATE

THE WORK OF THE UNIONIST PARTY.—It is impossible for a member of the Unionist Party to contemplate without concern the conditions which at present prevail in the political world. The Unionist Party, which, by virtue of the votes cast in its favour, ought to be represented by more than 250 members in the House of Commons, is but 157 strong, and is habitually in a minority of over 200 votes. The majority uses—or, as some may think, abuses—its strength without let or hindrance. The outlook, it must be confessed, is black enough. It is a true saying, however, that the darkest hour comes before the dawn. Already there are indications that the power of the great tyranny which was set up at the last election is waning, and there is ample encouragement for Unionists to use every effort to hasten its downfall. In the present article an attempt will be made to show that the existing majority contains within itself the seeds of inevitable decay and disaster. That the date of its downfall can be, and ought to be, hastened by the energy and enterprise of an active opposition, is undoubted. But the destruction of the present Government, though an object greatly to be desired, is not—or, at any rate, ought not to be—the sole aim of the Unionist Party. It is by a constructive and national policy alone that the Unionist Party can deserve or acquire the right to succeed the Administration which in the public interest it desires to overthrow. By permission of the Editor of the *National Review* an attempt will be made in a subsequent article to sketch the conditions which are inseparable from the constructive programme which must be undertaken, if those who seek to destroy the present Separatist majority are to receive and to merit the confidence of the nation. But action and construction are, after all, the prerogatives of power, and before that power can be exercised much work must be done. Destruction is not an end, but a means. Nevertheless, the logic of facts imposes

upon a minority in Opposition the duty of destruction as a condition precedent to the accomplishment of any constructive work. It is proposed, therefore, in the present article, to give some reasons which should make all Unionists—and, indeed, all good citizens—desire the destruction of the present Government. An attempt will also be made to show that the task is not only a useful and patriotic one, which a sense of honour and duty should impose upon all who care for the welfare of the nation, but that those who devote themselves to its performance may do so with a reasonable hope that their efforts will meet with a complete, and possibly an early, reward.

THE GOVERNMENT AND ITS POLICY.—The present Government, if not the worst, is probably the most dangerous Administration which the nation has had to endure for a century. It is dangerous because, despite the large majority by which it is supported, it is essentially a weak Ministry. Returned fo a great extent on false pretences, and owing its success in many of the constituencies to the votes of those who neither believed in its policy nor approved of its *personnel*, the Government of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has been compelled to adapt its convictions to the greatest common measure of the opinions of the various factions to which it owes its existence, and by which it is tolerated. The outcome of this situation is unfortunate for the nation at large, for it is evident that those whose duty it has been to work out the sum have come to the conclusion that the political common measure of the various factors is a policy which is characterised by two dominant and essential conditions.

The policy which is to unite the Party must, in the first place, be on all occasions and under all conditions, anti-national and specially anti-English. In the second place, it must be vindictive and punitive. That the Party at present in office is an anti-national and an anti-English Party is daily becoming more and more obvious. It would probably not be true to say that wherever England has a friend the present Government has an enemy. Exceptions might be found to this general statement. But it is true that there is not an organised community throughout the world, not a Cabinet, a public or private association, a section of any community, a body of conspirators acting openly or in secret, which is unfriendly to this country, and which desires to see its power diminished and its influence destroyed, in which the present Government is not regarded as a conscious or unconscious ally. That this should be so is a calamity, but it is by no means a marvel, as will appear when we come to examine the attitude

which the Government has thought fit to adopt in its dealings with those who are notoriously ill-disposed towards the Empire and nation. That the policy of the Government is essentially vindictive and punitive becomes equally susceptible of proof when we come to examine their legislative and administrative accomplishments. We shall see that it is a cardinal rule of their conduct that no administrative act shall be sanctioned, no legislation approved, which is not intentionally directed against a class or an individual.

That a British Government should be anti-national, anti-English, and vindictive, is a fact which requires some explanation. That explanation is to be found in the origin and character of the majority upon which the present Administration depends for its existence. It is only necessary to analyse the composition of that majority to realise that the bond which unites it is that of mutual antipathy to a common enemy ; that, save for this sinister tie, it is animated by no common principle, inspired by no common faith, and tending towards no common goal. Within the Party there are many well-meaning and excellent persons, who have very distinct ambitions and very noble ones. But these high ideals are sought by individuals, or at most by groups. It is not for their attainment that the Party organisation exists, or that the Party machinery is worked. There are doubtless many members of the Party who honestly desire that "their measures shall be healing," and who as individuals would dissociate themselves from much that is said and done by the Party as a whole, but who as members of the Party are constrained by its discipline.

Between the old Whigs, of whom there are still some surviving, and the old Radicals, the successors in title of Mr. Gradgrind and of the long line of hard and narrow men who fought against every extension of the Factory Acts ; between the high and dry Trade Unionists, the privileged aristocrats of Labour, and the Socialist ; between the sentimentalists, the anti-vaccinationists, and all the other "antis" ; between the friends of Irish Rebellion and the Liberal Imperialists (if they exist) ; between the Roman Catholic Radicals and the political Non-conformists ; between the many other varieties which make up the Ministerial majority, there is and can be no true bond of sympathy. But while sympathy and a common purpose are necessary for the furtherance of a constructive policy, the healing of sores and the removal of injustice, a not less powerful, but much less reputable bond will suffice to create a temporary confederacy between those who are engaged in the work of destruction and persecution. The history of the world is full

of examples, of the lamentable truth that the great passion of hate can for certain purposes, and for a limited period, unite men who love each other little, but are content to stand shoulder to shoulder because each one of them is willing to subordinate his individual preferences to the gratification of a common passion. By this bond, and by this bond alone, is the motley crowd which follows Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman kept from straying from the line of march.

It would be unreasonable to make a general statement of this kind without furnishing ample and detailed justification for it. Unluckily for the country, the material for doing so is only too ample. An examination of the work done, projected and promised by the present Administration will show how completely its operations are dominated and inspired by this ruling principle of hate, the desire to injure and the intention to wound.

That such should be the case is little short of a national calamity. That problems of the greatest importance await treatment, that the mood of the people is friendly to great changes, and even to rapid advance, no one who studies the signs of the times can doubt. That in the presence of the great and growing competition of other nations, of international difficulties of which no man can yet foresee the end, it is above all things desirable that the nation should perfect its organisation, should narrow the great social differences which estrange and divide classes, every one who is not an enemy of this country will admit.

For what better purpose could the immense power wielded by a Parliamentary majority of 289 have been utilised than that of accomplishing, or at any rate of furthering, these great ends? But *dis aliter visum*. This is not Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's idea of the manner in which his great opportunity should be utilised. Separation, division, class rule, the persecution of minorities, the impoverishment of those whom it is safe to attack, the bestowal of privilege upon those whom it is unsafe to offend; these are the watchwords of the Separatist Party; these are the objects for which the greatest Parliamentary majority of modern times is to be employed. Let us pass from the general to the particular and review the evidence which the Government have themselves supplied of the spirit which animates them, and of the objects which they have in view.

IRELAND.—The policy and methods of the Government are nowhere better illustrated than in their dealings with Ireland. Mr. Redmond is the head of a Party which is frankly anti-

national, which owes its very means of subsistence to the avowed enemies of the Empire, which has declared over and over again through its spokesmen that the honour and welfare of the House of Commons are wholly indifferent to it, and which has given ample proof of its sincerity by its conduct in the House. The Party which is led by Mr. Redmond is above all anti-English, the friend of our enemies, the enemy of our friends. It is therefore naturally entitled to the most favoured nation treatment at the hands of the Government. It cheers the defeat of our soldiers ; it insults the men who are doing their best work for the Empire ; it persecutes and oppresses every class in Ireland which is suspected of the crimes of loyalty or honesty. Here, indeed, is merit enough to commend it to our anti-English rulers, and no one who sits in the present House of Commons can pretend that merit does not receive its reward, in humble subservience and ready obedience. But the Irish Party has another and even stronger hold upon the Government. It is dangerous to the Government itself. Fear, the controlling motive of Ministerial action, the determining factor in the formation of Ministerial convictions, regulates the relations between the Government and the Redmondites without concealment and before the eyes of all men. To an Irish member who prides himself on his disloyalty and on his disregard for the welfare and honour of this country, everything is conceded and everything is permitted. His interruptions however disorderly are tolerated ; his assertions are accepted as a matter of course ; he may use, and does use the language of menace and insult towards everything which Englishmen hold to be honest and of good report, and he will retain the goodwill and can rely upon the perfect obedience of the Chief Secretary and his colleagues. To Irish Unionist members a very different measure is meted out. They are regarded and treated as mere political pariahs ; the glorious maxim which the Government has adopted as its motto, "Minorities must suffer," is applied to them in its nakedest form. They are cut short in their speeches ; in every issue between their disloyal colleagues they are certain to find the official weight thrown into the scale against them. It is only those who sit in the House of Commons who can fully realise the extent to which this differentiation has been carried. It is curious to reflect that the crime, the only crime of which this small body of members is guilty, is that of representing a million or so of Irishmen who have been presumptuous enough to give the lie by their lives, their conduct, and their success, to the assertion that British law and British Government are

fatal to Irish industry and incompatible with Irish success. But in their zeal to win the support of the anti-British Party at any cost by submission to their dictation, the Government have gone further and have actively engaged in the sinister work of promoting discord and creating ill-will. If there is one duty which more than any other is obviously incumbent upon a British Government, it is to endeavour to eliminate the causes of friction and misunderstanding between the various parts of the United Kingdom. Those who know Continental Europe, and few people know it better than the Chief Secretary, are aware that the greatest curse that could afflict a nation is that of bi-lingualism. Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, the Trentino, Belgium, all these examples are ready to hand to prove, if proof indeed be needed, how strife is engendered and prolonged by the confusion of tongues. And yet with the deliberate object of inflicting this misfortune upon the people of Ireland, public money is being voted to teach little children whose ancestors in nine cases out of ten came from Suffolk, the Lowlands of Scotland, London, or Jerusalem, a dead and gone language, useless to them in every single relation of life, which will neither introduce them to great literature, nor make them share the knowledge of a great people, but which will occupy and waste their time when they might be learning something which would conceivably be of value to them. But the Government is by no means content to light the flame of discord by insisting upon the teaching of Erse. It is doing something much worse. It is circulating among little children books which can have but one object, and that is to create and inflame the spirit of hatred between Irishmen and Englishmen, and what is perhaps even more important, between different classes of Irishmen. It would be a good thing if the class books which are now being circulated by the National Board at the public expense, could be translated and their true nature made public. Fortunately some of them are translated, and there among the farrago of absurd fairy tales which the poor children are compelled to read, is to be found the real teaching which the Celtic League, aided and abetted by the Government, is instilling into the minds of children who are to become citizens of the United Kingdom.*

* The following extracts are from a book called *Cathair Conroi and other Tales* written for the Oireachtas, and circulated under the authority of the Irish Government, as prescribed by the Royal University of Ireland and the Commissioners of National Education for 1906. The book is a 6*d*. book for children :

"At this time the land question was in every one's mouth. The case was

SOUTH AFRICA.—Second only to the violence of the anti-national feeling displayed by the Government in all its dealings with Ireland, is its attitude towards South Africa. In South Africa, as in Ireland, to be loyal, to have sacrificed and suffered much for the honour of the Empire, and the welfare of the nation, is to have become a mark for the vindictive action of the Administration. There is not an individual who has been conspicuous for his loyalty who has escaped attack ; not a class which has remained constant to the Imperial connection that has not been flouted and persecuted. Lord Milner who through years of cruel anxiety bore his great burden with heroic fortitude, and whose name stood, and stands, for loyalty throughout South Africa, was the first to be traduced, and vilified ; mocked at as a poor man, despised as a fallen man ; he was handed over to the tender mercies of the riff-raff of the House of Commons, whose actual words of censure a superfine Government could not accept, but who were gratified by the assurance of the Under-Secretary that "while he

hard with the farmers. It was not alone that the potatoes had failed them, but anything they had for sale was cheap, and everything they had to buy, it was dear. The landlords were complaining that the rent was not coming in to them, and the poor people had not the rent to give them. The masters (landlords) were threatening the law on the tenants, and some poor man was thrown out of possession (evicted) here and there. There was bad work brewing. The members of Parliament for Ireland asked the English Parliament not to allow any landlord to throw a poor creature out on the road because he had not paid his rent, when the whole world knew that the poor man had not the money. It was very little use for them to be talking. The answer they got was that that was the law, and there was no help for it. . . . When the poor people saw that they had no satisfaction to get from England but law, and that it was no use for them to depend on getting time to pay from the landlords, they said to themselves there was nothing now before them but misery and want, unless they could unite and defend themselves. Mick James was not a bit afraid, he had a lease, and what was better than a lease, he had the rent. . . . He gave good advice; said he: 'If any poor man is evicted unjustly, let no one of you have anything to do with the place, and if any mean wretch comes from anywhere else, have nothing to do with him, but as little' . . . . The people took this advice, not alone in Kerry, but all over Ireland. The landlords were mad. Poor people were being evicted east and west, but there was no use in it the rent was not being paid. . . . The English papers were full of lies running down Ireland. They put down the truth and the falsehoods. The people of London listened to the landlords. They had a willing ear for them, what they had not for the tales of the poor people, who were working hard, from morning till night, trying to make a living from bad land. A law was made without delay, giving leave to the Viceroy of the Queen in Dublin, and to his servant boy, to put any one in prison who had anything to say against paying rent."

And this lying drivel is being circulated to Irish children by this Separatist Government.

did not disagree in any way with the terms of the motion" * while he "admitted its truth and admired its moderation, while the Government had no intention whatever of disparaging the motives which induced the mover to place it on the paper," yet they did dispute "the wisdom and the convenience of the procedure which he had adopted."

Johannesburg is not only known to be loyal, but upon its prosperity undoubtedly depends the continuance of British rule in South Africa. It may be that among the great community on the Rand there are persons whose character and methods are not up to the high moral standard which the Government requires. But even in organisations which are the objects of the Government's closest affection, the Land League, the Irish National League, and the Dutch Bond, there are sometimes lapses from perfect rectitude. Divine Justice would have spared the Cities of the Plain if they had contained five just men. But the Government has a sterner code of ethics than that which forced Abraham to fly. Johannesburg has committed a sin for which there is no pardon; it has deliberately admitted its devotion to the Empire, and has gloried in its crime. It was necessary that Johannesburg should be punished: it is already claimed on behalf of the Government that the industries on which Johannesburg depends have suffered a loss at the hands of the Government of no less than 150 millions sterling. And lest there should be any doubt whatever as to the cause of the loss, or of the satisfaction of the Government in inflicting it, the Under-Secretary of State, publicly rejoices over the havoc he and his friends have created, and takes credit for the efficacy of the punitive methods he has adopted.†

And this is not all. The whole crusade against Chinese Labour furnishes yet another example of Ministerial methods. To wish that the Chinese had never gone to South Africa, to hope that they may soon leave it, are reasonable aspirations shared by many who are no friends of the Government. But the action of the Government has so far had no effect what-

* The censure on Lord Milner proposed by Mr. Byles and seconded by Mr. Mackarness.

† If any one will study the fall of prices that, I regret to say, has followed the declaration of the policy which the Government have thought fit to carry out, they will see that we are not playing with words in this matter, that it is not a sham fight in which we are engaged, but that, on the contrary, *it is* "ball cartridge that is to be fired."—Mr. Churchill, House of Commons, February 22, 1906. The expression of regret has a suspicious resemblance to that with which the Inquisition handed over its victims to be dealt with by "the secular arm."

ever upon the position of the Chinese on the Rand. Thousands more Chinamen are employed there at the present moment than were employed before the General Election. As a campaign against the Chinese, the Government policy has failed altogether. It is only in their campaign against their own fellow countrymen that they have had any real success. In order to win votes, no aspersion was too vile, no accusation too false to do duty. The name and fame of England were dragged in the dirt and the lies manufactured for Party use were spread broadcast throughout Europe and America, in order that a Party advantage might be served, and Party hate indulged. We know now not only that the accusations made were false, but we also know that those who spread the lies and profited by them, knew what the real facts were.

Again, every single step which has been taken with the object of imposing a constitution upon the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, has been taken with an avowed animus against those who are known to be in favour of the British connection, and with an equally obvious bias in favour of the Boers. Sir West Ridgeway is instructed to ask "What the Boers will accept." The British are roughly told to take what they can get. The fate of British supremacy in the Transvaal is left dependent upon the accident of a contested election in which thousands of the voters have been in arms against us within the last five years, and of whom many have announced their intention—not an unnatural one under the circumstances —to take back in peace, and through the complaisance of their rulers, what they forfeited as a consequence of declaring war upon the British Empire and invading British Territory.

But if the policy of the Government with regard to the Transvaal be dangerous, their policy with regard to the Orange River Colony constitutes an even more direct menace to British supremacy in South Africa.* Many questions have been asked as to what is to be the fate of the British settlers in that colony under the new Constitution which is to be imposed upon it. No answer has been forthcoming. The fate prepared for these men is still unknown. That there should be the slightest doubt upon such a subject is in itself enough to condemn the Government which allows that doubt to exist. These men who have risked their whole fate and fortune upon the faith of the word of a British Government are to be left in the midst of a majority

* The sham protection given by the new Constitution does not seriously affect the situation. The present settlers will be at the mercy of a Boer Government, and the same Government will have the power, and it may be the will, to exclude future settlers.

who have avowed themselves to be their enemies. Established in the Colony by the deliberate act of a British Government, in the fulfilment of a natural and reasonable policy, they seemed destined to lay the foundation of a loyal British population, in a British Colony, which after a bitter struggle had been added to the King's dominions. It would have been supposed that these settlers, so established and so guaranteed, would have been the special objects of the solicitude of a British Government, whatever its party complexion. What are the facts? Openly threatened with extinction by the Boers, they find themselves confronted with equally open hostility on the part of the Government. Security, their greatest need, is denied them. The simple pledge which honour and justice demand they should receive, is withheld to ease a Parliamentary situation. Meantime, a British Minister challenged to disapprove of the threats of the Boers, to put a stop to any future land settlement, so far from disapproving, can only declare that such an intention is "natural," and that he will take no step to interfere with its accomplishment.*

That the Boers who sought to turn us out of South Africa by force of arms should desire to accomplish by their votes what they failed to accomplish with their rifles, is perhaps natural; but that a British Government in its anti-national zeal, should aid and abet them, is not natural, though it will strike many persons as being disgraceful.

Like the rest of its policy, the action of the Government with regard to South Africa is as short-sighted as it is harmful. It may be, we are told on high authority, that it is the deliberate object of the Government to hand over South Africa to the Boers.†

* Mr. Churchill's words were as follows: "There is a responsible Government in the Orange River Colony which has a Dutch majority; they might object to facilitating a scheme by which a steady influx of voters, opposed to their own Government, was to be maintained from year to year. *That would be a very natural view on their part*;" and he proceeded to explain that "in the opinion of the Government no steps should be taken to prevent the Orange Colony Boers giving effect to their views." By "voters" Mr. Churchill meant "British settlers who might become voters."

† See the letter of a Liberal Imperialist in the *Standard* of December 3. The writer, who purports to speak with authority, says that he was informed by a member of the Government that "the Government policy rested on the assumption that the South African War was an iniquitous outrage forced upon the Republics of South Africa. Proceeding on that assumption the Government (I was told) conceive it to be their duty to make all the reparation in their power. They do not consider that public opinion would, at present, tolerate the retrocession of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. Therefore they have compromised upon Responsible Government."—"Liberal Imperialist," *Standard*, December 3.

But so badly calculated are their measures, that even this aim is hardly likely to have more than a temporary fulfilment. It is quite possible, nay, it is probable, that the Ministerial campaign against everything British may ruin the industry of the Rand; it may even give back the new Colonies to their old masters, and may place all men of British birth, from the Zambesi to Cape Town, in the position of humiliating inferiority. But even this triumph will not be lasting. The destiny of South Africa may be British, but it will not be Boer. The duty which we neglect or abandon another will perform, and South Africa will be betrayed in name to the Boers, but in fact to a much stronger and more ambitious race.*

THE EDUCATION BILL.—Let us turn from the anti-English and anti-national manifestation of the Ministerial policy, to its purely vindictive and punitive side. The great measure of the year is the Education Bill, and no better example could be found of the determination of the Government to deal with this all-important subject in such a way as to inflict the maximum of pain and injury upon its political opponents, and to confer the minimum advantage to the community at large. What is the essential quality of the Education Bill? It is apparent in every line of every clause. As has been justly said by Mr. Balfour, "it is not an Education Bill at all," it is essentially a piece of purely vindictive legislation. It is a Bill introduced with the deliberate purpose of pleasing a certain section of political Nonconformists by inflicting an injury upon the Church of England. To do the Government justice, there has been no attempt at concealment of the motive. Let Mr. Birrell himself supply the evidence. Speaking at Bristol on November 13, he is reported to have explained his object and intention in the following remarkable phrase: "I think I am entitled to make some appeal to the Jew and to the Roman Catholic. What did we do for them? We introduced that famous, or, if you like, infamous Clause IV." That is the whole story. The Church of England finds its principal defenders among the minority who form the Unionist Opposition. The Unionist Opposition is not to be feared, it is consequently not worth buying. It is well, therefore, to legislate in a manner which will give the maximum of pain to those whom they represent. But the Irish Party is to be feared, and is therefore worth buying off. The Irish Party is the champion of the Roman Catholics, to the Roman Catholics, therefore, Mr. Birrell begs

* It is characteristic of the Government that in the new Transvaal Constitution, while special provision is made for the protection of Boers, Indians and Kaffirs, no protection whatever is given to Englishmen.

to do justice, and is grieved—just man that he is—at the hardness of their hearts in not blessing him for his good intentions.*

So, too, the Jews are not on the proscribed list; they may be useful, and, moreover, to a large extent they are aliens and a proper object of favour. Jews and Roman Catholics, therefore, are the special object of Ministerial solicitude, and Clause IV. is drawn in the hope that while it gives them the right to teach their own children in their own way, it will so operate as to deny a similar privilege to members of the Church of England. As for the members of the Church of England, mere peaceable loyal English men and women, who wish to see their children taught the faith of their fathers—down with them!

That the Bill as drafted was intended to serve, or could serve any beneficial purpose, has never been seriously pretended. If it had been passed *en bloc* as it was originally drawn, nothing whatever would have been done for the cause of education, but the flame of sectarian discord would have been lit in every local authority throughout England. The Bill was not an Education Bill at all; not one more child would have been sent to school on account of its passage; no single child would have been better taught than before; no teacher would have been better qualified for his difficult task. More money, it is true, would have been spent. A million was to be squandered as a first instalment, but no one would have been the better for the expenditure. The taxpayer will receive no better consideration for his money than the knowledge that a number of specific trusts have been violated, and that a number of persons who have long devoted themselves to the work of education, and had discharged their duties without a word of objection, and to the great advantage of parents and children, would have been dismissed.

THE PLURAL VOTING BILL.—One of the most flagrantly dishonest and vindictive of all the Government measures is the Plural Voting Bill. It has two objects, and two objects only. Both of them have been avowed with simple frankness by its supporters. The Bill is intended to disfranchise Unionist electors and to destroy the University constituencies because they are Unionist. That there are many anomalies in our electoral arrangements is beyond question. The distribution of the franchise is absurd, and the method of recording votes so.

* There seems some reason to believe that the price paid is not quite high enough. The result will probably be that compensation will have to be given when the sale of the Irish loyalists takes place.

unscientific that 2,818,000 Separatist voters in Great Britain are represented by 428 members, while 2,200,000 Unionist voters have but 139 members. The over-representation of Ireland is a crying scandal; a vote in Galway or Newry has from ten to fifteen times the weight of a vote in London or Walthamstow, Newcastle or Wimbledon. All these things are patent and call for reform. It may well be that in reforming our electoral system the question of dual qualifications should be dealt with. But for a majority to introduce a measure which, while it leaves the gross anomalies of our representative system untouched, is calculated and intended * to cog the dice against the minority, is an example of vindictive and unjust legislation which has had few parallels in our history. The practice, however, was not unknown to very degraded assemblies. It formed part of the regular policy of the "Rump Parliament." To use the power of the majority to inflict statutory disabilities upon the minority, was a course which commended itself to the Parliament which Cromwell, so much to the public advantage, turned out of doors. The French Revolutionary Convention did much the same thing as the "Rump." The majority in that interesting body acted with great spirit in accordance with the maxim "when you have got your enemy down, keep him down"; and never lost an opportunity of "purifying" itself, by turning out or putting to death, the members of the minority. The practice has been softened a little in these days, but the principle remains the same. The whole truth about the Plural Voting Bill was blurted out with a *naïveté* which must have been unwelcome to the Front Bench by an ardent supporter who informed the House that the Bill was intended to disfranchise "the Tory outvoter." That the Bill can make any human being in this country better, wiser, happier or richer, is of course out of the question, unless, indeed, we are to calculate the happiness conferred upon those who feel that they have succeeded in injuring their fellow countrymen.

THE IRISH TOWN TENANTS BILL.—The Irish Town Tenants Bill furnishes a very remarkable object-lesson illustrating the methods and procedure of the Government. Mr. Balfour has briefly but correctly described its principal clause as "highway robbery." The Bill, originally brought in by a private member,

* It is legitimate to infer the intention from the Act; on this point Dr. Johnson speaks with much force:

BOSWELL: "I cannot think his intention was bad."

JOHNSON: "Sir, that will not do. We cannot prove any man's intentions to be bad. You may shoot a man through the head and say you intended to miss him; but the judge will order you to be hanged."

was a shade too bad even for the Government, and its most important provisions were denounced with a fury of eloquence and conviction, by the Attorney-General for Ireland. No sooner had his colleague completed the destruction of the Bill, than the Chief Secretary requested his followers to pass the Second Reading, which they promptly did. So congenial was the Bill, so entirely did it satisfy their requirements as to what legislation should be, that the Government could not refrain from adopting it as their own. Even in its amended form it retains all the characteristics which originally recommended it. It was introduced avowedly, not for the purpose of meeting any general want, but with the object of punishing certain individual owners of property in Ireland who are unpopular.*

It involves the deliberate breaking of contracts entered into by grown-up men with all the facts before them, and it breaks these contracts in such a way as to inflict the resulting hardship and loss upon only one of the parties to it. It is scarcely necessary to add that the person despoiled is likely to be a political opponent of the Government. The Bill was introduced as an Irish Bill; it was necessary therefore to prove at one and the same time that its outrageous provisions are acceptable because of the peculiar conditions which exist in Ireland, and which have no parallel in Great Britain; and also that the provisions of the Bill are so just and reasonable that the sooner they are applied to Great Britain the better. Mr. Bryce has shown considerable courage, he has not proved either of these propositions, but with great vehemence he has asserted both. It is true that the performance was not a highly finished one. Asked to explain what were the circumstances which differentiated the Irish from the English case, the Chief Secretary was pleased to refer the leader of the Opposition "to the speech I made yesterday." Repetition of course is very tedious, and the words of wisdom once spoken, it was unreasonable to expect that they should be repeated. But as a matter of fact "yesterday's speech" never was made. Mr. Bryce never had explained what the difference was; he has not explained now, and he never will explain it. And thus by forcing through a Bill on the ground that it deals with

* See Mr. Gwynn's speech on November 21, in which the alleged shortcomings of one unpopular landlord are made the pretext for the Bill. And also Mr. Balfour's remark in reply, viz.: "They (the Government) had actually introduced a clause which established the principle of 'fair rents' on town property, not because the majority of town landlords had anything to reproach themselves with, but because here and there were gentlemen who required special legislation to deal with them."

an Irish grievance only, a precedent is made for committing the same iniquity in England and Scotland whenever the bidding runs high enough.

As to the Bill itself, Mr. Balfour's description of it can hardly be improved upon. Like all other Government Bills, it injures a good cause by making the general welfare subservient to the gratification of individual and sectional ill-will. There are many arguments which may justly be used in favour of an amendment of the law calculated to secure to a tenant the value of his improvements under equitable conditions. But in order that such a law may escape from the charge of being predatory, it is obvious that it must deal with future tenancies, and with future tenancies only. Needless to say, the Bill, as approved by the Government, is drafted to include all present tenancies. It hardly needed the eloquent and effective speeches of Mr. Balfour, Mr. Campbell and others to explain the grotesque injustice which such a provision is calculated to inflict. But the evils of the enactment go much further than the subject-matter of the Bill. The House of Commons to-day uses its power to set aside contracts, with the object of injuring one class which it thinks may be robbed with impunity. But a lesson of this kind once taught is not easily forgotten. There are many members sitting on the Government side of the House who regard the rigid enforcement of their own contracts as one of the first conditions of civilised existence. There are millions of people throughout the country whose daily existence depends upon the enforcement of contract, and the time may well come when they will have little reason to thank a British Government which deliberately introduced the principles and practice of the Irish National Land League into the Statute Book of the United Kingdom.

THE LAND TENURE BILL.—The Land Tenure Bill was introduced by a private member. As originally drawn it was a predatory measure calculated, and apparently intended, to create bad blood between owners of land and tenant farmers. With such credentials it naturally commended itself to the Government. It satisfied the essential requirements of their policy; it inflicted injury upon a section of the community, and the individuals composing that section were for the most part political opponents of the Party in power. The Bill was therefore adopted as a Government measure, and passed through the House of Commons. Fortunately it left the House in a greatly modified form. The resolution shown by the Opposition, and the criticisms of some of the Ministerialists induced the Government to accept important amendments which have

removed some of the most unjust provisions of the original Bill. But, while the measure as it now stands, may not do much mischief, it cannot possibly do any good save to that class which is the chief beneficiary of most of the Ministerial measures, namely, the lawyers. As a contribution to the solution of the great land question in which the Government profess themselves to be so deeply interested, the Bill has a purely negative value. It will promote strife between landlord and tenant, who will be compelled to settle their differences before a bogus Court presided over by an individual who may sink in time to the level of an Irish Assistant Land Commissioner. Very rich landowners who can consolidate their estates, may possibly escape without injury ; but the chief pressure will be upon small owners and upon the tenant farmers. At a time when Agriculture is suffering overwhelming burdens from foreign competition and from a costly and complicated system of transfer, this Bill is particularly ill-timed. It is calculated to depreciate still further the value of land, to complicate transactions between a willing seller and a willing buyer, and to hinder the creation of those small holdings which every sensible man must desire to see multiplied.

THE SMALL HOLDINGS (SCOTLAND) BILL.—This is in many respects an even more mischievous measure than the Agricultural Holdings Bill. Its character has been well described by Lord Balfour of Burleigh. That Lord Balfour should take exception to the policy is scarcely surprising. There is already evidence that even among the Scottish supporters of the Government his view is shared. It need hardly be said that the Bill is intended to injure. "I wish to ask," says Lord Balfour of Burleigh, "whether it is to be seriously suggested that for an unlimited time, and at the sole discretion of an irresponsible tribunal, a landlord is to be prevented from letting a holding, even if he can find a tenant in every way suitable." The answer is that this is precisely the intention. Again he asks, "Is it the intention to enact that in the event of a small holder becoming bankrupt, or relinquishing his holding, the rent due to the landlord is to be impounded as security for improvements made without his consent, or against his opposition, by or in the interest of a holder whose settlement he has strenuously opposed?" The answer is that this deliberate act of injustice is contemplated, and is indeed an essential part of the Bill. Lastly Lord Balfour inquires whether "there is any precedent for an enactment which provides assistance to the small holder by way of gift or loan at the public expense, and how presents of this kind at the public

expense in favour of one special class of the population can be justified?" Here again the answer must be that it is the intention to give a present to one section at the cost of the rest of the public, that there is no precedent for the proceeding, and that there is no justification for it. Here, as in every other case, the Government misses the opportunity of applying a just and equal remedy to an admitted defect because it prefers to make its legislation punitive, and to adhere to its guiding principle of class legislation.

THE TRADE DISPUTES BILL.—It is not necessary to dwell at any great length upon the Trade Disputes Bill. It furnishes yet one more example of the universal rule. That the state of the law with regard to trade unions was in need of amendment was apparent to all men of all parties. That there was a general disposition to amend it on broad lines, and in the direction of giving full recognition and great liberty to trade combinations, is undeniable. Here was an opportunity of which the Government might, with immense advantage to the nation, have availed themselves. They have rejected the opportunity and have preferred to adhere to their principle of class legislation in its most aggravated form. The Bill as it left the House of Commons involved the creation, by legislative enactment, of a privileged class empowered by law to inflict injury upon the rest of the community; to inflict it with impunity; and to oppress those whom they sought to injure by methods forbidden to any other section of the king's subjects. That the law does create a privileged class; that it does deny to the rest of the community what it accords to the privileged few; and that it does permit the recipients of the privilege to inflict injury with impunity upon the rest of the community, is susceptible of ample proof from the mouths of those who have promoted and enacted the measure. The Bill, as it left the House of Commons, was the Bill as Mr. Keir Hardie decided it should be. What Mr. Keir Hardie's policy is we know, for he has told us. "*I have tried*," says the Member for Merthyr Tydvil, "*to make my own class the ruling class, and it is going to happen.*" It seems not improbable that, with the aid of the Government, this reversion to the state of things which existed in the days of King John, in the heyday of the Inquisition, under the Grand Monarque, and under the bloody rule of the Commune, is in a fair way towards being re-established, and that class rule, with all its inevitable injustice, and with its train of privilege, is to be set up once more in this country. To use the illuminating words of the Attorney-General, "Benefit of clergy" is to be re-established in favour of the trade unions. "Privilege is to

be extended to them." The Attorney-General is right, and his colleagues—Mr. Haldane and Mr. Asquith—know that he is right, and have said so in terms which admit of no mistake. Mr. Haldane who, as he has been good enough to tell us, "knows ten times as much about the matter as Mr. Keir Hardie," will not "budge one inch" in the direction of accepting his proposals; he will never "toe the mark."* It was not unreasonable that the Attorney-General, Mr. Haldane, and Mr. Asquith should object, for it was a demand for special laws that they were objecting to. "We are entitled," says Mr. Keir Hardie, "*to claim special legislation.*" "Objections seem to be raised to the Bill," says Mr. Henry, the Member for Wellington, "on the ground that its provisions are opposed to existing legal doctrines. I venture the opinion that the condition of trade unions requires *distinct and separate legislation.*" The Attorney-General is with the hon. Member. Discussing the universal law, principal and agent, he says truly: "That law is certainly a part of the law of the land, yet in our view it is a *principle which ought not to apply to the relation to trade unions.*" And again, Mr. Hudson, the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, is equally frank; he says: "That law, the law of Agency (as it exists), *is the common law, which applies generally to all associations, and we must insist upon our original position that trade unions should be exempted from the law. We claim entire immunity from the law.*" Well may Mr. Haldane describe these claims as "preposterous propositions." One more quotation will suffice to establish the fact that the new law is the deliberate creation of a privileged class, licensed to injure the community for its own benefit. The quotation is from the Majority Report of the Commission on Trade Disputes: "There is no law so elementary," runs the Report, "none so universal or so indispensable, as the rule that a wrong doer should be made to redress his wrong. If trade unions were exempt from this liability they would be the only exceptions, and it would then be right that that exception should be removed. That vast and powerful institutions should be permanently licensed to apply the funds they possess to do wrong to others, and by that wrong inflict upon them damage, perhaps to the amount of many thousand pounds, and yet not be liable to make redress out of those funds, would be a state of things *opposed to the very idea of law, order, and justice.*" It is this privilege "opposed to the very idea of law, order, and justice" which has been embodied in the Trade Disputes Bill. It is obvious,

* Both Mr. Haldane and Mr. Asquith have since this fine pronouncement "toed he mark" and become perfectly obedient.

therefore, that this measure furnishes yet another example of the persistency with which the Government has missed a great opportunity by preferring to substitute legislation for the benefit of a class for a wise and just law intended for the benefit of all classes of the community.

THE MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL.—One Bill, and one only, has passed through the House of Commons which does not conform to the general laws which have guided the Government in respect to the rest of their measures. The Merchant Shipping Bill will conceivably do some actual good, and is unlikely to do any harm. It has been carried through the House with moderation and skill by the Minister to whom it was entrusted. The Bill is marked throughout by a deliberate intention to benefit a British industry because it is British ; and to improve the comfort and welfare of British seamen because they are British. If in deference to pressure from some of the supporters of the Government, it has assumed a somewhat protective character, Unionists are certainly not entitled to grumble at a departure from doctrinaire orthodoxy made in so good a cause as that of promoting the welfare of the British Mercantile Marine. It is only fair to add that the Bill is mainly the outcome of the recommendations made by a Committee appointed by the last Government, and presided over by Mr. Bonar Law.

CONCLUSION.—With this reference to the Merchant Shipping Bill we may conclude our series of Ministerial measures and Ministerial Acts. It has been shown that throughout the whole series there runs one prevailing motive, the desire to injure or to punish. We have seen that the injury is in every case inflicted upon the political opponents of the Party in power, or of one of its numerous sections. We have seen that in every act of external and of internal policy, the sympathy of the Government has been displayed on behalf of those who by their deeds, or their words, have given evidence of their unfriendliness to our race and to our Empire. The Boer is accorded a sympathy which is withheld from the Briton. The disloyal Irishman receives the homage of Ministers and is gratified with promises of the plunder of his loyal fellow countrymen. The passion for injustice has its refinements ; it can afford to discriminate. The nonconformist conscience does not greatly love the Jew or the Roman Catholic, but it hates the Churchman and openly desires to deprive him of his property. Hence the Jew and the Roman Catholic are made the objects of benevolent exceptions from the general terms of proscription.

Will this policy succeed? Will it continue to commend itself to the majority of Englishmen? There are ample reasons for believing that it will not. After all the vast majority of Englishmen are not vindictive, are not unpatriotic; do not love the foreigner better than their own kith and kin, and do not desire to see the Empire lost and the United Kingdom broken to pieces.

Nor do Englishmen greatly care for revolutionary socialism. The spirit of the race is all in favour of individualism and has no sympathy with tyranny masquerading under the name of Socialism or Communism. They know, and if they do not know they could soon find out, that just as the Paris Commune meant forcing the will of Cluseret, Rossel, or Delescluze, upon the majority of the citizens by terror and the force of arms, so a Socialist Government will merely mean A. B. or C. ruling by the same sanction and bound to the same end.

It is obvious therefore that if the duty of the Unionist Party were merely to attack the policy and criticise the acts of their opponents, the task would be easy enough. And in a large measure this is the duty of the Unionist Party. For its due performance certain qualities are required, namely, courage in attack, and diligence in preparing the means to make that attack effective. There is not a single item in the Separatist programme which does not lend itself to destructive criticism, and this criticism will be effective in proportion to the extent to which those who make it have mastered their facts and have studied the problems to which they apply their arguments. The study need not be prolonged, for the fallacies and deceptions by which the supporters of the Government seek to justify their policy are so crude and superficial that common sense, a knowledge of history, and still more, a knowledge of mankind, should furnish the means for exposing and demolishing them.

Of courage there is no lack; and the excellent fight that has been made by a few members in the House of Commons under circumstances of profound discouragement, should serve as an example to all Unionists abroad and at home.

But it will not be enough to criticise, or even to destroy. There must be an alternative policy, and it must be one which differs in almost every particular from the policy of the Government. It must be constructive, not destructive; it must be healing, not punitive; it must be a policy which appeals to the people of this country as a whole, and which does not depend for its efficacy upon cultivating, trading upon, and gratifying sectional animosities. Above all it must be a

policy which is based upon a frank recognition of the fact that for many millions of Englishmen the world is not a good world, but a very hard and cruel one, and that no statesmanship is worth the name which does not recognise this fact, and does not address itself to the task of making life easier and happier not for the few only, but for the many.

> How small of all that human hearts endure
> That part which laws or Kings can cause or cure

is true enough nowadays, as it always has been. But wise legislation, and to a far greater extent wise and sympathetic administration, can do something to remove the grim pressure of social inequality, and to increase the number of those to whom the good things of life are not altogether denied.

It is too often assumed that the good of one section of the community can never be accomplished, save at the cost of another : that levelling down is the only way to smooth the unequal surface of society. It is this idea which is at the root of the whole policy of the present Government, and a black and bitter and unfruitful root it is. There is a better way, and in a succeeding article an attempt will be made to indicate that way, to show that it is one which the Unionist Party may tread with honour and advantage to itself and with profit to the nation ; and from which it can depart only at the risk of extinction as a great body in the State.

H. O. Arnold-Forster.

THE RISKS OF THE CHANNEL TUNNEL

It was perhaps inevitable that one result of the *Entente Cordiale* and the improved relations between England and France, which have followed the conclusion of the Anglo-French Convention, should be the revival of the Channel Tunnel scheme. Twenty-three years have passed since in 1883 a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament, after taking the fullest evidence and obtaining the best military opinion procurable, decided that Government sanction of any submarine communication between England and France was inexpedient. A Liberal Government and a Liberal House of Commons acted upon this recommendation, and in 1884 rejected the Channel Tunnel Bill.

The British people of to-day have once more to examine the arguments for and against the scheme coldly and dispassionately, without sentimental prepossessions. They have to ask themselves whether it is wise under existing European conditions to rid England of her insularity, and whether the arguments which convinced an earlier generation have lost their force. They should remember that alliances may be transient, that no man can pretend to cast the horoscope of Europe, and that all the signs and omens point to the approach of a period of conflict throughout the world. Such a statement may be in direct opposition to the amiable commonplaces of politicians, but for obvious reasons politicians too often ignore the disagreeable facts. For two years France has lived under the constant shadow of war with Germany ; there is not a minor state in Central or North-Western Europe but feels the pressure of the German Empire ; and the great question of our time, the expansion of that Empire, is still unsolved. Add to this the fact, which every student of statistics knows, that periods of great gold production are in some strange way and for unknown reasons periods of war, and that the present is witnessing a gold production which throws that of 1849-70 into the shade, and we see that there is good cause for England to "look to her moat."

The military danger of the Channel Tunnel would be small if this people were trained to arms and organised for war in the way that all great foreign nations in Europe are trained and organised. No sane commander would attempt such a feat as passing an invading force through the tunnel if it were certain to encounter the resistance of a million organised troops on British soil. But Mr. Haldane's National Army exists at present only as a pious aspiration, and the actual fact to-day is that the British Army is small, weak, ill-organised, and may not be available in England when it will be most wanted. The Admiralty admits the practicability of raids of 5000 or 10,000 men against British territory, though how that precise total has been reached no one seems to know. The mouth of the tunnel will be situated near the sea, and at no great distance from excellent landing-places. What is to prevent a raid from being directed against the British end of the tunnel in any period of foreign complications?

Supposing the raiding force had control of the other or French end of the tunnel, it would be able to pass men, guns and stores through, and would no longer be left in the air, though its deployment might be difficult. It would be well placed for striking at London or Chatham or taking Dover from the rear. The British Fleet would be of little value for operations against it, and the whole British scheme of defence would be upset. The danger of such an attack, of course, must depend chiefly upon the destiny and policy of France, but we cannot overlook the fact that many able political thinkers hold with Captain Sorb that France may ultimately be obliged by various reasons to throw in her lot with Germany. There have been *Ententes Cordiales* before, which have passed away. Napoleon III. was as friendly to England as M. Clemenceau, and his friendship seemed as firmly rooted in mutual interest. But England's failure in 1870 to come to his assistance disillusioned the French people and filled them with not unintelligible bitterness against the United Kingdom, which bore disastrous fruit for thirty years.

The special military precautions to be taken in the case of such a tunnel can be understood by any one who has examined the Swiss defences at the northern end of the St. Gothard tunnel. Strong forts command the exit from the tunnel; a permanent garrison is maintained on the spot; arrangements are made for blowing up the line and blocking the tunnel. But better than all these precautions is the fact that the whole Swiss population is trained to arms, and has undergone some military discipline. At a telegram a force of a hundred thousand men can be

assembled in a few hours, and any citizen-soldier who fails to put in an appearance is liable to be shot. This is a very different state of affairs from the unprepared and unarmed condition of England. Every effort is made by the Swiss military authorities to prevent unauthorised aliens from intruding near the forts. There is a zone round the works where no one not in uniform is permitted to go, and where any attempt to take photographs is vigorously repressed and punished. In England, where foreigners are free to go where they like and obtain what information they like, where military secrets scarcely exist, and the public resents as an outrage on its liberty any attempt to enforce even the most reasonable precautions, it would be hopeless to dream of a forbidden zone round Dover and Folkestone.

But, it will be said, the tunnel can be easily blocked or destroyed in the hour of danger. By pressing a button powerful charges could be exploded which would admit the water. The firing-station could be placed at some distance from the coast and could easily be secured from a raid. Unfortunately, those who argue thus ignore the plain warnings of history. The destruction of such a costly work before war has actually broken out, would most certainly be calculated "to hurt foreign susceptibilities," which experience shows that British Cabinets are wont most carefully to consider. The order would probably be delayed till the last minute, and then might be given too late. Carelessness in military matters is so pronounced a characteristic of the British nation that it is unsafe to base any hopes upon timely precautions being taken. Every one would naturally have expected the tunnel under Laing's Nek to be destroyed in 1899, when the British military authorities came to the conclusion that the north of Natal could not be held. But it was not destroyed; no one issued the necessary orders, and there was no subordinate strong enough to take on his own shoulders so serious a responsibility. Again, every one would have expected the Waschbank and Sunday's River bridges to be blown up, when the Boers had secured the Laing's Nek Tunnel, and were moving south along the Natal Railway. Yet the bridges were not blown up; again, no one remembered to give the order. There were analogous instances in Cape Colony which point clearly to the danger of supposing that the obvious steps will always be taken on the eve or in the first hours of wars.

Precisely similar was the state of affairs in France in 1870. The Government in power was dominated by considerations of internal policy, not by military reasoning, and was timid and hesitating in its orders. On the eve of war the Eastern Railway

Company drew its attention to the importance of mining the tunnels through the Vosges. Mines were accordingly laid in the tunnels and deep cuttings of the Strassburg-Paris Railway. But they were not used. The failure to block the tunnels is explained in different ways. One account, given in the French official History of the War, asserts that the French Government did not understand the full gravity of the defeat at Woerth, but imagined that MacMahon would be able to rally his army on the eastern slopes of the Vosges. For that reason it issued no order with regard to the tunnels, and the subordinate military authorities did not dare to act on their own responsibility, the more so because the blowing-in of the tunnels would have involved heavy pecuniary loss to a French company. Thus at the critical moment nothing was done, and when at last the Minister of War at Paris decided to sanction the destruction of the tunnels, they were in the hands of the Germans. The other explanation, which is also given in the French official History of the war, asserts that MacMahon himself forbade the destruction of the tunnels, because he hoped to use the railway for an offensive move, and that his veto was withdrawn too late. Whatever the true reason, the line remained unobstructed and was of immense service to the German Army. These instances at least suggest caution in a country such as England where there is no strong military authority, and where there is so little comprehension of military necessities among the people and governing class.

On military grounds a bridge across the Channel would be preferable from every point of view to a tunnel under the water. No *coup de main* could secure a bridge against the action of the British Navy. Modern engineering skill is certainly equal to the construction of such a bridge. As the cost of the military precautions to be taken would be much less than in the case of the tunnel scheme, and as this entire expense ought in justice to fall upon the company or companies operating the line, from the pecuniary standpoint nothing would be lost by building a bridge, though whether either scheme would pay in the near future, or at all, is at least doubtful. The cost of the tunnel apart from the special fortifications which would certainly be needed at its British end, is estimated by experts at £16,000,000. That is the French Northern Railway Company's figure, and the tendency is for most engineering works of this magnitude largely to exceed the estimate. The case of the Severn tunnel, insignificant as a work beside the Channel tunnel, may be quoted. The length of the Channel tunnel would be about 26 miles; the length of the Severn tunnel was only 7665 yards or about 4½

miles; so that the chances of encountering unexpected difficulties in the Channel are proportionately greater. The final cost of the tunnel might well come to £20,000,000 or even more, and apart from this capital outlay the company would have to bear the cost of the additional force in garrison at the mouth of the tunnel, and the expense of constructing and maintaining in efficient condition the forts which would have to be erected to command the mouth.

After provision had been made for these heads of expenditure, it is difficult to see how the line could be made to pay. The saving of time could not much exceed an hour in average weather, since the pace of the Channel boats could without any excessive difficulty be raised to 25 or 26 knots, and the rapid shipment and debarkation of the luggage are matters with which any engineer can deal. It is on the luggage that at the present date most of the time is lost at Dover and Calais. Moreover, the timid people who are frightened at the mere idea of trusting themselves to the sea, are just as likely to be frightened at the idea of spending an hour in the close atmosphere of a tunnel nearly thirty miles long. To run a grave national risk for the sake of protecting some thousands of tourists from the very transient discomforts of sea-sickness would indeed be the climax of dementia.

For through goods traffic the tunnel might be of advantage—to the Continental farmer and manufacturer. In view of the prohibitive foreign tariffs it would be of little use to British trade. It would sensibly increase the difficulties of the British farmer and market-gardener, by stimulating foreign competition and facilitating the transit of foreign-grown fruit, flowers and vegetables to the London market.

Sentimental talk about the *Entente* must be shunned. Sensible Englishmen do not expect the French to reduce their navy because England is now their friend, nor will sensible Frenchmen take it ill if Britain prefers to remain an island. The great difficulty of the present European situation is to see how France is to resist the incessant pressure of Germany. The German army is already stronger by a million than the French, and as the German population grows infinitely faster than the French, in the not-distant future the German generals will have on their side an advantage of from 40 to 50 per cent. or even more. England shows no intention of reorganising her military forces to support France or to meet twentieth-century conditions. It is therefore possible that for the sake of a quiet life, and to avoid a disastrous struggle, France may in the next decade be induced to enter the German alliance. No doubt she would act unwillingly, but every Govern-

ment has to consider first and foremost the interests of its own people, not those of foreign Powers. Already, reading between the lines, it is clear that the French Government has been not a little startled and disappointed by the British naval and military reductions.

It is, therefore, all-important, in view of the military dangers of a tunnel, that the British people should act with extreme circumspection, look well before they leap, and require the fullest evidence from the ablest military and naval experts to be laid before them. We may wish indeed that the existence of a British National Army had rendered such an inquiry unnecessary, but we must deal with facts as they exist. Of all advisers the sentimentalists are the most dangerous because they ignore human nature and the laws of the universe. They imagine that wars may be eliminated by talk before international courts, that precautions may be safely neglected in the face of the lessons of history, and that weakness is in itself a moral virtue. We cannot, at their bidding, abandon British insularity because some distinguished soldier has asserted that the Channel Tunnel could be easily defended against 200,000 men by fifty. We must remember how often similar off-hand estimates in our past have proved to be wrong, and make the most careful inquiry before we decide.

IGNOTUS.

THE HOHENLOHE MEMOIRS

THE memoirs of Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, the third Chancellor of the new German Empire, which have attracted the serious attention of politicians, statesmen and historians in every European country, are now accessible to English readers unacquainted with German in a translation.* Those who study them with intelligence will acquire not merely a very true idea of the personality of a distinguished man who played an important part in shaping what is now the settled policy of his country, but an accurate perception of the German aims and aspirations with which he was in enthusiastic sympathy. Prince Hohenlohe was a courteous personage, well acquainted with the history and literature of Germany and France, a true friend, a considerate and indulgent head of a Department, and a shrewd, calculating politician. His letters lack the picturesque language, the searching phrases, the vivid descriptions of men and things which lend entrancing charm to the letters of Bismarck, but they are remarkable for an idiosyncratic grace of style, and they contain many suggestive sayings and judgments on which serious readers will not fail to ponder. In the spring of 1864 Prince Hohenlohe received a communication from his aunt, Princess Feodora of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, in which she stated that Queen Victoria wished to obtain an unbiased account of social and political conditions in Germany, and requested Prince Hohenlohe, in whom she had great confidence, to furnish her with the information required. Lord Fitzmaurice has revealed to us in his life of Lord Granville—a work which all who aspire to influence British politics should study unceasingly—that Queen Victoria was actively engaged in thwarting the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston, especially as regards Germany. Her chief agent in the Cabinet was Lord Granville. The Princess Feodora

* *Memoirs of Prince Hohenlohe.* Authorised by Prince Alexander of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst. The English edition supervised by George C. Chrystal, B.A. In two volumes, with five portraits and a facsimile letter, 24*s.* net. (Heinemann.)

was the go-between through whose hands the communications of Hohenlohe were to reach her Majesty. He wrote two letters to the Queen, one on May 4, 1864, and the other on April 15, 1865. They are very remarkable productions. The writer states the German case in the Schleswig-Holstein controversy with sobriety and skill. He explains in an admirably condensed and lucid form the state of the German mind on religious and political subjects, and he makes his own confession of faith on the eve of the great movement for the reconstruction of Germany, in which he was destined to play a distinguished part.

The two political events of the nineteenth century which seem destined to have the most abiding influence on the fortunes of Europe are the establishment of the Italian kingdom and the formation of the new German Empire. Both may be traced to the influence of Napoleon's power. From 1809 to 1814 Italy was practically united under Napoleon, for Murat can hardly be described as an independent sovereign. Neapolitans, Piedmontese and Tuscans stood shoulder to shoulder in his armies, and, long after he had passed away at St. Helena, Italians who had fought in his wars would show their wounds and tell of their deeds of valour when opposed to the soldiers of Wellington in Spain, their feats of endurance during the retreat from Moscow, and the steady courage with which they faced the horrors of Beresina. The idea of a common country was implanted in the popular mind, and it developed quickly under the dull tyranny of the Governments set up in the Peninsula by the Congress of Vienna. Unfortunately, from the year 1821 until Cavour came into power the national cause of Italy was upheld mainly by secret revolutionary societies. Maghella, the evil genius of Murat, reorganised the Carbonari after his escape from Paris in 1813, where he had been placed under strict police observation by Napoleon. The seed he planted prospered, and the pernicious influence of secret societies is felt in Southern Italy to this day. The destruction of their power in Northern and Central Italy was part of the great work of Cavour.

The national movement in Germany received little or no help from secret societies. After the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine, and still more after the Peace of Tilsit, the hand of Napoleon lay so heavily on the country that the necessity of uniting in order to shake off intolerable oppression was felt by men of various sorts and conditions. This was apparent in 1809. At that moment Count Philip Stadion was the chief Minister in Austria. He was a man of great accomplishments and know-

ledge, a statesman whose vision was wide and clear, and who did not direct his attention merely to the small shifts of diplomacy, but took a comprehensive view of the whole condition of Austria. He thoroughly realised the necessity for military, administrative and social reforms, and he saw that the time had come when Austria should put herself at the head of the popular movement in Germany, if she was to keep her historic position in central Europe. Unfortunately the Sovereign whom Stadion served, though not without considerable shrewdness, was small-minded and mean. The Emperor Francis never intelligently supported his Minister, with the result that the movement of which that statesman was the soul ended in the fatal peace of Schönbrunn, consequent on the defeat of the Austrian arms at Wagram. None of Napoleon's battles had such far-reaching consequences as Wagram. It was immediately followed by the armistice of Znaim ; then came the peace of Schönbrunn, and a radical change in Austrian policy took place, involving the substitution of Metternich for Stadion—an adroit, shrewd, unscrupulous and superficial diplomatist for a large-hearted, wide-minded statesman. Stadion's project for the reconstruction of Germany with the aid of German patriotism, intelligence and culture vanished as quickly and completely as a flake of snow on a river. The eyes of patriotic Germans turned to Prussia, and after the destruction of Napoleon's army in Russia and the convention made by General York at Tauroggen, King Frederick William III. was forced to place himself at the head of the national cause of Germany. In January 1813 he fled from Berlin, where he was in semi-captivity, to Breslau. There he made an appeal to his people to vindicate their liberties, and a proclamation appeared in the official gazette of February 13, which a leading historian of the nineteenth century has called the greatest event in German history since the day that Luther nailed his famous theses on the door in Wittenberg.* It called into existence the first really national army seen in Europe, and introduced universal military service. The union of all the physical and moral force of the nation in the army had long been the dream of Scharnhorst. It was realised in February 1813, and is the secret of all the subsequent triumphs of Prussia.

After the fall of Napoleon the German question became one of those problems in which the hard realities of life seem in contradiction to the aspirations of a nation. Between 1815 and 1848 the desire for German unity was general, but few men were clear as to the means by which it could be brought about. Powerful

* Oncken, *Oesterreich und Preussen im Befreiungskrieg* vol. i. p. 172.

and representative men during the Congress of Vienna wished the old Empire to be restored under the arch house of Austria This was impossible with Metternich at the head of Austrian affairs. There were others, not at that time very numerous, but keen observers of the realities of things, who maintained that the solution of the problem was the hegemony of Prussia and the total exclusion of Austria from Germany. Others, again, like Rotteck, admired greatly the Spanish Constitution of 1812, which reduced the authority of the Crown to a shadow; some, like Karl Follen, desired a Jacobin republic, constructed on lines of which St. Just would have approved; and a good number wished for the foundation of a German Federal Republic organised on the Swiss model. There was universal dissatisfaction with the arrangements made by the Congress of Vienna, except among persons whose consideration or position in the world largely, if not entirely, depended on their position at the various Courts. This conflict of opinions and interests produced a fermentation in the German mind which lasted through the period of Prince Hohenlohe's youth and early manhood.

Sainte-Beuve insists that to understand a remarkable man it is necessary to study in him the influence of heredity. This is particularly true as regards Prince Hohenlohe. The Hohenlohe family is one of the most ancient in Europe, its records being earlier than those of the Hapsburgs or the Hohenzollerns. The Hohenlohes had wide possessions in Swabia, and were independent princes of the Holy Roman Empire. They were mediatised in 1803. Prince Chlodwig Hohenlohe, the third Chancellor of the German Empire, was born in March 1819. His father was a Catholic, an amiable and refined man, sometimes witty, and even cheerful, but with a marked strain of melancholy —a characteristic which I more than once observed in his son. Prince Chlodwig's mother was of the Lutheran house of Hohenlohe-Langenburg. The sons were brought up Roman Catholics; one of them took Holy Orders and became a Cardinal. The daughters were Protestants. This difference in religious observance had no effect whatever on the perfect unity of the family. The brothers and sisters remained always deeply attached to each other, and early training to respect religious convictions he did not share influenced Hohenlohe throughout his life. He never could conceal his impatience at unjust and unfair criticism of the Reformation. He was, however, never attracted by the Protestant view, and always remained a Catholic; but his memoirs confirm what those who knew him well could not fail to observe, that anti-clericalism was one of the strongest instincts of his

nature, and that he regarded the influence of the Jesuits, and of the Ultramontane movement generally, with profound aversion, and even dismay. One of the clearest expressions of this opinion is in a letter written from Munich in May 1846, when he was twenty-seven years of age, to his sister, Princess Amalie:

Nothing [he writes] in political life is better or worse than the transition from doubt to firm conviction. It is a bad thing because it wastes the inward life; a good thing, because it puts an end to a state of doubt. I have now reached this point. Previously I held to the so-called Ultramontane party, because I regarded it as safe; but this idea, which had previously made me doubtful of my actions, has now disappeared. . . . The abyss to which I was being carried by the policy of the Jesuits has suddenly been revealed to me. Their intolerance, their hatred of Protestantism, which is one of their leading features, their idea that the Reformation, with all its consequences, was a mistake, that the great philosophical, literary, and other splendid monuments of our history were only aberrations of the human intellect, is an absurdity. It is treachery, utterly opposed to my inmost nature, and is a sign of internal corruption and decay, which makes it absolutely impossible for me to give the smallest help to that party, so long as I place any value on the whole of my past life and my dearest convictions. I pray God for strength to deliver me from the temptations of this devilish society, which works only for the subjugation of human freedom, especially any intellectual freedom; I pray that I may never be led astray from the path of truth by promises or threats for this purpose. There must be an open breach with the whole clique, which it will be my business to bring to pass as soon as possible.

This letter, written sixty years ago, reveals the principle which governed Prince Hohenlohe's action in religious matters to the day of his death. He remained equally true through life to the political aspirations of his youth. His burning desire was for reforms in Germany which would make that country great and powerful. He was haunted by recollections of the days of the Hansa, and hoped to see his country in possession of fleets and colonies, with a dominating influence all over the world, but especially in the East.

These views are expressed in a remarkable memorandum, "On the Political Condition of Germany, its Danger and Means of Defence," which Hohenlohe composed during November and December 1847:

No one will deny [he wrote] that it is hard on a thinking, energetic man to be unable to say abroad, "I am a German," unable to pride himself on the joy of seeing the German flag flying from his vessel, to have no German Consul in cases of emergency, but to have to explain: "I am a Hessian, a Darmstädter, a Bückeburger, my Fatherland was once a great and powerful country; now it is shattered into thirty-eight splinters." When we study the map and observe how the Baltic, the North Sea, and the Mediterranean break upon our shores and that no German ship compels the pride of the English

and French to give the usual salute to the German flag, ought not the hue of shame alone survive from the black, red, and yellow ensign and mount into our cheeks? And must not all the whining talk about German unity and the German nation remain wofully ludicrous until the words cease to be an empty sound, a phantasmagoria of our complacent optimism, until we have the reality of a great and united Germany? The industry so long fostered by the Zollverein no longer suffices for our commerce in its present extended conditions, our rich trade seeks extraneous markets and connections over sea.

And on January 16, 1849, being at Mount Carmel, he writes in his journal:

I am more and more convinced of the need for a speedy central organisation of Germany. England and Russia are extending themselves here as much as possible. The East knows nothing of Germany. We must have a German Catholic Consul in Jerusalem. Influence in the East would give (1) more power to Germany, (2) increase of German commerce and perhaps of colonisation. In order to establish this influence we must make use of the religious element of the Catholic clergy. More attention must be paid to this.

"Time and I against any two others" was a saying of Cardinal Mazarin. It would have been an appropriate motto for Prince Hohenlohe.

On January 19, 1848, he advocated the seizure by Germany of Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete and Asia Minor. More than forty years afterwards, on October 26, 1894, Count Caprivi, the second Chancellor of the new Empire, who held that Germany should keep steadily in view the necessity of consolidating herself in Europe, and avoid a policy sure to bring her into ultimate collision with England, was dismissed, and was replaced by Hohenlohe. He proceeded, as far as circumstances would allow, to carry out the policy he advocated in the morning of his life. It was under him that Kiao Chow was annexed, a fleet commenced on a great scale with a view of wresting from England the sovereignty of the seas, and a concession for the Baghdad Railway secured, with the object of extending the influence of Germany to the Persian Gulf. Englishmen would do well to think of these things when they are told that German hopes of grasping the trident and winning the position now held by England are the idle dream of enthusiasts and does not represent the deep feeling of the German nation.

On December 31, 1866, Hohenlohe was appointed by King Louis II. of Bavaria President of the Council of Ministers, and also entrusted with the conduct of foreign affairs. Public opinion was very much divided. The wounds which Bavaria received in the war between Austria and Prussia when she took the side of the former Power were still open. The great majority of the peasants under clerical influences were exceedingly hostile to

Prussia. The nobility, and, generally speaking, what may be called the party of the Court, as distinct from that of the King, shared the same feeling. On the other hand, in Rhenish Bavaria and in Franconia among the industrial classes and the Protestants many desired a close union with Prussia, and throughout the kingdom the Liberals and the middle classes had the same wish because they considered it would afford them protection against Ultramontane domination. Prince Hohenlohe explained the views of his Government in the Chamber of Deputies on January 19, 1867. He said the goal of his policy was the union of all the German people in one confederation, "protected from without by a powerful central Government, and within by a Parliamentary constitution, with concomitant preservation of the integrity of the Bavarian State and Crown." He went on to declare that he would not try to form a South-West German Confederation under the protection of a non-German Power, or under the leadership of Austria. He stated that Prussia was the Power to which Bavaria should be allied, and, in view of making this alliance valuable, the Bavarian army must be reorganised, and he concluded by once more insisting that his policy was to prepare the way for a constitutional league with all the other States of Germany while preserving the sovereign rights of Bavaria. A few days after this speech Hohenlohe received a letter from Freiherr von Roggenbach. That eminent statesman, one of the very best political heads of the nineteenth century, wrote, "Whoever is not blind to the dangers which this Babel of tongues is preparing for the continuance and future of our people, and for the development of the German State, must welcome your utterance with the most sincere and heartfelt joy"; and some little time afterwards he received a letter from the Grand Duke of Baden, one of the most clear-sighted of German patriots as well as the most justly respected of Sovereigns, which will interest those who desire a closer union of the British Empire. The Grand Duke insisted that "the class of legislation for which it is indispensable to obtain complete uniformity throughout Germany is to be found chiefly in the domain of material interests," and he goes on to point out that agreement in tariff matters would be "the first step towards a closer union of North and South." The Grand Duke of Baden was mainly instrumental in this step being taken, and it had all the consequences he anticipated.

The movement for a closer union between the North German Confederation and Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden and Hesse required for its direction the greatest prudence and care. After

the changes which took place in European politics in consequence of Prussian triumphs in 1866, the Emperor Napoleon III. seemed anxious for an understanding with Austria, and made use of the tragedy of Queretaro to open negotiations with the Court of Vienna. For that purpose an interview was arranged between him and the Emperor Francis Joseph at Salzburg. They met in August 1867, and a full account of what took place will be found in the memoirs of Schäffle. Napoleon III., when returning to France, requested Prince Hohenlohe to meet him at the railway station in Munich. Hohenlohe went there, and on the arrival of the Imperial train got into the carriage with the Emperor of the French. I have heard him more than once tell the story of that interview, substantially the same as the account given in his memoirs. But Hohenlohe in conversation always laid stress on the pacific tone of the Emperor. Napoleon III. declared that he was not opposed to German unity, nor to the South German States entering the North German Confederation, but insisted that the movement should be very gradual, as he could not restrain the warlike desires of France. It is only fair to the memory of Napoleon III. to insist on this fact; for, however disastrous, from a French point of view, his policy may have been, in the Schleswig-Holstein question, and again after Sadowa, in the Luxembourg question, in that of the Belgian railways, and in exciting a just suspicion in Germany that he intended to seize portions of German territory, it is perfectly certain that he was most unwilling to take up arms against Germany, and it is not fair to hold him mainly responsible for the disasters of 1870.

The Government of Prince Hohenlohe in Bavaria will be remembered for his attitude to the Vatican Council of 1870. On January 28, 1868, a Bull appeared summoning a General Council to meet on December 1869. It was a counterpart of the document of Paul III. convening the Council of Trent. Paul, however, invited Roman Catholic Sovereigns to send Ambassadors to the Council. Pius IX. did not follow this precedent. The omission attracted universal and painful attention, especially in France. M. Émile Ollivier declared in the Chamber of Deputies that the exclusion of the Sovereigns from the Council was tantamount to the Pope's introducing with his own hand a separation between Church and State, and the *Univers*, the organ of Ultramontanism, truculently proclaimed that the exclusion of the Princes proved that they were outside the Church. The State, according to this paper, had become a "chaos and a sink," and all Catholics stood outside it. Prince Hohenlohe believed that the moment had come when action might be successfully taken

against the Ultramontane party. Haneberg, the learned abbot of St. Boniface, gave him a most alarming account of the power of that party in Rome. The Prince therefore issued a circular note to the Bavarian diplomatists, instructing them to call the attention of the Governments to which they were accredited to the Ultramontane danger with a view of common action. The President of the Swiss Federal Council sent, in consequence, an inquiry to the Prussian Minister at Berne as to the intentions of Prussia. The question therefore became European. Bismarck informed the President that Prussia did not share the anxiety with which the Council was generally regarded. He thought that a remedy would be found in a natural reaction within the Catholic world. Count Arnim, the Prussian Ambassador at Rome, treated Hohenlohe's proposals with that want of political sagacity which neutralised his many brilliant gifts. Beust, who then directed the foreign policy of Austria, took in this, as in all other questions, a most superficial view, and seemed to think he had answered Prince Hohenhole by describing his proposals as a "Liberal rocket." Daru, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, was willing to support Hohenlohe, but it was impossible to induce the Emperor to sanction a step which would be displeasing to the clerical party. Belgium, Holland, England and Spain declined likewise, although for different reasons, to move in the matter. Minghetti, in Italy, though more sympathetic, was ineffective. Prince Hohenlohe's proposal therefore fell through. What subsequently passed at the Vatican Council lies outside present consideration. It is fairly certain, however, that if Hohenlohe had been listened to some dark pages in the history of Church and State would not have been written and the continent of Europe would have been spared the tumult of the present hour. Long before the Council was over the Government of Hohenlohe in Bavaria came to an end, and the day the Council met for the last time was that on which war was declared between France and Germany. With this event an immense change took place in the life of Prince Hohenlohe, who soon became a person of the greatest consideration in Europe, and on the recall of Count Arnim in 1874 was made German Ambassador in Paris and played a significant part in history. I have described in a former number of this Review the attitude and conduct of Hohenlohe during the crisis of 1875, when Germany attempted to pick a quarrel with France for the purpose of practically destroying the resources of that nation. I need not repeat that story. His intrigues against the Cabinet of the Duc de Broglie in 1877 will be viewed differently according

as we take a German, a French, or an English point of view. But on the whole I think the period of his embassy in Paris is one of the least creditable in his career.

The memoirs of Prince Hohenlohe seem to have made an unpleasant impression on superficial readers. They bring out certainly much that is little and common among those who have played a great part on the stage of European history. But they have not revealed to well-informed persons anything very new. Prince Hohenlohe alludes to the mean and jealous disposition which, in spite of his great genius and many splendid qualities, impaired the character of Bismarck. He says that Bismarck tried to cripple his administration in Alsace-Lorraine, because there was a question of the governorship of the annexed provinces being made hereditary in the family of Hohenlohe, whereas Bismarck had not been made the hereditary Duke of Lauenburg. Hohenlohe was not a man to make lightly a charge of this kind, and every one knows that Bismarck was capable of great meanness. At the time of his dismissal he went to the Empress Frederick, whom, in the days of his power, he had treated in an unmanly and scandalous manner, to beg of her to intercede with her son on his behalf. His cringing behaviour on that occasion was contemptible in the extreme. When Napoleon once attacked Talleyrand in an outrageous manner, that statesman shrugged his shoulders and said: "Quel dommage qu'un si grand homme soit si mal élevé!" When the Empress Frederick saw Bismarck whining at her feet she must have thought it a pity that so great a man should be so mean.

But perhaps the most interesting portion of these memoirs is the account which Prince Hohenlohe gives of the causes of the dismissal of Bismarck. In 1889 Bismarck introduced a Bill which was to take the place of the laws against the Socialists, about to expire. The Reichstag was quite willing to accept the new measure, with the exception of one clause, giving the Government power to expel Social Democrats from certain districts. Such Governmental action was considered as likely to spread Socialistic ideas to parts of the country where they did not exist. Bismarck, however, adhered to the clause. Herr von Helldorf, one of the leaders of the Conservative party, went to Friedrichsruhe to talk over the situation. Bismarck refrained from expressing any wish as to the action of the Conservative party. Herr von Helldorf and his friends interpreted this reticence as indicating that the Chancellor desired the rejection of the Bill, without having any responsibility himself for that rejection. Accordingly the Conservative party voted with the

Extreme Left against the measure, and the exceptional legislation against the Socialist party, which had lasted for twelve years, came to an end. The real objects of Bismarck have for some time been known to many, but they are revealed to the public for the first time, I believe, in the Hohenlohe memoirs. In a letter dated Strassburg, April 26, 1890, Prince Hohenlohe gives an account of an hour's drive with the Kaiser, who related to him the whole story of his differences with Bismarck. He said that relations became strained in December 1889:

> The Emperor then desired that something should be done upon the question of the workmen. The Chancellor objected. The Emperor's view was that if the Government did not take the initiative, the Reichstag—in other words, the Socialists, the Centres, and the Progressives—would take the matter in hand, and the Government would be forced to follow them. The Chancellor desired to bring the Socialists' law, including the provisions of expulsion, before the new Reichstag once again, to dissolve the Reichstag if it rejected the law, and to take energetic measures in the event of a revolt. The Emperor objected to this policy, saying that if his grandfather had been forced to deal with rebels after a long and glorious reign no one would have thought the worse of him. But he was himself in a different position, for he had as yet achieved nothing. He would be reproached for beginning his reign by the slaughter of his subjects. He was ready enough to act, but he wished to be able to act with a clear conscience, and first to make an attempt to satisfy the legitimate grievances of the workmen, and at least to do everything that was possible to fulfil their justifiable demands.

In a conference with his Ministers the Emperor urged his own policy, which commanded general assent, but Bismarck, while pretending to submit, continued to intrigue actively and secretly against the views of his Sovereign. Friction arose, and increased in consequence of Bismarck's appeal to the Prussian Cabinet Order of 1852, hindering Ministers, other than the President of the Council, from free access to the Sovereign. The Emperor demanded the repeal of the Cabinet Order; Bismarck made a show of consent, but nothing was done. The Emperor, therefore, demanded he should either issue an order of repeal or hand in his resignation, and this decision was communicated by Hanke. Bismarck hesitated, but was forced to resign on March 18.

Bismarck intended to quarrel with the Reichstag for rejecting the Socialist law. How he intended to prosecute this conflict is not revealed in Hohenlohe's memoirs. Considerable light, however, is thrown upon his intentions by Dr. Delbrück in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* of October. The Chancellor, it appears, wished a dissolution, and resolved to put down any tumultuous or riotous demonstration with energy. But it must

be remembered that the old Socialist law did not expire till the autumn of 1890 ; elections might have been held while it was still in force. It is difficult to see why serious rioting should have been apprehended. The cause has now been told for the first time, I believe, by Dr. Delbrück in the article just cited. This extremely well-informed gentleman tells us that Bismarck intended to do away with universal suffrage, and Dr. Delbrück appears to think that he desired after his dismissal to go back into office in order to carry out this plan. This explains the whole situation. Prince Bismarck seems to have held that the German princes together had a right to dissolve the Empire and re-form it on another basis. He reckoned that the army would stand by him, that all opposition would be crushed, and that the middle classes would ultimately accept with cordiality the new order of things. It is idle, of course, to speculate what might have been the result of such a policy. It is quite certain, however, that the idea of a *coup d'état* was contemplated by many persons in Germany. There was a great desire to get rid of universal suffrage, statesmen not always remembering that universal military service and universal suffrage in the minds of the present generation of Germans stand and fall together. During the time that Hohenlohe was Chancellor it was again discussed, when there was a movement in Germany to reform the proceedings of court-martials. A number of influential people desired that these proceedings should be private. I remember at that time meeting Prince Hohenlohe during one of his visits to Paris, and there is no indiscretion now in my saying that he expressed himself strongly, and before a number of people, in favour of publicity. He pointed out that when he was Minister in Bavaria he introduced a military penal procedure in which publicity was provided for, with no injurious effects on the discipline of the army. He therefore made up his mind to oppose any project excluding publicity, if the Prussian Minister of War should do so also. In his memoirs he mentions, under the date of November 1895, a document which he received from a Bavarian acquaintance, whose name is not mentioned, but whom I recognise as Freiherr von Völderndorff. Völderndorff was in many respects the most gifted permanent official I have known in any country. He joined to a great knowledge of routine a remarkable grasp of mind, and in political matters always took a comprehensive view very exceptional among men who have spent their life in a public office. He urged Hohenlohe on no account to support a Bill excluding publicity, and he writes :

> If his Majesty only knew what harm he is doing by maintaining the opposite point of view ! I ascribe, too, the late increase of *lèse-majesté* to this opposi-

tion. If the court has the power, as is the case with us, of excluding the public whenever it appears necessary for the safeguarding of discipline, then there can be no danger. I repeat, with as many dissolutions as you like, you will never get a Reichstag together that will pass a military penal procedure without publicity.

Shortly after the receipt of this letter Prince Hohenlohe prepared a memorandum which reveals the views taken in high quarters in Berlin. He wrote :

I know that a number of politicians and highly placed busybodies are doing their best to discredit me with his Majesty. They want another dissolution, and pretend there is need of energetic action. What can they gain by this ? A conflict with the Reichstag leads to dissolution and to fresh elections, and thus to a defeat of the Government. Another dissolution and a *coup d'état* may lead to a conflict with the federated Governments, to civil war, and the dissolution of the German Empire. Then foreign countries would not look on quietly, but would interfere—at least, France would.

And then, in the early part of the next year, he points out how the change in Germany to an industrial State must alter the situation : " On account of that change the population is strengthening in the great town and industrial districts, upon which the Crown cannot depend, whereas the agricultural population provides the real support of the monarchy."

These memoirs make no mention of Hohenlohe's attitude to England during the Boer War, and, what is more remarkable, of his action in regard to the Kruger telegram of January 1896. I have the very best reason for believing that he induced the Kaiser to alter the original draft of that telegram, which, if it had been published as it stood, would have rendered war between England and Germany inevitable. I have heard him say before many people that he did not approve of the telegram. Very likely not, for he desired a European combination against England, and did not wish that Germany should drift into war with this country without allies. Ingenuous Englishmen have been asked to believe that the Kruger telegram was an impulsive act of the Kaiser. The truth is it was discussed at a Council of Ministers, and it was sent in the hope that other Powers would join Germany in active hostility to England. This was revealed by Prince Hohenlohe's successor, Prince Bülow, when he said in the Reichstag (Dec. 12, 1900) :

I have not the slightest intention of disavowing that telegram, by which his Majesty gave correct expression to his sense of the law of nations. . . . I am guilty of no diplomatic indiscretion when I say that the telegram had at any rate this good effect, by virtue of the reception which it met, not in Germany, but outside Germany—it had the merit of making the situation so far clear to us that its reception obviated all possibility of a doubt that in the event of a

conflict with England in Africa we should have had to rely solely upon our own strength. From the perception of this fact a conscientious Government was bound to draw its own conclusions, and we drew our conclusions.

In the diplomatic campaign that followed the sending of the Kruger telegram Hohenlohe was one of the most active and perfidious of our enemies. He gave vent to his feelings on one occasion to a leading European diplomatist, when, talking over the Boer War, he exclaimed in bitter tones, "Ah, si la France avait voulue," and they are clearly shown in a letter which he wrote on the occasion of the death of Queen Victoria. In that letter he speaks of "the egotistical brutality of English statesmen," and uses language strange in the mouth of the Minister of a country holding Frenchmen, Danes and Poles in unwilling subjection. But in truth Hohenlohe's knowledge of this country was even more superficial than that of most of his countrymen. With English literature he had little acquaintance. He knew, of course, something of industrial England, but nothing of the greater England of poetry and romance. Moreover, the moment he was called to play a practical part on the stage of history synchronised with the time when England was governed by Mr. Gladstone, of whom a great man once remarked to me that he stood with his hat in his hand in the Council of the nations, apologising that England was a Great Power. Hohenlohe, clear-sighted and intelligent, will hardly be considered by historians as a statesman of the first rank, but his most ardent wish was for the greatness of Germany, and, as I have already remarked, he represented in a very striking degree the feelings and aspirations of his countrymen.

ROWLAND BLENNERHASSETT.

MR. ALFRED DEAKIN, PREMIER OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH

ALFRED DEAKIN has been described as the Bayard of Australian politics, and the epigram is justified. For Mr. Deakin is one of those charming personalities, like Sir Wilfrid Laurier or Mr. Balfour, who counts as many warm personal friends amongst his political opponents as he does amongst his own partisans. "He can throw a halo of attraction around the orifice of Hades" is the phrase in which one of his contemporaries has expressed Mr. Deakin's superlative powers as an orator, and to these powers of speech he joins a literary ability, a spirit of idealism, and a readiness for self-effacement which make him a unique figure among present-day politicians of the Commonwealth.

Born in Melbourne on August 3, 1856, Mr. Deakin took his LL.B. at Melbourne University in 1877, and in the following year joined the staff of the Melbourne *Age*. Only one year later Mr. Deakin entered public life, and the story of how his chance came to him is certainly romantic. The electors of West Bourke sent a deputation to the then proprietor of the *Age*, asking him to become their candidate. This gentleman refused, but mentioned that he had a very brilliant young man upon his staff whom he could recommend, and Mr. Deakin, who at the moment was half-way through an editorial, was summoned, accepted the offer, and within twelve months had been elected for the constituency. The romance, however, did not end here. It was subsequently found that a complete poll had not been made at one petty place, and Mr. Deakin, after taking his seat in the House, and moving the Address in Reply resigned, challenged his opponent to another struggle, and was defeated by a narrow margin!

In the Victorian Parliament Mr. Deakin has a distinguished career upon which to look back. In 1883 he became Solicitor-General and Commissioner of Public Works in the Service-Berry Coalition Ministry. In 1886 the Cabinet reformed and the Gillies-Deakin Government came into being, with Mr. Deakin

as Chief Secretary, Solicitor-General, Minister of Health and Commissioner of Water-Supply. Mr. Deakin had need to be a versatile man, and in spite of the many subjects engaging his attention he was able to effect numerous important reforms. It was during his career as Chief Secretary that the important Factory Legislation since extended by Mr. Peacock was put upon the statute book, and to the same period Victoria owed a Public Health Act and a Public Service Act. But of all the State questions with which he was called upon to deal Mr. Deakin concerned himself most with the subject of irrigation. In 1884 he was President of the Royal Commission on Water-Supply, and so complete a knowledge had he of his subject that his *Irrigated India*, one of several books he published on this question, is even now regarded by Indian experts as a standard work. Mr. Deakin constituted himself the evangelist of irrigagation and put his whole heart and soul into the object with an earnestness that overcame all difficulties. Enormous sums of money were expended in providing water, and yet in the end the scheme was a failure through the neglect of that class in whose interests it had been conceived. At the close of 1890 Mr. Deakin's Ministerial experiences in a State Parliament came to an end. Thenceforth he has moved upon a wider stage. A master builder of the Australian Natives Association; he played a leading part in bringing about Federation, and if Sir Edmund Barton was the man with whose name the final creation of the Commonwealth will be associated it must not be forgotten that Mr. Deakin took part in every convention and every move of the agitation since 1890. He was an active member of the Drafting Committee. It was he who captured the Australian Natives Association; who won over the *Age* when it was wavering; who stood firm when Gillies and his party held back; and who led the Federal League of Victoria when the leagues joined forces throughout the country to fight the extreme centralists on the one hand and the extreme provincialists on the other. Mr. Deakin consistently stood by Sir Henry Parkes who, but for Mr. Deakin's aid, could not have overcome the hostility of Mr. Gillies and the other Premiers. Mr. Deakin's part in this great movement has never yet received adequate praise. His time will come when the history of Federation is written more fully and certain private documents are published. Since the retirement of Sir Edmund Barton there is no other politician who can claim to have done so much for Federation as the man who succeeded him in the leadership of the Commonwealth, and who has already twice been Federal Premier.

So far, however, Mr. Deakin's Federal career has not been distinguished by any great piece of legislation, and the most interesting feature has been the attitude which he has adopted towards Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal policy. Mr. Deakin is the acknowledged leader of the preferential trade movement in Australia and in the Federal Parliament. It was he who, when Mr. Chamberlain told the *British Australasian* newspaper that he would be interested to know Australian opinion on his scheme, cabled to that journal that "the Commonwealth Government and all the Governments of the separate States approve of Mr. Chamberlain's preferential trade proposals. Only the extreme section of the Free Traders are opposed to them, and an immense majority is assured for the new policy when it is put before the country. Personally, I consider preferential tariffs an indispensable foundation of the Empire." It was Mr. Deakin who invited Mr. Chamberlain to "star" in Australia, who took the first definite steps by the preferential trade resolutions which he moved in December 1904, and who has now passed an Act granting a customs preference averaging 10 per cent. upon British goods imported into the Commonwealth in British bottoms manned by white crews. The Act, which, when the relative scales of duties are considered, may be taken roughly as equivalent to the Canadian preference of 33⅓ per cent., has been reserved for the Royal Assent on the ground of its conflicting with existing treaties.

It is, however, important to understand the full value of this offer, because the usual attempts have been made to minimise its effects. The Free Trade papers of Australia and this country are loud in declaring that any such arrangement as this, which leaves duties as they were against British imports and merely raises them against the foreigner, is a hollow mockery. Such a scheme has been dubbed as "playing at preference" by Mr. G. H. Reid, who wants to know the good of building a very tall wall between the foreign dog and the bone, if you still keep between the bone and your friendly dog a wall so high that he cannot jump over it. This argument is as specious as most of Mr. Reid's arguments, and is utterly misleading. Tariff Reformers can perfectly well afford to acknowledge that Australia is protectionist in its tendencies. Nobody can honestly suppose that the hands of the clock can ever be put back, and that our Colonies will consent to have all their manufacturing done for them in this country; nor, supposing such a thing conceivable, can he honestly believe that that is the way to fill up the vacant lands of an unpeopled Empire. Mr. Deakin, it is well

known, has himself talked of Australian goods for Australia as loudly as anybody. But after all this has been admitted, a supporter of Mr. Chamberlain can still claim that Mr. Deakin's proposal is not the mere playing at preference which Mr. Reid terms it. The essentials of the case have not altered since Mr. Deakin's abortive resolutions of two years ago, and the following extracts from the Hansard account put Mr. Deakin's argument as well as anything :

It is usually urged [he said in his speech of December 8, 1904] that the British workman, or the colonial purchaser, will have to pay something more. I do not admit that. Treaties can be made which would not raise the price of articles upon either side, and which would still confer a mutual advantage. Others can be made which would, or might incidentally or temporarily for the most part, raise prices. Again, it is a question of how much? There may be an increase in price, which is inconsiderable, and a compensating advantage which is considerable. . . . The only figures I propose to quote here are those which indicate the possibility of diverting within the Empire trade which is at present without it. I find that in 1903 the imports—including gold and bullion —into the Empire represented upwards of £900,000,000. Adding the exports of the Empire for the same year, I find that the total trade was £1,600,000,000 There must be a large proportion of these imports which the Empire cannot produce profitably, and a large proportion of exports which we cannot consume. With those I will not deal. The enormous magnitude of those figures suffices to show the margin we have to work upon. They show the portion of our trade which now leaves only one of its profits within the Empire, and puts another profit in the pockets of our rivals and possible enemies. That trade may be retained within the Empire, to the lasting benefit especially of those portions of it which, like Australia, are but imperfectly cultivated and inadequately settled. . . . We must begin with a moderate tentative experiment, to be gradually developed. . . . The arrangements entered into will be tentative, experimental, and modest in their inception. They will be capable of being rescinded, and especially of being varied. No doubt they will require to be varied. . . .

Mr. BRUCE SMITH : Does the honourable and learned member remember telling the Prime Minister, when he sat on this side of the Chamber, that he would not be a party to the reduction of the duties (on boots) ?

Mr. DEAKIN : I beg the honourable member's pardon. I did not say that. I said that any proposal that preference should be given by a general reduction of duties must come from the other side, and not from me. That is still true. Any general reduction is not likely to be proposed, or supported, by me, but I said then, and I say still, that reductions are possible. We have to consider the interests of Australia, while the people of Great Britain have to bear in mind the interests of the people at home, besides our common interests.

Mr. LONSDALE : The honourable and learned member wants preference to just the extent which may suit Australia, and pays no regard to the interests of Great Britain.

Mr. DEAKIN : The honourable member implies that we are acting from purely self-interested motives ; but the answer to that statement is that it is wholly inaccurate. We do desire to promote our own interests, but our main

motive is of an Imperial character, and our proposals must be made in such a way as to commend themselves to the people of Great Britain, who are just as well qualified to look after their interests as is the honourable member to conserve the interests of Australia.

This quotation may be taken to represent Mr. Deakin's attitude to-day as truly as at the time when the words were spoken. So much, then, for the broad outline of Mr. Deakin's policy. We may now proceed to consider rather more closely what benefit Great Britain will derive from his offer. Two years ago, when he was Minister of Customs, Sir William Lyne delivered a lecture in which he attempted to balance the advantages which Australia would receive from agricultural preference against the manufactures now imported into Australia from foreign countries which might be bought from the Mother Country. He estimated them at seven millions of trade upon each side, and this, be it remembered, simply by the raising of Australian customs against the foreigner. A still more favourable estimate was made by Mr. B. R. Wise. Basing his conclusions upon figures supplied by Mr. T. A. Coghlan, the able statistician, Mr. Wise said of a preference to British ships and goods that

if such a measure only arrested the decline in British exports to the Commonwealth, the money gain to England would be great; but if it also won back for England the trade which she had lost to foreigners, her sales in the markets of the Commonwealth would soon show an increase of at least ten millions per annum, and her unseen imports in the shape of freights would be increased by another million.

Lastly, the supporters of preference may well take heart from the Free Trader's own admissions. Discussing Mr. Deakin's Act, the Australian correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, after minimising the value of his concessions, and arguing that only $2\frac{1}{4}$ million pounds worth of trade out of $36\frac{3}{4}$ capable of being affected is touched, and that of this $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions only about one-third is accounted for by non-British importations, goes on to make this significant acknowledgment:

The judgment of the Free Trade journal, the *Argus*, stands, in the main, good, viz., "that it is the interests of the Australian rather than the British manufacturer which have been studied. Preferentialists will look in vain for any substantial concession to Great Britain, will find no expression of the desire we all entertain for drawing the Motherland and Australia into closer relationship." The judgment may be pressed too far. It has to be remembered that this preferential tariff is only the beginning of a very long and new chapter in Australian fiscal history. Personally Mr. Deakin is not a prohibitionist; he believes that it is wise that the British competitor of his own Australian manufacturing friend should be within "coo-ee" of the Commonwealth market—not banished altogether. Therefore I think that his first effort at preference should be treated as an instalment of a departure which will finally assume a much more generous shape than it now bears.

This admission is not only important in itself but carries us on to another point, namely, what further developments may reasonably be expected in the future if Mr. Deakin continues to remain Federal Prime Minister. Already, it may be recalled. Mr. Deakin has make a decided advance upon his first position. When Mr. Chamberlain inaugurated his policy Mr. Deakin, while never concealing his personal convictions, did not believe in anticipating Great Britain, and held that Australia's decision must depend upon the Mother Country's. That within a few months of the General Election in this country Mr. Deakin should have taken the bull by the horns and followed in the footsteps of Canada is a step forward which has not merely dished the Free Trade party, but testifies to his real enthusiasm for the principles of inter-Imperial trade. Besides, that Mr. Deakin does contemplate further concessions is evident from a conversation which Mr. C. H. Chomley, himself a Free Trader, described in the *Westminster Gazette* of April 3, 1905.

Was he prepared to support a preference to British goods which would make the competition easier than at present with goods manufactured in the Commonwealth? . . . .

DEAKIN: On certain goods—Yes. Reductions are possible. First, duties could be reduced upon the articles wherein the United Kingdom and foreign countries at present compete for our market, and afterwards upon articles in which our manufacturers would not be seriously affected by competition from the Old Country.

CHOMLEY: I understand that you do not favour any general reduction of duties upon British goods?

DEAKIN: Not unless, as I have stated, they occur on the Canadian plan.

CHOMLEY: Would it be correct to say that there is no party or political organisation in Australia which does so?

DEAKIN: Not quite correct, for there are a few Free Traders here (*i.e.*, Victoria) and in New South Wales who advocate such a reduction. But the party which is in favour of preference does not propose it on those lines.

CHOMLEY: Assuming that the United Kingdom offered a preference on food-stuffs but not on raw material, would you consider that a satisfactory basis for reciprocity?

DEAKIN: "Raw material" is another wide term. You refer specifically to wool. Yes, I think we might make reciprocal arrangements though no preference were given in respect of it, at any rate in the first instance. We sell a great deal of our wool to foreign countries. I consider that a preference on food-stuffs grown within the Empire is a basis on which reciprocity between Australia and the United Kingdom could be instituted. The preference might afterwards be extended to other articles.

It would be unreasonable to look immediately for such further developments. The Commonwealth cannot be expected to make material reductions directly in favour of British manufactures so long as the revenue barely meets the requirements of the State

expenditures. The Protectionist party has, however, declared its willingness to consider the matter, and when Australia has tested the benefits accruing to the country from the home preference may not be unwilling to incline towards a revenue tariff as regards Great Britain.

Mr. Deakin's position as leader of the Protectionist party, and as the foremost advocate of preferential trade has been purposely emphasised because in this dual and not, as has been shown, inconsistent capacity he stands out as the head of the one party which offers a practical, constructive policy. The Labour Party, agreed to differ upon the fiscal question, gives no place in its fighting platform to preference, and cares but little for the various projects which Mr. Deakin has been drawing up or means to draw up with the Mother Country and other Colonies. The opposition resists and refuses them, and raises the banner of anti-Socialism. Mr. Deakin's policy enables him both to benefit the Mother Country and to espouse a long series of measures intended to foster production and encourage settlement upon the land. Unfortunately Mr. Deakin is a little weak as a leader, being somewhat prone to magnify difficulties and to allow undue latitude to his lieutenants. It is not paradoxical to say that his strength has been his weakness. For Mr. Deakin has all the strength of a man who pushes away from himself the fruits of ambition rather than jostle a fellow toiler on the path. It is magnificent, but it is not politics as understood by most politicians of all countries. That Mr. Deakin, with his genius for self-effacement, should so long have maintained his high position amongst Australian statesmen is an equal testimony to his own personality and worth and to the saving common sense of his countrymen. He is the one Australian statesman who is alike indispensable to the Commonwealth and to the Empire.

MAXWELL H. H. MACARTNEY.

MISSING CHAPTERS IN "THE GARDEN THAT I LOVE"

"NEED I deny it?" said the Poet.

The impeachment was not a very serious one; for Veronica had only been saying that there were days when he seemed utterly incapable of sitting still, though supposed to be at what is ambiguously designated work. It hardly can be necessary to say that the morning-room, in which we usually foregather of an evening, and which, described when I told of the modest addition to our home, has proved such an adornment to it, has been allotted to the Poet, for whom Veronica, more flattering in deeds than words, apparently thinks nothing too good. It is enlivened by the morning sun, and one has only to open the door and traverse a short passage, to find oneself in the Garden, on a flower-crowned brick path, up and down which one may pace or meditate with undisturbed will. But, as Veronica had been saying, there are days when this convenient if limited territory does not satisfy him, but he is out and about in an erratic and unaccountable manner.

"Need I deny it?" he pleaded. "There is no inevitable connection between the goodness or badness of work, and the pains or pleasure a man takes in doing it. The aphorism 'Genius is patience,' was originally coined by Buffon, and not by any of the various persons to whom, in these inaccurate days, it is from time to time ascribed; and Buffon was dosing somewhat, I think, when he said it. Would it not be nearer the truth, but still not the whole truth, to say that Genius is a mixture of impatience and patience? But all the impatience and patience in the world will not produce works of Genius, if the workers be not themselves endowed at birth with that sovran gift. Most of us are wanting in patience, and at times have impatience enough to subdue all difficulties, if that quality had in itself any such power, which, alas, it has not. One keeps bursting into the Garden, as you say, because there are moments when one cannot sit still. As long as one has freedom to move,

and is seized of an idea, one feels as though one had dominion over all the kingdoms of earth and air, and no resistance was offered to utterance and imagination uncontrolled. One sits down and suddenly one finds oneself the mere satrap of a narrow and recalcitrant province. If impelled to write musically one would fall amumbling were one to be at rest, and subside into the dreariest prose. The result in one's own case may be but indifferent; but such is the operation. Do the judges absolve me?"

"You leave the Court," said Veronica, "with no stain on your character; and, so long as you don't break one of my Chippendale chairs, or upset and chip one of my old flower-glasses, you may stampede, my dear, at your end of the house as often and long as you like."

"But," added Lamia—for Veronica had left us to look after our creature comforts elsewhere—"the Court thinks it only right to assign you some little compensation for the stigma under which you have been lying. It is only by some such process as you have described that any work of art, whether in literature, painting, or music, is imbued with true charm."

"Probably," he replied. "Only remember what I said, that it does not necessarily impart it to them."

"But tell me," said Lamia, "is it easy, indeed is it possible, to say unerringly if a work possesses true charm?"

"Apparently not," he answered; "for though there is such a thing as real charm, there is such another as pseudo-charm; in a word, the original and a copy; and I observe that copies impose themselves upon a good many supposed experts. A few years ago there was a lively controversy in art circles whether a certain picture, bequeathed by Signor Morelli to Madame Minghetti, widow of the one time Italian Prime Minister, and alleged to be by Leonardo da Vinci, was an original picture by that supreme painter, a copy, or the work of some other hand. Most experts maintained it was the first; and, as one of these happened to be a friend of my own, I asked for his opinion, since doubts, by no means ill-supported, were thrown on its genuineness. He replied that he would pledge his professional reputation as to its being a genuine Leonardo. 'As you know,' he said, 'the picture has gone to America; but I have a large and admirable photograph of it, which I will show you.' He drew this from a portfolio, and placed it on his easel Instantaneously I said to myself, 'That is not by Leonardo,' but I was not so presumptuous as to utter that conclusion aloud. Very shortly, a man came forward and said, '*I* painted that picture,' and proved the truth of his

assertion beyond power of contradiction. I am no expert in the judging of pictures, or probably I should have been just as much mistaken as my experienced and accomplished friend. The actual painter was a consummate master of technical craft, and, after reading the theory propounded by my friend and others, that the surest way to test the genuineness of a picture is to observe some inevitable detail, such as the contour of the ears or the size and shape of the finger-nails, and having most carefully studied the workmanship and, if one may say so, the unconscious *tricks* of Leonardo, he had reproduced these with the utmost accuracy. A thoroughly expert draughtsman and colourist, he had thus imposed on other experts, but not on those ignorant of technique in painting, yet loving pictures and not insensible to their charm, and what the Italians call the *non so che* that constitutes charm. This is rather a long disquisition, Lamia, but you provoked it."

"And I am glad I did, and I want you to answer yet another question. Can similar mistakes be made concerning books, and charm in them?"

"Undoubtedly," he replied; "and, in so far as one may trust one's own judgment, they are being constantly made by the professed experts, and for the same reason. It is not often that they fail to perceive charm when it is really there; but they ever and again ascribe it to pages whose writers, exceedingly clever persons, have more or less caught the trick, as the phrase is, of the real charmers."

"But how," asked Lamia, "is one to discriminate between the two?"

"One cannot, so far as demonstration and the convincing of others is concerned; for, if they do not of themselves perceive the difference, there is no way of communicating it to them. One can do it only for oneself. To feel real charm and distinguish it from deliberate imitation, depends on the power of instinctive appreciation. It is one of those intuitions that cannot be argued about."

"Has real charm," I asked, "some one quality or characteristic by which we may recognise its presence or its absence."

"I think so," he replied. "The quality is unconsciousness, and charm appertains to the essence of the person or thing endowed with it. It cannot be acquired, it cannot be got rid of, and its results are produced without effort, since the person who has it cannot help producing them."

"But surely," I said, "there must be effort in the production of every work of art, whether it be a poem, a picture, or a symphony."

"Unquestionably ; but the charm in it is not produced by effort. Intention, technique, craft, must contribute to the production of such works ; but that which makes them charming, if they are so, is something quite apart from these. Pope, for instance, is a great writer, and a considerable poet, and abounds in intention, craft, and technique ; but he rarely, if ever, has charm. He did not have it in himself, and therefore could not radiate it. Spenser is a supreme instance of charm as a poet. Apparently, he could not help being charming, save where the theme forbade the exhibition of it ; and even this is very rare with him. Mozart is a supreme instance of it in music; and I should be disposed to say Raphael is in painting."

Both Lamia and I seemed to be in an unusually argumentative mood, and went on, pressing the poet very hard.

"I know," said Lamia, "it is approaching rank blasphemy to ask the question I am going to put. But has the Garden that we love no real charm? It certainly has been produced with no little effort."

"I think, Lamia, I can elude, while answering you. For me, at least, the Garden that we love does possess charm, but not arising from anything we have done to it. But for its native position and accidents, which we did not create, it would not be charming, though it might still be beautiful. The magnificent timber that is not in it but near it, the park in front of it, the park behind it, the architecture of the old Manor House, the majestic guardianship of the secular oak, its facing south-east—these, and other conditions we did not create, render it charming ; and, if I may say so, it is yet more charming when you are in it."

I confess I began to think there must be something sophistical, not to say unsound, in the argument, when there was resorted to something very like bribery and corruption to enforce it. But that suspicion, perhaps naturally, did not strike Lamia, who observed :

"I allow," she said, "I rarely make an effort, but I know a good many people who never do so, yet are very much the reverse of charming. But, though I too feel the charm of the Garden that we love, I certainly am not aware of adding to it."

"If you were," said the poet, taking advantage of her inadvertence, "you would cease to be charming. Women," he went on, "are more frequently charming than men, because they are less self-conscious. Look at flowers, also. There is not a rose in all the garden, however beautiful, delicate, won-

derfully complex, it may be, that is as charming as the wild-rose in the hedge-row. Is not the truth this, that the word charm is used too indiscriminately, and indeed, by some people, at every turn, and of everything? Moreover, in poetry at least, it is a quality that of late years has come to be over-estimated, relatively to other qualities. There is often a certain effeminate sensuousness in charm, that is very attractive to the present sensuous generation, which overlooks other elements in art of equal, probably of yet greater, importance. *The Earthly Paradise* is more charming, in the proper sense of the word, than *Paradise Lost.* Yet will any one say it is as great? Does it not, in comparison, on the score of greatness, sink into insignificance? So you see, Lamia, one tries to keep the balance even. As I have granted, women are more charming than men; but I will venture to add, men, that is to say some men, are greater than any women."

"Womanly women," said Lamia, "will gladly accord to man superiority in that respect, so they be left superior in the other. I would sooner be a wild-rose than win battles or electrify Senates. All the same one is glad there are human beings who can electrify Senates and win battles, and we should sorely miss them if they did not exist."

"The distinction," said the Poet, "seems to me a true and universal one. Nor does one see sufficient reason, despite the protests of an active but small minority, to suppose that it will not be a permanent one. Look at most women, when their faces are in repose. What are they doing? They are dreaming. Look at men. They are thinking."

"Unless," observed Lamia, "the men happen to be poets. Then they are doing both."

"Q.E.D.," I murmured sardonically, under my breath.

The foregoing conversation had not been wholly uninteresting to me. But when it ended in the usual battledore and shuttlecock game of reciprocated sweetnesses, I wandered round the garden for neutral company, and fell to wondering whether it is more attractive in late spring or in the early days of autumn. I saw it affirmed in print the other day that the writers who say a beautiful flower-garden can be had for eight, and sometimes for nine, months in the year, are misleading people. I can only reply that the person who made that statement has but an imperfect acquaintance with gardening and its possibilities. Should there come a heavy and continuous fall of snow at the beginning of March, and should it lie for the whole of that month, then I grant the ordinary course of nature has been for once interrupted. But when, in the south or west

of England, does that happen? I have known something like it, but only something like it, occur just once in a now pretty long experience. For the rest, I am prepared not only to do battle for the "eight or nine months" period, but to go still farther, and to plead that no month in the year is out of doors wholly flowerless, at least, in the south, south-east, south-west, and west of England. I speak only of what I know, and what the Garden That I Love has taught me. New Year's Day, let us say, has come and gone, and January is moving slowly on. Choose but the aspect aright, and prepare the soil with due knowledge, and what is there to prevent the winter-aconites from greeting the New Year, and accompanying it till January be spent? Do not suppose this will infallibly happen the very first January after you put the bulbs into the ground, though even then it may. You must not, however, count on it. But the year after that, and for every succeeding January, the winter-aconites will illuminate with their golden cressets the spot where you have placed them. We have two little nooks for them immediately on either side of the entrance-door that looks south-east, and they never fail to come forth and show themselves in the very first month of the year, signalling to their brethren in the turf under the old oak to be up and about, and not long laggard after these early risers. The most effective clump of them, no doubt, is in a small round open bed under a tulip-tree, as yet of moderate dimensions, though it has already begun to flower in the late summer. But these winter aconites open a little later, by reason of the partial shade above them given by the pretty thick branches of the tulip-tree, even when still bare of leaves. That little round space serves a double purpose; for, while the winter-aconites in full flower there cover the whole of it, below them and out of sight are Colchicum bulbs, which the ignorant call winter-crocuses, given me many years ago by the wife of a famous Field-Marshal and a woman of exquisite taste. They are of the pale lavender colour, much more rare and difficult to get than the larger, deep-coloured ones, which we also have; and when their foliage fades, and can be carefully cut or pulled away, up come, to replace them, the strong, vigorous leaves of the *Colchicum*. But only the leaves; which in summer themselves wax wilted and fade, and then leafless flowers of the most delicate colour and dainty beauty come up, and look like Fairyland under the then lavishly furnished tulip-tree. And does the horticultural sceptic I refer to suppose it is impossible to coax yellow crocuses—for the yellow ones are the hardiest—to face the perils of the early days of the year, or to get snowdrops to do the same, without

any coaxing at all? And the primrose? I do not speak of garden primulas, but of the wild and simple native of the woodlands. Is it beneath one's notice, and undeserving of a place in the garden? In the one we love there is always a place allotted to it, and more than one place; and it must be a very peculiar January, one deep in snow, or hard frost-bound, for a certain number of these unaffected flowers not to be awake and up somewhere then. I will not engage that on your rockery you shall have *Cyclamen Coum* in bloom, but you may, and with it the small, modest, but clustering and effective flowers of the *Potentilla.*

But, like a prudent general, I keep my best and bravest battalion for the final charge; and I ask this sceptic of gardens whether he has ever seen the *Iris Stylosa?* I saw them first in a but ltttle-cared-for garden at Bordighera pretty long ago, and I stood wondering under the spell of enchantment. I brought some home with me, or, rather, had them sent to me late in the spring when they had finished flowering, and for the first two years made a deplorable misuse of them. They showed ample leafage, but did not flower; and then it struck me that they had not been accustomed to high living, and I had been over-feeding them, and the muzzle must be put on by giving them the leanest of fare. In plain words, the soil was much too rich for them. I took them up, broke them into small pieces, and planted them in a sheltered yet sunny position, and in a mass of rubble mixed with light poor soil. Since then they have produced an uninterrupted succession of flowers from the beginning of December till the coming of the first swallow. Veronica delights in them, and some are always taken to her boudoir, where freesias also are welcome, but from which flowers of strong perfume are rigidly excluded.

But this is not winter, whose contribution to the "nine months in the year" I think I have established; nor yet spring, whose floral reputation needs no defending, for no one would dream of assailing it. We are, at the time at which I wrote, at the parting of the ways between a prodigious summer and an equally splendid but less ostentatious autumn; or, to put it differently, October is protecting the rear of departing summer. I cannot help a little self-complacency just now, since the garden has this year had a conspicuous triumph. The unbroken drought of July and August had dealt irreparable desolation in every other garden I have seen or heard of; and the ruin was completed by the hurricane of wind that accompanied the advent of showers, even then not too bountiful. Never before has the Garden That

I Love been in greater beauty. There is a vacuum, a failure, nowhere; and even Veronica is unreserved in her admiration. She was away during August, and returned only in the early days of September. I had abstained from all report of its condition, and my silence led her to conclude, not that no news was good news, but very bad news indeed. In order to keep up the comedy, I arranged that on her return she should enter from the lane, in order that what there was to show should burst upon her nearly all at once.

"I suppose," she said, "the Garden is a wreck, like all that I have seen elsewhere."

"It has been a sadly trying time," I replied evasively.

In another moment we emerged from the plantation near the well, and suddenly the Garden was in sight. She stopped full short, as the phrase is, held up both hands, and exclaimed,

"Oh!"

That was all, but how much it was, and one was more than rewarded for all one had done to baffle the long-continued drought. Let me say once more that due digging and manuring in May ought to furnish a garden with protection against Fate in any ordinary year. But I had misgivings that this was going to be an extraordinary one; and as, two winters ago, we made, under the old Manor Pound, a good large tank to receive the rain water from all the guttering round the old red-roofed farm buildings still remaining near the house, including those of the house itself, there was an ample supply at the beginning of June. Not to everything, but only to beds and borders stocked with things planted in them at the end of May, we began at once applying rain water after the sun had gone off them. Many persons will assert that watering does no good, and sometimes does serious hurt. But that depends on the nature of the water. If the water be hard, or, indeed, other than *bonâ-fide* rain water, that would be so; for, of course, watering has a tendency to bring roots and rootlets to the surface in expectation of what they like so much; and the process, once started, must be persisted in. Persist we did; and we followed up the watering with periodical hoeing. By the end of the month everything looked wonderfully forward, and then the nine weeks' drought began. Confident in the resources of the tank, we continued our evening labours with excellent effect. But, by the middle of August, the gardener said the tank was very low. In a few more days it was empty, and the drought and sun-heat were more pitiless than ever. In our resolve not to be beaten there was no slackening; and though our modest resources can produce only hand water-barrels, these were

trundled down to the river and back for three or four hours every day. I felt, however, that, though no complaint had been uttered, the "grind" was too much in such weather, and so reverted to another device. There is another tank, which Cowper, perhaps, who introduces into his verse such a realistic line as "The stable yields a stercoraceous heap," would have described more minutely, but of which I will content myself with saying that it yielded some three to four hundred gallons a day of soft, but not quite so savoury, a liquid. Needs must when "the devil of a drought" drives; and, as Veronica and Lamia were absent, it did not much matter.

After three days, clouds began to muster on the horizon; rumblings were heard in the distance, and, finally, down came the rain. The situation, as they say, had been saved. But that represents very inadequately what had happened. Coming on the top—you see, I cannot help adopting the language of the grateful and triumphant gardener and his help—of the use of the unsavoury tank, the rain put the finishing touch to our efforts, and produced the effect that caused Veronica to halt in astonishment, and exclaim,

"Oh!"

One of the results has been that everything is prodigiously tall. The dahlias are nine, the sunflowers thirteen, feet high, even Montbretia close on four, and Salvia Farinacea, which most persons take for tall lavender, fully five feet high. Other things, herbaceous, biennial, and annual, have shot upward in like proportion. But, just as the moralising Watts said, "The mind's the measure of the man," so the flowering of plants is the final standard of their worth and loveliness; and they are all not only divinely tall, but most divinely efflorescent. I could not resist feeling, as I walked round them to-day, that beds, and borders, and groups, had projected a private flower-show of their own, and are now "showing" against each other. Were I the prize-giver, I should be perplexed to know to which to assign it. Poet's Corner—another, if you remember, of Veronica's christenings—is a garden in itself. The variegated maize, the daturas, and the dark castor-oil plant, seem to have entered into an almost fraudulent conspiracy to deceive the unwary, the white bells of the datura appearing to belong to all three, so cunningly have they mingled with each other. Yet, if I were compelled to come to a decision, I almost think that I should assign the gold medal to the oval bed seen through the leafy branches of the Hungarian lime, which is at once simple and imposing. So simple is it, that its composition is soon told. In the centre are tall tropical-looking cannæ, and round

them variegated maize, bronze castor-oil, and the dwarfer dark-leafed cannæ. Outside these, again, is Montbretia, in splendid flower, and an edging of China-aster Sinensis. Yet when I wander off in another direction, and come upon the Lobelia Cardinalis, the Calceolaria Amplexicaulis, and the fibrous-rooted begonias, in chromatic combination, I feel that I have been unjust, after all, and that here the first prize should have been adjudged.

How much longer will it last? Like the poppies, of whom it has been written,

They flaunt like glory, and fade as fast,

so over all this loveliness stretches the lengthening shadow of the declining year; and I could not but repeat to myself the stanza,

She wore the silent plaintive grace
Of autumn just before its close,
And, on her fair but fading face,
The pathos of November rose.

. . . .

We were sitting in the lime parlour, the name given to it by Veronica, who much affects the spot, roofed by the leafy dome of the weeping Hungarian lime, which every other year needs to have its ever-incroaching territory recognised and marked out afresh by unbarked timber pillars or supports. What led up to the following conversation I quite forget; but it began by the Poet observing:

"In no community is literature so little reverenced, and are men-of-letters so little regarded, as in England. I am by no means sure this is a disadvantage to the latter; indeed, I am disposed, on the whole, to think it is for their good. But the fact is certain, and to the nation at large it can hardly fail to be injurious."

"What is the cause?" asked Lamia.

"Is it not the practical character of our race?" I suggested. "Our countrymen are moved to admiration only by actual, patent, and resounding success; but the best literature is not resounding, and the most self-respecting men-of-letters, as a rule, lead retired lives."

"But how about English women?" asked Veronica.

"I am afraid," answered the Poet, "that as regards women also, the phenomenon holds equally good. Privately, and in their hearts, I dare say they have a warm admiration for superior talent of every kind, and a still warmer for real genius. But probably men cherish the same sentiment privately. In France, in Italy, even in Germany, though perhaps at present in a

waning degree, admiration is openly and enthusiastically expressed."

"Is what you have said," asked Lamia, "equally true of painting and music in this country?"

"Not to the same extent, by any means; and for the reason I have already suggested. Painters *exhibit* their pictures, and the compositions of musicians are *heard*, and heard frequently; so that both may have that practical and patent success I spoke of. Moreover, since painters can paint the portraits of kings, princes, and other eminent persons, and thus minister to the sense of self-importance, rich men can buy, and so glorify themselves by the purchase and monopoly of the pictures, and practical and patent success is thus achieved. But I still doubt whether their patrons have a genuine reverence for them. They regard them rather as a flattering form of usefulness."

"Has the example," said Veronica, "thus set in the highest quarters, anything to do with the absence of reverence on the part of the nation generally?"

"I rather think so. We are an aristocratic, I use the word in its conventional, not in its proper sense, some would say a snobbish people, and so imitate our so-called betters, who, in many respects, are often our inferiors."

"But may we go back," said Lamia, "to the woman's share in the question? I think some of us have a profound reverence, which we scarcely conceal, for superior mental gifts."

"If by 'some of us'," said the Poet, smiling, "you mean, dear, yourself, it is perfectly true. I am well aware that, if you were allowed, you would go careering through the land on a motor-car, disfiguring the road with leaflets on the unequalled claims to universal admiration and reverence of certain obscure persons. But I do not think your journey would be a very successful one; certainly not as much so as if you distributed leaflets on a new soap or a novel form of underclothing; and, in all probability, you would end by being summoned for forgetting, in your mistaken enthusiasm, the number of miles an hour at which one is by law permitted to raise dust anything rather than Olympian. To be allowed to do that, you must drive a motor-car in rivalry with other motor-cars, in order to have the practical and patent success of placing them on the market, and making them appear to have the largest and longest circulation in the world."

"Alas!" said Lamia, with a profound sigh, "it is so. What is one to do?"

"Nothing," he replied, quite cheerfully. "But there are

many things worth noting, for which there is no remedy. Indeed, the enduring evils, rather than the passing ones, it is, that are the most interesting."

"Is he not provoking," said Veronica, "with his philosophic indifference, or, still worse, his amused resignation to what is both mischievous and unfair?"

"Quite incorrigible," said Lamia. "But I should like to add to what has been said, that, whereas in France and Germany men of genius have almost always had their Egerias, who did not console and encourage them surreptitiously at midnight, but aided and abetted them in the full glare of day, and have survived in story to share their fame, in England the poor Numas endowed by Heaven with superior gifts have rarely had such companions, or, if they had them, consoler and consoled alike have taken pains to hide, both in their life and afterward, any such disgraceful circumstance."

"Is it," I asked, because, as I heard a Hungarian lady assert the other day, "that, in respect of the relations of the sexes, Englishmen, though not all of them, are the only gentlemen in Europe?"

"I suspect," the Poet replied, "there is some truth in that. Frenchmen openly boast of what an Englishman would feel bound to treat as strictly private and confidential; and French and German ladies have paraded and published stories of feminine generosity which an Englishwoman would have buried in her heart. When Merimée published his *Lettres à une Inconnue*, French people asked, why this anonymity? The mystery was explained by the circumstance that the *Inconnue* was an Englishwoman. I was reading the other day an article in the leading French Review on the letters written to and by Frau Wesendonk, and the writer fell into raptures over the story they disclosed. For the lady I could not repress my sympathy, pity, and admiration; but I was inspired with deep dislike for everything in Wagner except his genius. The 'long disease, my life' of Pope was alleviated by the kindness of two old maids, but treated very differently by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu when Pope would fain have played the part of Abelard to Eloisa; and the infirmities of Cowper were mitigated by the tender domestic attention of Lady Austen and Mrs. Unwin. But Chaucer, but Spenser, but Shakespeare, but Milton, but Dryden—who was their Egeria, if they had one, or who were the sensitive, unselfish beings that stimulated their genius, and softened their sorrows? We can hardly believe they were without such. Modern biographers have striven to discover that secret; for, in these days, as another poet concerning whom no such association has been disclosed, has

said, 'The many-headed beast must know.' But they have groped and ferreted in vain; and, despite Shakespeare's sonnets, 'the dark woman' is still shrouded in darkness, his youthful courtship has only furnished doubts as to who really was his wife, and the gropers have not been able to make anything out of the bequest of his bedstead to his widow beyond the fact that his bedstead it was, and that it was left to her."

"But we have changed all that," I observed, "in these admirably progressive days; and the loves of Byron, Burns, Shelley, and Keats, have become the property of the whole world."

"That is so," said the Poet; "but it has scarcely been to their serious advantage; and even they were mild offenders, compared with, say, Chateaubriand, who, not content with pluming himself in his lifetime on what the French nation characteristically call *bonnes fortunes*, must needs publish posthumous memoirs, to perpetuate his *rôle* of conquering hero. As in his case, if in a minor degree, such questionable notoriety for details of incidents of private life have obtained a wider vogue for the writings of the English poets I have just mentioned. But they scarcely needed this vulgar form of advertisement, and they certainly do not stand higher in the esteem of their countrymen in consequence.

"But," said Lamia pleadingly, "you do not, do you, condemn the French women of intellectual distinction of the eighteenth century, whose names are permanently associated with men to whose mental development their sympathy and encouragement seem to have acted as a stimulus and an encouragement?"

"Far from it, Lamia. But, in the cases to which you refer intellectual sympathy occupies the foreground, and was, and will remain, an honour to both. In this respect, the biographies and diaries of English men-of-letters and their feminine auxiliaries are much behindhand; but, whether because there was little or nothing of the kind to tell, or of the incurable shyness and reserve of the English nature, who shall say? We are the only people in the world who strive to seem more stupid and less interesting than we really are."

"I was wanting," said Lamia, "to arrive at that conclusion. If a man deviates in ever so slight a degree from reserve, he runs the risk of being regarded as an egotist. If he deviates from it still more he is looked upon as a 'bounder'."

"And quite right too," said Veronica. "Men ought to be able to fight their own battles, shape their own career, and achieve their purpose, without sympathy. If they fail, then I daresay there will always be a little womanly consolation in reserve for them somewhere."

"But how about the sympathetic assistance given by men to intellectual women?" asked Lamia.

"Is not that easily answered?" said the Poet. "Women are interested in men, men are interested in themselves."

"How serious we all are to-day!" said Lamia, "and I feel the fault is mine. Let me try to repair it by reading to you the following lines I found lying about, and that might have been written in prophetic anticipation of what we have been saying."

We all "struck the proper attitude" to hear the verses to which Lamia's voice seemed to give at least a quiet movement of melody.

A Woman's Avowal

I.

Let others, be there such, aspire
To a resounding life,
To leave unfed the household fire
For heat of public strife,
I am content, to choose though free,
In no such paths to roam,
But only unheard helpmate be
To him who guards my home.

II.

But I can nerve him for the fray
When duty needs his arm,
Cheering him onward day by day
With love's attendant charm.
And when he may contend no more,
After long strenuous years,
I may his waning strength restore
With tenderness and tears.

III.

His closing days will walk with mine
Down age's gentle slope,
The shadow of that dear decline
Brightened by lengthening hope.
And should he hence the first depart,
As, for his sake, I crave,
I shall embalm him in my heart,
And sanctify his grave.

I half feared her voice, which audibly trembled, would not serve her to the end. But it held out bravely, though through its silvery tone there sounded the pathetic minor of suppressed tears. The Poet stroked her hand; Veronica put her arm round her; and thus I left them, strange happy trinity, to meditate once more in the unpolemical beauty of the Garden That I Love.

The Author of "The Garden That I Love."

SOME NOTES ON HARE-HUNTING

THE British Isles at the present time can boast of about 140 packs of harriers; some reader of this article may correct me, but I believe the earliest known pack of harriers dates from the year (approximately) 391 B.C.; thus there are records of hare-hunting for over 2000 years, for Xenophon—the general, the historian, the philosopher—was a master of harriers. Born at Athens 445 B.C., the son of Gryllus and pupil of Socrates, he had a most varied career, eventually playing an important part in "The Retreat of the Ten Thousand." We learn that at the age of fifty-four he settled down to the life of a country gentleman at Scillas, a small town near Olympia in Elis, where he lived for the best part of a quarter of a century, occupying himself with agriculture and hunting, and he must have been keenly fond of his hounds to have spent long days on foot toiling over the mountains watching them hunt, with true sportsmanlike patience—very different to hare-hunting in these days, when the element of pace has entered into this, as into all other, sport, so often spoiling beautiful hound work. Here, in his quiet country home, Xenophon wrote a most useful treatise on hunting, and also another on the horse. These works are probably the earliest extant guides to sport, and his description of a hound differs little from the harrier we would choose to-day. Four centuries and a half later than Xenophon's day, a new writer on "the chase" appears on the scene in the person of Flavius Arrianus, a citizen of Athens and of Rome. It is said that he had so great an admiration for Xenophon that he imitated him in every way, even to adopting his name; but this Flavius cared more for coursing the hare than for hunting her, and his treatise on hare-hunting deals chiefly with greyhounds and their method of running a hare down.

Then we can number amongst our masters of harriers another great general—the hero of Waterloo—for, as the years of his life drew on, the Duke of Wellington became the master of a pack of harriers. There seems a wide gulf between

commanding armies and pursuing the hare, but this latter calls forth no small measure of skill, and also the actual science of hunting ; for a hare has devices untold, whereby she seeks to preserve her life, and years of careful study still leave "a wondrous deal unlearnt." Some few of these devices will be touched on later, meanwhile a word or two as to the breeding of harriers may not come amiss. The Association of Masters of Harriers are doing their utmost to keep the harrier pure, namely, a hound bred for the purpose of hunting hares, and the Harrier Stud Book has done much to bring about this result ; but the watchword seems in the present day to be "pace." Everything, as I said before, must go faster, and I have heard a master of harriers say with great pride that his harriers were pure fox-hounds! "I have not an ounce of harrier blood in my kennels," were his words. Well, that seemed, to say the least of it, a pity, because fox-hounds must naturally run into every hare they hunt, much too soon, and spoil a good hunt. There is apparently a great tendency to get undersized fox-hounds for hunting hares, and no doubt fox-hounds have more bone, straighter legs, and better feet ; but the rules of the Harrier Stud Book allow for the strain necessary to produce this, and it is to be hoped masters of harriers will do their utmost to breed the true harrier, for, after all, a shapely harrier is a very beautiful hound—and what better hound music could any one wish for ; generally speaking, in a harrier kennel, you will find voices more mellow and better blended, than in any other. Let any one who will, be he musician or not, listen to their chiming on a soft summer's night, "When scarcely a leaf is stirring and no other sound is heard," let him listen from the beginning, when the first few notes are started, to be taken up as if by magic, with a chorus, an ascending volume of sound in perfectly harmonious parts, each voice having its appointed place and so on to its fullest height, then watch for the song to become softer until it slowly dies away, and the listener perchance feels a little throb in his throat and his thoughts may go back through years, to some run that stands out by itself, to the memory of some horse that has carried him faultlessly, to some moments that have called out deepest feelings of love between horse and man ; and he will live over those runs that he remembers, and that can never be obl terated from his soul—even, that live in his brain, and he can see at will.

Only a short time ago I heard a well-known Divine talking about hunting, and he said some of the happiest thoughts he had were of hunting, and regularly—so many times a year—he

dreamt he was riding over again runs he had ridden in whilst he was at Oxford—for he had never hunted since he was ordained—and, he said, "I look forward to those dreams, as the only kind of hunting I can have now, and those runs are as fresh to me as the day I rode in them." We all know that some good hunts we have had stand out apart from others though years have gone by. In hare-hunting memories I find the runs remaining clearest to me are those in which the hare has exhibited some marked cunning to try and save her life. Many of these ways are well known, but some may not be, so I shall try and briefly describe a few that I remember. The following incident I only saw once. It had been a good hunt and a long one, and hounds were close to their hare. They checked by a big quickset fence in the middle of some grass fields; they tried up and down both sides of it for a long time, but could make nothing of it, neither could they "make it good" away from the fence. Suddenly some one on foot called out "Here she is," and even when you looked hard at her she was difficult to see, she had crouched until she was absolutely flat, right *inside* the fence and about two feet from the top; how she got up to that height I shall never know, and I wonder still, for it was densely thick too, and she was perfectly hidden. Of course times without number they will take to water, but only in one single instance have I seen a hare jump into the open sea. My harriers were hunting in the low-lying lands due south of Chichester, a country difficult to get over because the water ditches are very deep and wide, and it is a case of cart-horses and ropes generally speaking, if your horse gets into one of them; though it is an ideal harrier country as there are practically no woods in this part of the district, and flat open fields for miles. On the day I am speaking of, there was a real good scent and they were pushing their hare along at a great pace. Eventually she headed straight for the open sea; small sand cliffs edged the beach, and we all thought she must turn, but she was evidently too hard pressed, and jumped straight into the sea with the hounds all "on top" of her; in another moment my first whip was off his horse and standing in the sea holding up the drowned hare which he had recovered from the waves and hounds, and they very soon broke her up on the beach notwithstanding her salt-water condition. That scrimmage in the sea was an odd sight. There is another part of the country intersected by a canal, and when hunting that district the great trouble is to keep a hare out of it; she will always shape her course for its banks, crossing and re-crossing the water—and as there are very few

bridges across the canal it is not easy to keep with hounds, for you may be certain she will choose to swim over to the other bank, as far from these bridges as possible! Another mode of self-preservation is to make for the estuaries that abound round this same low-lying country: when they are beat, and if the tide is low, they will go out on the mud and sit on the furthest edge of it, the colour of their coats being the same colour as the mud they are very hard to see; hounds follow, and being much heavier than the hare, begin to sink deeper and deeper in the mud and have to be "got back," and so the hare invariably escapes with her life, and after all she deserves to, after showing such wisdom.

Some years ago, with the North Tyne River—(near Bellingham)—in full flood, my harriers ran a hare over the moors with a breast high scent down over Dunterly Fell and into the torrent, the leading hound "Marksman" plunging in after her; she must have sunk like lead for she was never viewed again, and the force of the waters carried Marksman a long way down, and literally washed him on to the banks. He was very nearly drowned that day, but though now very feeble he is still alive. He appears in vol. i. of the Harrier Stud Book. Bred by Mr. Maryon Wilson (by his Monarch out of his Merrylass) he is probably the sole survivor of that vol. i.: he kept his pace to within a few seasons ago, and could take a line down a dry hard road when no other hound could touch it. On one occasion, three parts through a good run, the hare took to a dusty, stony, hard, dry lane, and Marksman led the pack; throwing his tongue just often enough to give confidence to the others—not another hound could touch it, but they could trust their leader, for he had never told a lie in his life—and so they just followed. That lane was a very long one, and I could feel the big field, clattering behind, were full of doubt, and must have thought it nonsense following, where only one hound was visibly working; but old Marksman was right, for a big stretch of grass came into sight at the end of the lane, and any one who hunts hounds will know the thrill that goes through one when the whole pack put their noses down, and then throw their heads in the air, simply shaking the music out of their throats, and race ahead, for they did this that day at the end of that long lane.

A "road hound" is a most valuable asset as every one knows; fortunately this "gift" is hereditary, and Marksman has two sons who are almost as good as he used to be; and a cold scenting day will soon show the necessity of having a couple or two of such hounds in your pack, and it is beautiful to watch the

remainder depending entirely on them. They know, as well as their huntsman knows, where to pin their faith, and they seem to watch and strain every nerve to see whether the line can be made good by these gifted few, and it seems always a restraint worthy of man's imitation, to keep silent but loyally follow until they themselves are able to take up the line; for their very silence gives honour to the minority who can "speak to it." Will the mystery of scent ever be solved? It has been said that if the animal hunted shuts his mouth he leaves no scent behind him, and this may possibly have some truth in it because a *sudden close contact*, affording fresh fear to the hunted animal, may make him close his mouth, for every one knows how hard it is for fox-hounds to run a fox, or harriers to run a hare after a sheep-dog has chased either of them; if also a hare that is being hunted squats in a root field, harriers frequently over-run the scent, when she generally jumps up behind them, or in the middle of the tail-hounds, and it is very difficult to hunt her again for the first few moments. Also, of course, directly she sits she leaves no scent behind, and this, I think, so often accounts for hounds almost treading on her, especially in roots. Then, too, the turning power of a hare is a never-failing source of wonder. Only last week I watched a curious instance of this. There was a splendid scent and she got up in a great big field with a flat stretch of country before her and nothing to stop her. She was being pushed along at a great pace, when without any apparent reason she suddenly turned and ran clean through the pack, and jumped down a bank bordering a road; there were a lot of horsemen in the road, so she again turned, hardly touched the road, and went up the bank two yards lower than where she came down, only hidden from hounds by some long grass, and went right through them once more, giving them a good hunt after this.

People don't realise how often hares go to ground, but in my humble opinion they go to ground just as often as foxes. I recollect a hare going to ground once in quite a small rabbit burrow in the middle of a big stretch of grass country in Northumberland. She had been on her legs a long time and was hard pressed, she was only just ahead of hounds when she mysteriously disappeared; there was no cover of any kind, only short grass; they over-ran her for a second, and then dropped back and began to bay round this extremely small rabbit-hole. It seemed simply impossible that she could get into such a small space, and the farmer laughed at the idea of her being "to ground" there. But the hounds were absolutely certain,

so a spade was procured from the farm buildings near, and the farmer looked astonished when she was dug out. She was such a gallant hare that she was turned down and given a good start, and I don't mind owning I was glad she got off with her life, as the darkening came on and we whipped off. There are few prettier sights than hounds casting themselves, and how true is the saying "only help hounds when they can't help themselves." As a rule they are never let alone sufficiently; it takes years to learn to leave them alone and yet never take your eyes off them; when a huntsman has learnt that he is in a fair way to become a good huntsman. They will ask you for help soon enough if they want help. The sympathy between hounds and a huntsman they love is indescribable. If you are outside the kennel, they seem to feel when you are near, even before they have time to "get wind" of you. The least sound of your voice and your footfall seems to give them intense joy; and unless people have lived, so to speak, with hounds they never realise the absolutely different characters you find in every kennel; and no two hounds are ever the same, and yet family characteristics come out most strongly; the fear of thunder, for instance, I have noticed, will go through three or four generations of hounds of the same blood. They never make a mistake about a hunting morning, and their song is absolutely different to their song on a non-hunting day. I have touched upon evening chiming, but any one would find it an interesting study to see, and not be seen, hounds getting ready for their morning song on a non-hunting day. They will form themselves into a sort of semi-circle before they begin, and the one nearest the centre seems to take the lead, and they will retain their positions sitting or standing until the last note is sounded. Hounds are distinctly animals with method. Of course their bringing-up has much to do with it; but generations of method instilled into them has really almost caused it to be natural. I find it a good plan to have my puppies taught kennel ways from six weeks to two months old; and named at that age, they learn their names exceedingly quickly, and it seems to save them so much of the whip in after life, when they go out to walk they are no trouble, and when they come back to kennel they soon slip into good ways, and never really forget their early training as long as they live.

We hear a great deal about hares ringing, but I cannot help thinking it is a good deal to do with the way they are hunted. Given a fast pack of harriers, provided your country is not very cramped, and a "field" above all things that will give them room, hares will go straight enough. I can call to mind many

and many a run that would have been quite a good point if a fox had been ahead of hounds instead of a hare. The chief thing is to keep your field from over-riding hounds, a truly difficult matter, alas! in these days, when so many come out to ride but not to hunt. Very few people out hunting ever watch hound-work. The majority care nothing for it. Then, secondly, I would suggest, never go to a holloa if you can help it. I mean unless you have drawn field after field blank, and never by any chance in the middle of a run, when you have checked, unless you can depend on your man holloaing; and the same suggestions would apply to the man who has seen "the hunted hare." To tell a hare that has been hunted is so difficult a thing, that it is almost useless to believe any one who tells you he "has just seen her, and could have picked her up in his hands." These appear drastic rules to go by, but hunting harriers for many seasons has taught me that if you abide by them you have a better chance of showing your followers good sport.

If you live in a country where you cannot always get fox-hounds to hunt with, don't despise hare-hunting, but be content with "the second best," for with harriers you will generally see good hound-work, and there is much to be learnt from the little hounds that have held their own for centuries.

SOPHIE C. GIFFORD.

RURAL EDUCATION

ONE of the most remarkable features of the present time is the extraordinary slowness with which a British community grasps the facilities offered by the Legislature towards the improvement of its condition and the betterment of its position to compete in the struggle of life. This has been singularly apparent in the last few years, when, through the action of Parliament, great advantages have been offered to country folk in the matter of rural education.

The County Councils have been endowed with considerable power to encourage those branches of instruction which furnish the working classes with knowledge likely to be of use in their daily avocations, and likely to render their labour more productive and therefore more valuable to themselves. But the process of utilising these advantages is lamentably slow, and there appears to be a lack of that initiative and motive power which is so necessary in the adoption of new ideas. Any one who closely observes this state of affairs and is familiar with country life can perceive that although the Legislature can do much in providing the machinery and placing it at the disposal of the community, it can do little without the aid of some collateral force to drive the wheel. Where then is this force to be found, and how is it to be organised to be rendered of service? The answer to this question is to be seen in the extract issued by the Board of Education from the forthcoming syllabus, &c., for the year 1906-7, which was published in the *Times* of August 22, 1906. It is there stated that "careful selection of matter and methods of instruction" and "active sympathy on the part of people of influence" are alike necessary to overcome the apathy of young men and women towards continuing the education they have received; and, later on, the same paper indicates that in any well-considered organisation of rural education it is necessary to bestow some thought on the question of the grouping of villages. Here we have stated the key of the situation.

The "active sympathy of people of influence" more or less resident in a district is precisely the motive-power required to move the machine, and the "grouping of villages" in such a

manner as to come within that influence is the method by which the machine will be kept going when once it is set in motion. How then can those who see in the struggle of nations the necessity of taking such measures as will prevent England from being hindmost in the race, rouse the community to assist the Board of Education in the steps which they are taking? There are in most districts a limited number of people, men and women, who have been favoured by fortune with intellectual ability, education, leisure and perhaps ample means. In this category are many who do not wish to spend their lives in the pursuit of pleasure and amusement, and who would willingly, if directed in the proper channel, devote some portion of their time in furthering a public object which they would feel was the means of promoting a public benefit and of advancing an interest vital to the community to which it is their privilege to belong. It is obvious that a power such as this, scattered and unorganised, possesses but little force, and that that which might be a potent instrument and effective aid is being wasted by the want of system and organisation.

Many persons of local influence who have not the opportunity to act as school managers would be willing to serve on the District Committees to be created in order to give the impetus required. On these committees ladies might often find congenial and interesting work. Their function would be to bring about an interchange of ideas between village and village, to group them in convenient areas, to explain the project to the uninitiated, and to stimulate the introduction in schools of classes in gardening, carpentering, botany, agriculture, in insect life, &c.

The form of organisation for a group of villages would be as follows: a District Committee; Village Committees, in each village; a group of say ten or twelve villages, conveniently situated. The District Committee would stimulate the respective managers; the Village Committee would report its difficulties to the District Committee, which would grapple with them; the District Committee would communicate with the County Council. Further, they would be instrumental in getting for the school plots of land on which illustrations in gardening would be given. Discussions in these committees, which need only meet occasionally, would lead to further developments, and, by the grouping of villages, it would be possible to arrange that an itinerant instructor, paid out of a common fund, should visit each village in turn, and thus occupy the full time in respect of which his salary is paid.

Many people are not aware that for the promotion of

gardening classes in schools County Councils are now at liberty to provide implements, manure, seed, and certain reasonable instruction ; but they cannot always provide land, and it would be the duty of the local committee to arrange this, and also to put it in such order as will enable a commencement in cultivation to be made. As to the benefit to be derived from teaching children in early life the elements of gardening and agriculture, there can be no question. The good old days of apprenticeship are past and gone, and many a youth leaves a rural school with a certain smattering of knowledge in various subjects, but with no thorough grounding in one subject which could bring him the means of subsistence. How many cottagers obtain from their gardens anything like the yield which the soil could produce ? How many could state the names of the fertilising plants and of those which do not fertilise ? How many know the reason why certain crops, following certain other crops, always prosper, or why the neglect of certain scientific rules invariably results in failure ? The vast transition which is slowly and silently going on in the methods of cultivation, and the growing demand for the produce of the market-garden, require that more attention should be paid to the training of the village scholar. To give instances of the value of the market-garden trade, it may be stated that, at one time, 2000 acres near Biggleswade were devoted to the production of onions, and some of the growers made at the rate of £100 an acre ; but the market constantly varies, and this aspect must be studied. Mr. Pratt tells us that on a busy day at Biggleswade station you may see 20 tons of lettuce, 40 tons of Brussels sprouts, 120 tons of potatoes, 40 tons of spring cabbage, 36 tons of cauliflowers, 60 tons of carrots, 60 tons of parsnips, &c., forwarded to London by rail. Sandy in one night despatched 200 tons of vegetables, and in one week Glasgow took from that Bedfordshire hamlet 16 tons of the humble and the homely parsley. Lincolnshire, with an acreage of 76,000 under potatoes, produces some 417,000 tons of that starch-containing vegetable annually, and it is known that 285 tons have been despatched from a small country station in one day. The supremacy of Holland as a producer of bulbs is challenged by Lincolnshire, and Wisbech alone has despatched in one season 300 tons of bulbs to various destinations. These statistics show what an opening exists for our rural classes, but they need special education to take advantage of it.

A youth who at school has learned something of the science of gardening and agriculture must necessarily start on his journey better equipped; and if to this he can add some knowledge of the properties and requirements of the plants needed

in agriculture, and something of the habits and treatment of the parasites which feed on all nature, surely he becomes a more valuable unit in the body politic, and more likely to work out a living for himself.

There is at this moment a widespread and legitimate desire among the people of England to get land in small plots. Every possible device, wise and unwise, will be attempted to satisfy this craving. Party capital will be made out of it by that common enemy the political capitalist. The Socialist will see his opportunity, and press his wild impracticable schemes, schemes tending to retard the object which we most desire. If people are to be put on the land, sense would seem to prescribe that they should be educated how to use it, otherwise failure, disappointment, and disgust will follow. Let those, therefore, who can look ahead stir themselves to shape events in the manner which is best suited to the wants of the nation. Let intelligence, foresight, influence lead the way. Let an effort be made to form the local committees to which I have referred; and let the women of England, resident in the country, do their part in joining with others in serving on such committees. Above all, let landlords in every county realise the changes which are going on around them, let them feel that much of the land can produce something better than wheat at 26*s*. Let them place themselves at the head of this growing movement, direct it in the right channel, shape its course, and mould it so as to bring the greatest advantage to the greatest number, and confer an inestimable benefit on generations yet to come; but they must meet together to consider, to enlighten, and to discuss. They will then perceive how best the Legislature can help to develop the schemes which commend themselves to their judgment and their experience.

When we find that the population engaged in agriculture has diminished by 11.4 per cent.; when we see among the ranks of the unemployed so many who, on leaving school, never learn an industry; when we see the need of new openings for those whose labour can only be classed as casual and unskilled; when we realise that something in our system is organically wrong; when our minds can perceive, amid the din, the clash, and the confusion of contending ideas, that in the systematic training of our sons and daughters in our rural schools lies the solution of a vast social problem perplexing alike both to philosophers and to statesmen—then shall we be grateful to those who will exercise the foresight, and exert the energy to lead us along the path which takes us to the goal so anxiously desired.

ALGERNON TURNOR.

SOME MORE CHILDREN'S ESSAYS

In an article published in November 1904, I described the usual methods of teaching composition in elementary schools. My chief aim was to show that "instruction" in this subject is on the whole a mistake.

The children will teach themselves (and us) if we only encourage them to express themselves, and are, as we ought to be, more interested in the matter than the manner of the tale they tell.

Every child loves to talk, why do so few children love to write? Is it not due to discouragement? They are not allowed to write about the things that interest them, and are constantly reprimanded for faults in grammar, punctuation and spelling, while these are likely to increase in number the more a writer has to say and the more eager he is to say it. I understand the utility though I deplore the necessity of teaching spelling, but the stress laid on good grammar and punctuation is to my mind most harmful and depressing.

I am told that some interesting essays have already appeared on the hackneyed subject of "Which would you rather be, a boy or a girl?" for this reason I forbear to publish my own collection *in extenso*, but a few remarks made by village children on this topic may be as new to the world as they were to me.

The boy who says that "girls cannot ride in manure carts" presented a totally new grievance to my imagination, and it was a real surprise to find that many boys wished they were girls; such sentences as "Girls have a clean print frock on Sundays," or "Girls can keep in the warm," have a pathos of their own; while the boy who remarks that "Girls look much nicer than boys" is a loss to the diplomatic service.

One noticeable fact is mentioned in nearly all the essays, namely, that girls have no play time, "they have to wash up." This drawback to a woman's life is the chief motive in every girl's paper for desiring to change her sex. Might I suggest that hockey for girls or some organised games are a much

needed and quite neglected feature of both village and town life? In this connection I would draw attention to the following essay, which is by a "rich (?)" man's child.

PLEASURE.

Pleasure means Enjoying yourself the surest way of getting pleasure is in being good. If you spend all your life trying to get pleasure you will not get it. There are several kinds of pleasure namely, Expensive, Inexpensive, Grand, Public, Private and Simple. Expensive pleasure generally means a grand house and garden, but, it all gets monotanas after a time. Inexpensive ones are teaparties swings and Grand ones are grand receptions. Public ones are bazaars races and all kinds of sport. Private ones are getting presents while Simple ones do not interest all people, but they do me, such as collecting crests, being good moving house. Another Expensive pleasure is being presented but it is rather silly, because it is a great expense, also, it is over in five minutes. Too many pleasures make people lazy.

Pleasures are like
the poppies spread
you seize the flower
its bloom is shed.

OLIVE MARY BATH, aged 9 years.

I leave the remainder of the essays to speak for themselves; and indeed the one desire of my heart is, that leave to express itself should, within reasonable limits, be recognised as the right of childhood as well as manhood.

It may be well to explain about the ages of children in the different standards, as in some cases the writers omit to state their age.

Children in Standard I. and II. are, *roughly*, 6 to 7 years old.							
"	"	III.	"	"	8 to 9	"	
"	"	IV.	"	"	10	"	
"	"	V.	"	"	11	"	
"	"	VI., VII.	"	"	12 to 13	"	

We will begin with seven essays by the little ones. The first three are spontaneous, the natural work of the child; the last four were done in the ordinary lesson time—reproductions of lessons given by the teachers. I think the first set compares very favourably with the second.

FRED FIDLER, Standard III., aged 10.

Dear Friend I will tell you about our cat I feed it on milk and sops and butter. I love our cat we have had it five years and it is tall and fat it has a long tail a big head and it comes in doors days and sleep out of doors nights. It sleeps in our

wood house. It will catch mice and eat them. Its name is tebe and if you say tebe tebe it will come to you it is a fat cat it will eat bacon and potatoes and bread as well it will play in the garden and make big holes it will not mouce about. It will cratch you if you knock him about. Our cat will jumb up in the chair and go to sleep in the chair and if you do not pull it out it will sleep for hours.

I have a nice cat. I feed it with milk. It sometimes catch a bird or a mouse. It is very pleased when it as kittens. It has very sharp claws. And he will bite if I tease it. The colour of it is white and black. Its eyes are blue. It has a little house to sleep in. I feed it twice a day.

WILLIE HARRIS, Tubney School, aged 8.

Our dog lives in a place called a cennel. We feed him on meat and bones. He is a white dog. Is tail is short. He worries the cat and bites her tail, an she scratches is nose. He runs after the carts and bicikles.

Aged 7.

THE CAMEL. 10, 12, 1902.

The camel lives in hot countries called a desert. It is called the ship of the desert. It has a tuft of hair at the end of its tail. Some camels have one hump and some have two humps. They can go without food or drink for a long time. They kneel down for their

Aged 7.

10, 12, 1902.

The Lion is a brave animal. It lives in its den all day. It has a mane. It eats flesh. It belongs to the cat family. The Lioness has no mane. Its young ones are called cubs.

Aged 7.

THE SHEEP. 10, 12, 1902.

The sheep has a nice soft covering of wool. It eats hay and grass. It sleeps in a shed. It has four legs. It has two ears. Its young are called lambs. It is born in spring.

Aged 11. 20–1–03.

The cow is a very useful animal. It eats hay and grass. It gives us milk. We eat its flesh. It has two eyes. It has a tail. It lives in a shed. It has four legs. It has two horns. It has some skin. It has some hoofs. It is used to work.

All the remaining essays are unprepared work.

Subject.—What did you do on Christmas Day?

Standard IV. Aged 11. 20, 1, 03.

COMPOSITION. CHRISTMAS DAY.

On Christmas i had a new dolly sent me. We enjoyed ourselves very much. I went to church and saw some one married.

I had all sorts of things. We did not have any fun on Christmas night. We did not have any friends to tea. I did not go out to tea. I was very sad. I did not have to go out at all. I had to stay indoors on Christmas night. I had some money on Christmas day. I had something put in my stocking. I had all sorts of toys, My dolly is dressed now. So is my sister's.

CHRISTMAS.

The weather on Xmas day was not very seasonable. It was rough and wet, not at all like Christmas weather. I did not rise very early—it was 8.30 o'clock. Breakfast was prepared at 9 o'clock. We had ham for breakfast. After breakfast, there was service in Church at 11 A.M. I did not go because I was in isalation. The post came at 12 o'clock. I received a few presents. A nice gold chain for my watch. A colarette for my coat. Mamma gave me a long coat. Papa gave me a beautiful little watch with my name inside it. That was all I had in the morning. Dinner was ready by 1 o'clock. Mamma had a turkey sent to her, so we had that for dinner. Afterwards we had pudding and Christmas pies. Then last of all we had dessert. In the afternoon I read my prize which I received for regular attendance at school. Service was held in Church at 3 o'clock. At five o'clock we had tea. My friend gave me a nice Xmas cake. After tea we played Ping Ping and blow football. Each time my side won. I like cards very much. We played at them. Later on I played and sang for them. I was invited to several parties, and to a fancy dress ball, but I was not able to accept them on account of my illness. At 9.30 we had supper. We had beef, and pies, and pudding, and tarts. After we had snapdragons. I burnt my fingers. We had games and every kind of amusement till 11.30, then Mamma sent me to bed. Altogether I spent a very enjoyable Christmas.

Subject:—"Tell me about your home."

Standard V. ANNIE HEWITT, Lloyd St. Girls', 13, 4, 04.

"HOME."

MY DEAR JEAN,—I think our home is very comfortable. Father and Mother are very kind to us. My father and brother go to work. The work father does is marble masoning and laying tile hearths and fixing grates. It is mostly out town. He goes to places such as :—Birmingham, Buxton Ripon. I think I will change the subject and mention the rooms. We have three rooms upstairs there are three persons in each of the two rooms, two in the other. The rooms must be kept clean so as to prevent diseases of every kind. We

have to see that the rooms are especially clean when sickness is about. Downstairs there are three rooms. One he do not use only for father's business papers and slips of marble, shade-stands and various other things. Then there is the kitchen which gets cleaned two or three times a week. The scullery too is kept very clean because of the dishes, pans, etc. It also gets cleaned two or three times a week. I will now tell you something about the tables, cupboards, baking-boards, ornaments and yard. The tables are kept clean because we have to eat all our food off them. The cupboards are to be quite as clean as the tables because of the cups and saucers, plates, jugs. The baking-boards should be kept especially clean. The reason why they should be kept clean is because when my mother or sister bakes it would not do for

Fawley, Wantage, Berks.

DEAR MADAM,—I am writing a letter telling you about my home. I have five sisters and four brothers. One is at home with Father and Mother and the others is in service. We live in an old farm house. We have four rooms downstairs and four upstairs. We have a large garden with a lot of flowers. We have some currant and gooseberry trees, but very often black-birds come and destroy them. We have two cats, one black and smooth and the other is grey with long fur. Their names are Blackie and Flossie. We have a dog he is 13 years old. He is getting very grey. His name is Toby. Father is a carter, that is, he ploughs and sow the land. When the corn is ripe, he cuts it with a reaping machine. Mother rears poultry. I help her feed them. We have had good luck this year. We have twenty-six duck, and forty eight chickens. Mother visits Grandmother two or three times a week. She makes my dresses and pinafores. I and my brother goes to school about a mile away from our home. We like our Governess very much. We have five weeks holiday in the summer, a fortnight at Christman and a week at Witsuntide.

Subject.—"If I was a fairy and could make you all rich by a stroke of my wand, what would you do?"

C. TAFT, St. Paul's School, Oct. 7, 04.
115 Brunswick St., C-on-M., Manchester.

DEAR MADAM,—Just a few lines to let you know of my good fortune. A fairy came to our school the other day and presented me, and a few other boys with a large sum of money, and she wishes to know how we would spend it. Well, I should first of all obtain a residence in the country and be a sports-

man. Then I would do various other things too numerous to mension.—I remain your obedient scholar,

C. TAFT.

N.B.—Excuse the writing as I am in a great hurry.

Standard VII. L. COLLINSON, St. Paul's (Boys') School, C.-on-M.
9 Cheltenham St., C.-on-M., Manchester.

DEAR MADAM,—I was sitting by the fire when I heard my name pronounced. Turning round I saw a beautiful lady. "I am your fairy godmother. Tell me what you would like, and you shall have it," she said. Instantly I thought of my poor dying mother, and replied, "riches." "Riches, and what can you want with riches?"

I cleared my throat and began thus—"My mother is dying for want of nourishment, and I being a cripple have not the power to help her." "You shall have it, but that is not all you would do, is it?" "No, I would make myself comfortable by buying a moto-car, a sailing yatch, a mansion, an airship, a balloon, and I should have a set of servants.

Standard VI. A. CROSSLEY, St. Paul's School, Oct. 7, 04.
37 Manchester, Ardwick.

DEAR MADAM,—I thank you for making me rich. I will live on my money until it is gone, and when it is gone I shall work on and try and get more. If I succeed in getting more, I hope I shall a young man about twenty-one, I shall marry a lady and settle down in a cottage. And live happy until I die. And before I have I shall have a sail in a steamer, and a motor-car to ride in, and have a couple of horses.—I remain, yours truly,

A. CROSSLEY.

L. ESTCOURT, St. Paul's School, C.-on-M.
70 Mawson St., Manchester.

DEAR MADAM,—One day a certain fairy came up to me and asked me my name, and as I was telling her she dropped a hundred pound note in my pocket and said, "Go straight away to the Bank of England and get that note changed." Doing as I was told, I hurried off and changed it. Then I went to Liverpool and set sail for Canada. I had a good time of it. Wnen we were in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean we saw many ice fields. We landed at Montreal all safe and well.—Yours Faithfully,

L. ESTCOURT.

Standard V. MILLICENT BIRCH, 214 Brunswick St.

DEAR MADAM,—I think if ever I was to become a very rich lady I would first of all give some of it to the hospitals.

Afterwards I would go and live in London where I would join the Bank of England. I would next give some to the

church and also to the poor. I would go to South Africa and other foreign parts.

I would go in for a bycicle and a little pony so that I could be a jockey-lady in Rotten Road. Of course I should have to be a very stylish lady to be one of these jockey ladies. I think that is all I have to say for the present.

I am Yours truly MILLICENT BIRCH.

Standard V. GERTIE STENTON, St. Paul's Girls' School.
20 High Temple St.

DEAR MADAM,—If I had a large sum of money I would live at Wales in a large house.

I would go for a drive every morning.

I would put some of it in the bank.

Every week end I would go to Southport.

I would keep a large farm.

Sometimes I would go to the park.

I would keep two servants every day.

I would have a dressing table in every room.

Yours remain.

Standard V. M. STRINGFELLOW, St. Paul's Girls' School,
21 Hasting's St.

DEAR MADAM,—I am just giving you an account of what I would do if somebody gave me as much money as I wanted.

I would set off to Africa to my cousin.

Of course I would share it with my mother, especially, and give my sisters some.

When I got to Africa I would ride about a great deal.

Expecting to see my cousin a big fine young man lively and agreeable.

I would buy a big box of chocolates some to eat on my way and take some to my cousin.

I hope I would enjoy myself there.

We would see all sorts of funny things there.

I really wish that some one would give me all that money.

ESSAYS ON ODD SUBJECTS.

CORONATION.

Coronation is the time when the King is crowned. We had all kind of things on Coronation day. The King and queen will walk through the city of London, there will be such a crowed of people, they will all be scrunched to death.

" If you went out to service tell me what you would like to be —a cook ? or a nurse ? why ? "

GRACE CLEAVER, Oct. 9, 1903.

ESSAY.

I should like to be a nurse because I like nursing I should

like to bath them give them their breakfast and dress, and put them into the Mail cart or carrage and take them out for a long walk about an hour or two and then bring them back and put them to bed for a little while and when they woke up I should nutse them in the afternoon and put them in the carriage or mail cart and play with them. And afterwards tidy up the nusery and get their bed ready for night, when the nusery was (tid) done up properly I should do some sewing and help do some more work, and get their things ready to go to bed. I should have to wash their things, such as pinnifores, bibs, and many other things. Then, when the things were dry iron them and put them away in the nursery in a box ready for use again. I should clean the carriage and rub the brasses and make it look clean for the next day to take them out for a long (wake) a walk again. Next thing I should do to put the bedroom in proper order and put the night dresses away in their proper place, then at night put them to bed give them their supper and put them to bed in the warm. I should like to earn about twelve pounds or more a year. I daresay I should have more money if their were more children and if their were not so many, I should not have so much. I hope I shall get on alright at nursing. I like nursing very much and hope I can keep (up) on with it Some people dont like it but I do very much.

EDITH GRATRIX. Webster St., Greenheys, April 29, 04.

DEAR MADAM,—I have just wrote a few lines to let you know what circumstances I am in. The first thing I shall talk about is my parents and sisters and brothers. I have got one brother and five sisters and mother and father. There is four of them married and one of them is at Italy, so the eldest of the girls at home a girl of fifteen. Now I will talk about my father he has been ill for twelve years he as got Bronchitis and Asmasa. We live at 13 Lowndes St Hulme and the rent is 7*s* a week. We have got 3 bedrooms parlour, kitchen celar. Now I will close Yours Truly

EDITH GRATRIX

JOHN LINKSTON ROBERTSON, Webster St., Greenheys, Manchester.

DEAR MADAM,—I live at 5 Ruby Place, Greenheys, and we have a garden. I work at a Scotch Provision Shop in Stretford Rd and the master is very kind to me. I have a mother, but no father, he died nearly two years ago, he was fort-five years of age when he died, he was a Policeman for a long while, only he became ill, and could not do his duty, after he was better he could not go to work because of his legs he could not be a Policeman then. Mr Peacock who was the Headmaster

of the Police Station got him to work at St James's in Oxford St, he was a watchman all night in side, he was by himself, about 10 weeks after he became ill again for a week. On the Sunday morning he got up to wash himself, he went back to bed again for the day at half-past 7 he died through the cause of a blood-vessel. I am your faithfully

J. ROBERTSON.

8 years old last February. Curbridge, Bampton, Oxon.

June 16, 1903.

DEAR MADAM,—We had a flood in our house, and had to go upstairs while Dad and Bertie got the water out, and Nellie said that Queenie had got her hair cut off, and so she ought to go and help them. Our garden was flooded with water, and some of the young potatoe tops were under it. When Kittie come from school she had to change her things before she could have her tea, Mama and Auntie did not think Kittie was coming home in all the rain. We have put some dirt along the barn so the water should not get in it. The road was flooded, and the children had to get across some stones. We had got some flowers in one of the rooms, and they swam about all over the room. Mrs Alsworth had a flood in her house. We had thirty buckets full of water out of our house. We all had to have our dinner and tea upstairs except Dad and Bertie. Our potatoes seem a lot bigger than they were before.

I am yours respectfully DAISY FENEMORE.

ARTHUR BROOK, Tubney School. Age 8.

My sister is tall and only twelve years old she has blue eyes and her name is Emily Brooks, and me has an other sister only six years of old, her name is Mary Brooks, she has blue eyes. And one of them does not come to School.

Standard I. St. Mary's Girls' School.

My name is Clara Fraser I go to Manley park weslean sundy school. I am eight years old. I have got one brother. I like pourtry. My father goes to his ofcise to work. I like to wash the pots. My mother washes the floor. My father is a soilger. My Mother likes to play the piano.

Class B., Ducie Avenue School, Friday, Sept. 30, 04.

DEAR MADAM,—I am afraid that I have forgotten what it was that I did last Saturday, but I will do my best, and try to remember, what it was that I passed the day away with. I rose at seven oclock, and lit the fire, then I cleaned four pair of boots. When this was done I dressed myself and set the table for breakfast, and put the kettle on the stove to boil, so that I could take Mother a cup of tea before she came down, but instead of managing to, Mother came before I was ready for her. Then

while the breakfast was cooking I did half an hours practice on the piano, and by this time breakfast was ready, and I made a very good meal off stewed tripe and mushrooms with bread and butter, and a cup of cocoa. Shortly after this I went for my music lesson, and by the time I got home it was dinner time. I am very sorry that I cannot think what it was that I had for my dinner. In the afternoon I spent my time reading a little out of my books, and towards teatime I went and had a talk with a (frend) friend. I had potted meat for my tea besides the ordinary every day food. After tea I had a game of cards and about ten oclock I retired for my nights rest. On ordinary nights I go to bed at nine and half past. Hoping that this letter will be satisfactory to you I remain Yours Obediently

SPENCER F. DENMAN.

JOHN GADD, 9½ years old, Ducie Avenue Municipal School.

DEAR MADAM,—Last Saturday morning I went to play cricket with some friends. But very soon it began to rain, and as it continued to, I had to go home, and get what amusement I could there. At length having got tired of watching my brother paint pictures, with about nine hairs in the brush, I sauntered out with an umbrella, to see (weather) whether I could buy anything to amuse me. I got home at last with a box of house fire-works but there were only two in the box and they wouldn't go off even when I put them in the fire. In the afternoon, I went to tea at a friend's house. I had a few games there. When I looked at the clock I saw it was quarter to nine so I went home and went to bed. Yours sincerely

JOHN GADD.

The following essays are specimens of the good work done when instruction is given and preparation made, and I fear they will be admired where the bad speller and original thinker will be unappreciated!

Churchill Boys' School, Chipping Norton, Oxon, 14 Feb. 1902.

WM. C. CARNEGIE:

DEAR SIR,—I am writing to you to thank you for the speech you gave us on Tuesday last. From your lesson I learned a great deal about the brambling or Mountain Finch. Also I was interested in the amusing anecdote about the "two cuckoos," and should very much like you to come and tell us another. Now, I will try and tell what I now know of the Brambling. This bird is a sociable one, and comes in very cold weather; it is generally seen among beech trees. It comes from Northern Europe and Great Siberia, where it nests and rears its young. Besides these, you told us the average age of some things. The crow, which lives to be one hundred; the

parrot, which lives about the same age. The other day I saw a bird which was evedently a woodpecker, but not the green one ; it was large, and had got spots on ; and the following morning I saw it again, and I think it was the Great Spotted Woodpecker got back again. This morning I saw a starling's nest with young ones in it, and the parents were flying in and out with food.

Now I must close my letter, for I have told all my news.

I remain, yours respectfully,

RICHARD ROSE.

(Age 11 years.)

Churchill Boys' School, Chipping Norton, 14 Feb. 1902.

WM. C. CARNEGIE, ESQ. :

DEAR SIR,—We are writing to thank you for your talk you gave us last Tuesday atternoon, and also to show you we have not forgotten all you said. First of all I think you spoke about the Brambling or mountain finch, which comes from Northern Siberia, and which is, of course, a migrant ; it is to be found near beech trees, and generally only comes in severe weather ; it also comes in flocks, about October and November, and is a sociable bird. Besides this, you ask us how we should know a bull-finch when flying ; and as none of us, I think, could give you a satisfactory answer, you told us how it showed a white mark just by its tail when it is flying, And about the robin, which might be known by its bright black eyes. You also told us how some boys can imitate birds' voices, and can whistle some birds near them, giving an example in that amusing little anecdote about Mr. Fowler thinking he heard a cuckoo round a hay-rick, took a peep round thinking to see a cuckoo, but instead of that he saw a boy. This story you said was related to you by Mr. Fowler himself. About last of all you told us about the crow, which we were told mated for life, and lived for a long time ; parrots too will live for a long time when caged. Perhaps the last thing I remember is how the Hon. Earl of Ducie puts down in a book any event which happens on his estate. This is perhaps the way natural history is written. Now I must conclude, trusting to have many more such talks ; thanking you once more, I remain,

Yours Respectfully,

JOSS EDGINTON.

(Age 13 years, 11 months.)

KATHARINE BATHURST,
Late Inspector of Schools.

GERMAN FINANCE IN TURKEY

THE success of German policy in Turkey forms a brilliant exception to the failures which have elsewhere attended the efforts of Bismarck's successors to play in Weltpolitik the part that the great chancellor played in European affairs. Only time can show whether this success will be permanent. No one can deny that German influence in Constantinople to-day far outweighs that of any other Power; but it is far from being so dominant as is generally supposed, and it rests on a very unstable foundation, the favour of the present Sultan, whose death may at any moment change the whole aspect of affairs. Outside the Palace, a small section of officials, and those officers who have been educated in Prussia or under German influence, the friendship with Germany is regarded with distrust by all classes in Turkey. But whatever the ultimate result may be, the successes achieved up to the present have been sufficiently striking. Political objects, if any have been entertained, have been kept in the background, and the whole influence of Germany has been used to further the interests of German finance and German industry.

It was in the autumn of 1888, shortly after the accession of William II., that German capital, under the leadership of the Deutsche Bank, began that campaign in Turkey which has already proved so profitable, and which it still pursues. The only rivals it found in the field were the French, represented by the Ottoman Bank and its allies. Ever since the crisis of 1875 English financial establishments have fought shy of Turkey. Even in the case of loans floated by the Ottoman Bank, which is an Anglo-French institution, the initiative comes exclusively from Paris, the loans are placed on the French market, and none of the other houses which participate are of English nationality. In spite of the fact that the bank is as much English as French by origin and constitution, its action in Turkey seems to be entirely controlled by its Paris committee. It represents the interests of French capital, just as the Deutsche Bank represents those of Germany. On October 3, 1888, Herr von Kaulla, Director of the Württember-

gische Vereinsbank, acting on behalf of the Deutsche Bank and its group, took up a 5 per cent. loan of 30,000,000 marks secured on the fisheries revenues. From this date French and German loans follow each other in rapid succession. The accompanying table shows all those that have been contracted up to the present date (December 1906), not counting the short advances which the Ottoman Bank, the Anatolian Railway Company, and others are constantly making to the Government at high rates of interest.

Loan.	New Capital Created.	Contract Price.	Present Price.	Nationality.
	£ Sterling.			
5% Fisheries 1888 . . .	1,500,000	70	Converted	German
4% Priorities Conversion 1890	1,985,980	75	Converted	French
4% Osmanie 1890 . . .	4,545,000	76	96	French
4% Tombac 1893 . . .	909,000	70	95	French
4% Oriental Railways 1894 .	1,600,000	73.50	99.50	German
5% Junction 1896 . . .	2,975,200	84	106	French
4% 1901–5 Loan . . .	4,824,240	81	95	French
4% Customs Conversion 1902	3,152,140	78.50	99.25	French
4% Fisheries Conversion 1903	1,545,844	80	89	German
4% Baghdad Railway 1903 .	2,160,000	81.50	89	German
4% Unification 1904 . .	—	—	94.80	French
4% Armaments 1905 . .	2,400,000	79.50	87.50	German
4% Priorities Conversion 1906	2,500,760	87	94.80	French

The nationality given in the table is that of the bank which negotiated the loans. But the French banks have participated in all, or nearly all, the German operations, and the German banks in the French. This co-operation, which seems to have begun in 1894, when the Banque Internationale de Paris took part in the 4 per cent. Oriental Railways Loan, found its most striking expression in the Baghdad Railway Loan in 1903, which will afterwards be considered more in detail. The very profitable operations connected with the unification of the Ottoman General Debt in 1903–4 were carried out by the French and German groups acting together.

During the whole of this period the only transactions in which English capital played any part were the conversion in 1890 of the Defence Loan of 1877, and that in 1894 of the Loans contracted in 1854 and 1871. As the sums required for these conversions are charges on the Egyptian tribute, and are paid directly by the Egyptian Government, they are in a category apart.

The German financiers have by no means confined themselves to the floating of loans on the lucrative conditions shown in the table. In 1888 Herr von Kaulla, again acting on behalf of

the Deutsche Bank and its group, bought for 6,000,000 francs the railway line of 92 kilometres from Haidar Pasha to Ismid, which belonged to the Turkish Government, but had been let for exploitation to an English company. He at the same time obtained a concession for the prolongation of the line to Angora, a distance of 487 kilometres. The annual kilometric guarantee on the Haidar Pasha–Ismid section was fixed at 10,300 francs, and that for the Ismid–Angora section at 15,000 francs. In 1890 the same group obtained a concession for the construction of a railway from Salonica to Monastir, 219 kilometres, at an annual kilometric guarantee of 14,300 francs. Three years later the Anatolian Railway Company, which had been formed by the Deutsche Bank, and had taken over the concessions for the Haida Pasha–Angora line, secured a concession for a branch line from Eskishehir to Konia, a distance of 445 kilometres with an annual kilometric guarantee of 13,727 francs, of which, however, the Government can never be called upon to pay more than 6740 francs a kilometre. Both the Anatolian Railway Company and the Salonica–Monastir Company are under the control of the Deutsche Bank group, which is strongly represented on the boards of directors. The money received by these two companies in the shape of kilometric guarantee is over £200,000 sterling a year which is, of course, additional to the sum earned by the railways.

The French financiers interested in Turkey have, in the meantime, been almost equally busy and almost equally successful. They have constructed in Europe the Constantinople-Salonica Railway of 510 kilometres, with a guarantee of 15,000 francs a kilometre ; and in Asia Minor the Smyrna–Cassaba Railway and its branches, 517 kilometres, with a total guarantee of some 7,000,000 francs ; and the Syrian Railways—Beirut–Damascus, Rayak–Aleppo, and Damascus–Museirib—all with substantial kilometric guarantees. In May 1899 the two groups decided to co-operate in railway, as they had already done in financial, matters. An agreement was made between the Ottoman Bank, representing the French capitalists, and the Deutsche Bank representing the German. Representatives of German finance were chosen to sit on the Board of Directors of the Smyrna–Cassaba Railway, two Frenchmen were given seats on the Board of the Anatolian Railway, and the French agreed to participate in the construction of the Baghdad Railway, of which the Anatolian Company had already the prospect of the concession.

The only English railway in Turkey now is the Smyrna–Aidin line, the owners of which have recently obtained an extension of

their concession, originally granted in 1856, and the right to construct branch lines to the lakes of Egirdir and Buldur. They had to fight hard to secure even this small compensation for the way in which their development has been hindered by the construction of the Smyrna–Cassaba line, parallel to theirs in the north, and of the Anatolian line, which cuts them off on the east. Although they enjoy no kilometric guarantee, their undertaking has surmounted its early difficulties and become a financial success. The Company to which the Mersina–Adana Railway belongs was originally Anglo-French. The line, however, was not a success, and the shareholders were probably somewhat relieved when one of the French directors sold sufficient shares to the Anatolian Company to give it the control of the railway. The Germans have now a majority on the Board of Directors, and although some of the former members have been allowed to retain their positions, the line has become an annex of the Anatolian Railway. The concession for a line from Haifa to Jerusalem was given to an Englishman in 1891. But in over ten years he only succeeded in laying some five or six miles of rail, and he was eventually bought out by the Turkish Government, which has since constructed the Haifa-Dara branch of the Hedjaz Railway, which for part of its length follows the same direction.

The contrast between English and German enterprise in Turkey is a mortifying one. To appreciate it properly one must remember that in addition to profits derived from the loans and railways mentioned above, Germans earn large sums on the supply of locomotives and other rolling stock, as well as of guns and ammunition for the army, in furnishing which they enjoy a practical monopoly ; that besides their railways other important undertakings, such as the Haidar Pasha port, and the Constantinople tramways, are in their hands; that they are largely concerned in the tobacco régie, and have greatly increased their holding of the stock of the Unified Debt.

The poor results which British capital and industry have to set against this record are partly due to neglect of the Turkish field by English capitalists, who have been timid of work in Turkey ever since the collapse of 1875, and who find other, though probably not such profitable, use for their money in other parts of the world. One of the reasons why British financial establishments of good standing hold aloof, is that they believe they will not receive the same backing from their Government as their competitors obtain from theirs. Downing Street does not support the claims of English applicants for orders and concessions in the way in which Germans and Frenchmen are supported by

their Foreign Offices. On the whole, perhaps it is just as well that our Government does not go to the same lengths in this direction as some other Governments do, though it might with advantage show more energy in such matters. One must not forget that it has not had an opportunity of backing financial houses of the standing of the Deutsche Bank or the Ottoman Bank. The Haifa railway fiasco shows clearly enough that British interests in Turkey are likely to lose rather than to gain by any support given to concession-hunters who do not command the capital necessary to carry out their schemes.

In matters of this kind the British Ambassador is in a much less favourable position than his German colleague. The latter is never called upon to lecture the Sultan or his Ministers on account of atrocities committed on Armenians or Bulgarians. German policy regards the complaints of Turkish subjects with supreme indifference. Whenever the Concert of Europe tries to bring pressure to bear on Turkey, the Germans take the Turkish side as strongly as they can without prejudicing their relations with the other Powers, and in all the questions which are constantly arising out of the capitulatory rights of foreign residents in Turkey, they show themselves as accommodating as possible. To such an extent is this carried that complaints are rife among the German residents in Constantinople that their interests are not supported with sufficient readiness by their Embassy, which is sometimes even accused of a bias in favour of the Turkish Government and against its own nationals. The German press always speaks of the Sultan in the most flattering terms, and, whenever it can, it takes the Turkish side in the discussion of questions at issue between Turkey and other countries. The German Emperor has twice visited the Sultan, and loses no opportunity of sending him presents and amiable messages. On the other hand, ever since Mr. Gladstone reversed Lord Beaconsfield's policy in the Near East, the British attitude towards the Sultan has seemed to be one of thinly veiled hostility. In the Eastern Rumelian, the Armenian, the Cretan, and the Macedonian questions it has been Great Britain which has taken the lead against Turkey. In all matters relating to the capitulations British public opinion, both in Turkey and at home, insists that the British Embassy shall defend the interests of commerce and the privileges of foreign residents with all the energy at its command. From time to time many English newspapers indulge in the most unmeasured abuse of the Sultan, calling him the "Great Assassin," and blasphemously parodying into "Abdul the Damned" his name of Abd-uld-Hamid (the Servant of God, the

Worthy of Praise), and, when writing of Turkish affairs, they only too often forget that there may be a Turkish, as well as a Greek, Bulgarian, or Armenian side to a question.

All this makes it perfectly natural that the Sultan should prefer to give concessions for railways, orders for guns, and such other favours as he can, to German rather than to British applicants, so natural that we can hardly complain of it. We cannot eat our cake and have it too : we cannot give the Sultan every reason to look upon us as enemies, and at the same time expect him to treat us as friends. It may be that our policy has not been altogether the best that we could have adopted ; that we have harmed ourselves without doing much good to those we wished to help (the Armenians, for example, have been actually injured by our intervention); that we could have furthered the interests of the Sultan's oppressed subjects just as effectively by friendly persuasion as by attempting to force unpalatable reforms on him ; and that in any case it has not been wise on our part, as a great Mussulman, as well as a great Christian power, to confine our sympathy so exclusively to the Christian races, and to the provinces inhabited by them. There is much to be said for the methods of Lord Stratford dé Redclyffe, whose name is still cherished with affection throughout the Ottoman Empire, and who managed not only to maintain British interests, but to do more for the victims of misrule than has been possible since the change of policy made by Mr. Gladstone. No Englishman would desire our Government to imitate the German in its cynical indifference to the humanitarian side of Near Eastern questions. To do so would be to forfeit the large measure of sympathy which Great Britain, in spite of all the mistakes that have been made, still enjoys among both Mussulmans and Christians. None the less, the possibility of revising our policy deserves to be carefully considered, and it is lamentable that the British public takes so little interest in Near Eastern questions, except when it is excited by reports of massacres and atrocities.

The steady progress of German financial penetration was regarded with apathy and indifference until, in 1899, the Anatolian Company secured the promise of a concession for the construction of the Baghdad Railway ; and it seemed as if the Germans were about to follow up their successes in Asia Minor by establishing themselves in Mesopotamia and on the shores of the Persian Gulf. These parts of the Ottoman Empire are of special interest to Great Britain ; and the news of the promised concession caused considerable excitement, especially as on half

a dozen occasions projects for the construction of a railway from the shores of the Mediterranean through Baghdad to the Persian Gulf had been brought forward by Englishmen, but for one reason or another had proved abortive. The German financiers, who control the Anatolian Railway, felt that the construction of the Baghdad line, nearly 1600 miles in length, was too great a task for them to undertake alone, and they made efforts to secure English support; that of the French had already been promised them. At first it seemed as if the English capitalists approached would, with the approval of the late Government, accept the terms offered by the Germans; but British public opinion, which had been growing more and more suspicious of Germany, took alarm, and the negotiations were broken off as soon as the Government saw that co-operation would be unpopular. The French Government, too, refused to support the scheme. In spite of these disappointments, the Germans, and their allies among the French bankers, determined to make a beginning.

On March 5, 1903, a convention, replacing an earlier agreement of January 21, 1902, was signed by the Minister of Public Works on behalf of the Government, and by Messrs. Gwinner, Zander and Huguenin on behalf of the Anatolian Company, which acted on behalf of the Baghdad Railway Company in process of formation. By this convention it was agreed that the Baghdad Railway, from Konia to the Persian Gulf, should be constructed in sections of 200 kilometres each, and the first section should be taken in hand at once. To cover the cost of the construction of this first section the Government undertook to create stock bearing interest at 4 per cent., and at the nominal value of 54,000,000 francs., which was to be handed over to the Company, and the service of which, amounting to £T97,120 per annum, was secured on the tithes of various districts. To cover the working expenses the Government gave the Company an annual guarantee of 4500 francs per kilometre open to traffic, secured on the excess of the tithes affected to the guarantee of the Haidar Pasha–Angora line of the Anatolian Railway. The 54,000,000 francs stock, on which the Government pays the interest and amortisation charges, was taken as equivalent to a kilometric guarantee of 11,000 francs on the 200 kilometres, so that the total kilometric guarantee may be reckoned as 15,500 francs. The stock was taken over from the Company by the Deutsche Bank, the Ottoman Bank, and their allies, and it was agreed that the money required for the service of the loan should be transmitted to the Deutsche Bank in Berlin by the Council of

the Ottoman Public Debt, which, as usual in such cases, was charged with the encashment of the revenues affected.

The Baghdad Railway Company was formed on April 13, 1903, with a capital of 1,500,000 francs, of which half was called up. Ten per cent. of the shares were reserved for the Turkish Government, ten per cent. for the Anatolian Company, and the rest were divided between the German and French banks which co-operated in the enterprise. The work of construction was performed by a subsidiary company, founded for this purpose, and was completed on October 25, 1904, the Sultan's birthday. The section was entrusted for exploitation to the parent society, the Anatolian Company, which received from the Baghdad Railway Company a kilometric guarantee of 3700 francs to cover the working expenses, that is 800 francs less per year per kilometre than the guarantee paid by the Government to the Baghdad Railway Company. The returns for 1905, the only complete year during which the railway has been open to traffic, show that only 27,668 tons of merchandise were transported, and the gross receipts were only 323,360 francs, or 1117 francs per kilometre. This result is, of course, extremely unsatisfactory, especially to the Government, which has to make good the difference between these receipts and the guaranteed 4500 francs a kilometre, as well as to pay the interest, &c., on the 54,000,000 francs loan. The total amount paid by the Government in 1905 on account of the section was well over £100,000 sterling.

There is not much prospect of any improvement in the traffic until the next, the Eregli–Adana, section has been built, and the line connected with the Mersina–Adana railway now under the control of the Anatolian Company. When this is done it will have at Mersina an outlet on the sea, much nearer than Smyrna, Ismid, or Constantinople, the ports with which it is at present connected by rail. This second section will probably be begun in the near future. The German Embassy, if not already pressing for the guarantees, will do so as soon as the Three Per Cent. question has been settled. Although the section will be very difficult and expensive, its cost to the Government will be the same as that of the easy Konia–Eregli section, for, according to the convention of 1903, both the kilometric guarantee for the working expenses and the stock to cover the cost of construction are fixed at the same amounts, 4500 francs and 54,000,000 francs, for every section. The annuity required to secure the kilometric guarantee and the service of the stock is well within £T150,000, and this the Turks will be able to find, especially as the Sultan is as anxious as the Germans to resume the work of construction.

Even the breakdown of the Three per Cent. negotiations would probably not prevent this guarantee being given, although it is difficult to foresee what will occur if the Powers refuse to allow the imposition of the proposed customs surtax.

The revenues of the Turkish Government are quite inadequate to carry on the administration of the country. Its chronic financial difficulties have been increased by the reforms in Macedonia, and especially by the insistence of the Powers that in the three Macedonian *vilayets* all salaries, &c. shall be paid regularly and in full. In order to comply with this the Porte has been obliged to draw upon the proceeds of recent loans to supplement the revenues of the three provinces, and at the present moment it is trying to get from the Ottoman Bank a further advance of £T250,000, on which it will have to pay 7 per cent., and which it proposes to place to the credit of the Macedonian budgets. This method of spending capital, raised on exorbitant terms, for administrative purposes is, of course, ruinous, and cannot be continued indefinitely. The breakdown of the negotiations may lead either to the bankruptcy of Turkey or, what is more probable, to the reopening of the Macedonian question by the inability of the Turks to continue their remittances. An understanding is believed to have been reached in 1903 that revenues should be found for the second section of the railway as soon as Turkey succeeded, with the co-operation of Germany, in procuring an increase in the customs duty. But whether this be so or not, the work of construction will in all probability be resumed at an early date if the surtax is granted or even if it is withheld.

There seems no immediate prospect of the continuation of the line beyond Adana. Turkish finances will not, for some years to come, be in a state which would make it possible for the German Embassy to demand the guarantees for the third as well as for the second section. A number of the financiers interested were, until quite recently, strongly opposed to the construction of the second section of the railway alone, on the ground that it will cost more than the equivalent of the 54,000,000 francs stock, and wished to insist on getting compensation for this in the shape of an easier section to be built at the same time. They even suggested that this difficult Taurus section should be omitted for the present, and the line continued from Adana towards Aleppo. They seem, however, to have been overborne by others who argued that, as the first, extremely cheap, section had been built alone, it was only fair to the Government that the company should undertake the second, expensive,

section alone, and, if necessary, devote to it part of the large profits, generally estimated at over 15,000,000 francs, made on the section already constructed; and that to refuse to do this would permanently discredit the enterprise and its promoters in the eyes of the Turks. In any case the third section will only be postponed for a time, as both the Turks and the Germans are anxious to carry on the line as far as Tell Habesh in order that a junction may be made at Aleppo with the French Syrian railways which now connect that city with Beirut and Damascus. By this junction the line will become one of great commercial, and even greater strategic importance. It will put Constantinople into direct railway communication with the capital of Syria and with the Hedjaz Railway, which the Turkish Government is constructing from Damascus to Mecca, and of which 700 kilometres are already open to traffic.

The revenues to be earmarked for the continuation of the railway will probably be the Government's share of the surplus of the ceded revenues of the Public Debt. Even if there be no agreement, such as is believed to exist, between the Sultan and the German Embassy, that these revenues should be ultimately devoted to the line, it is clear from the vigour with which the German Ambassador intervened during the Three per Cent. negotiations to prevent fresh charges of a permanent and indefinite character being placed upon them, that the Germans hope to be able to use them for this purpose. These revenues constitute a much safer guarantee than any others in Turkey, as they are collected by the Public Debt administration. The tithes, which are generally assigned as securities, are collected by Turkish officials to be handed over by them to the Public Debt, when, as is usually the case, that institution undertakes to encash them. The result is that large sums never reach the Public Debt. For example out of the £T106,000 tithes affected to the Baghdad Railway loan of 1903, only £T90,250 in 1903-4, and £T83,416 in 1904-5 could be got from the local officials. The Deutsche Bank had great difficulty in obtaining the money due to it, and only succeeded in doing so after considerable delay. The total amount of tithes affected is so much greater than the total amount of payments to be made out of them, that the Public Debt is able to make good the deficiency from one source by the surplus yield of another; but, none the less, the fact that the tithes pass through the hands of Turkish officials might in hard times give rise to difficulties. The Government's share of the surplus of the ceded revenues was £T375,000 in 1905-6, and is expected to increase. On it there is a permanent charge of £T124,000, an annual charge for

seven years of £T15,000, and special charges, in the shape of short advances by the Ottoman Bank and the Public Debt, of about £T440,000. From these figures it will be seen that, if no fresh charges are imposed, a revenue of about some £T240,000 may be expected to become free in two years' time. In this connection it is interesting to notice that of the seven members of the Council of the Public Debt, three, the delegates of the German, French, and Turkish bondholders, are at the same time directors of the Baghdad Railway Company, and that a fourth is on the Council as the representative of the Ottoman Bank, which is largely interested in the Company. The extent of its interest may be gauged from the fact that three members of its Paris committee, and two members, including the director-general of its Constantinople board, are among the directors of the Baghdad Railway Company.

If Turkey enjoys a few years of repose from political complications, it is practically certain that the Government will be able to find, either from the surplus of the ceded revenues or from other sources, the guarantees necessary to enable the line to be continued as far as Aleppo.

So far as can be gathered, there does not exist in responsible quarters any intention or desire to carry the railway much beyond Aleppo until British co-operation, which is desired as strongly now as it was five or six years ago, has been secured. The reasons for this desire to see us support the undertaking are partly financial and partly political. The bankers concerned feel that although, as matters stand, they may count on getting sufficient revenues earmarked to take them into Syria, they cannot do much more than that unless Great Britain is willing to make it easier for Turkey to put her finances on a more satisfactory footing. They feel, too, that in the present unsettled state of Near Eastern and Middle Eastern questions, they would be running a great risk in establishing themselves in Mesopotamia and on the shores of the Persian Gulf in the face of British hostility. Complications are conceivable in which the support of the German Government alone would not be sufficient protection for the interests of the railway. In return for British co-operation in the whole undertaking, the leading promoters of the scheme seem ready to consent to England enjoying the same predominance on the southern part of the line as the Germans on the northern part, *i.e.*, on the Anatolian line from Constantinople to Konia. The way in which this predominance should be secured, and the nature of the British participation in the whole scheme, would not be easy to arrange; but in German

quarters it is held that the difficulties could be overcome if the two parties really wished to arrive at a settlement. There are clauses in the concession which seem to have been expressly designed to put obstacles in the way of any such arrangement. It is stipulated in Article 8, for example, that the Baghdad Railway Company shall never cede or transfer any part of the line; and in Article 29, that the sections from Baghdad to Bassorah and the Persian Gulf, even if constructed first, shall not be open to traffic until the railway has been completed from Konia to Baghdad. But if the undertaking were internationalised and supported, as it would be in that case, by the British and French Governments, as well as by the German, there would be no great difficulty in modifying the concessions in these and other respects that were found necessary.

The existence of this desire for our co-operation and the price which the Germans are willing to pay for it are, of course, well known in competent quarters in England. That the Government gives no indication of its views as to the desirability or otherwise of such an arrangement is probably due to the fact that it does not regard the question as ripe for negotiation. And, of course, it will be easier to decide what line to take when we have come to some agreement with Russia on Middle Eastern questions.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

PRACTICAL TEMPERANCE REFORM

THE Government have announced their intention to grapple with the thorny problem of English licensing reform this year. For forty years the question has found a prominent place in the programmes and promises of political parties, but with the exception of the Act of 1904 no fundamental change in the law has been made. The Acts of 1872 and 1902 were important, but they were limited almost entirely to changes in detail. The Bills of the Unionist Government in 1888 and 1890 and of the Liberal Government in 1871, 1893 and 1895 proposed important new departures, but they were not carried.

One great obstacle, which increased in difficulty, blocked the way. As soon as it ceased to be easy to obtain licences they became valuable. The decrease in their number in proportion to the population, which has been steadily proceeding since the early seventies, added to their value, and the reckless competition of brewery companies to purchase licensed properties in order to protect or extend their trade by "tying" the licence-holder to them ran the market prices of public-houses to absurd figures.

Another factor in the situation which is not generally known, or is lost sight of, is that prior to the Beer Act of 1830 the taxes on beer were from 8*s.* to 12*s.* per barrel more than they are now; the cost of the materials used in brewing is vastly less than it was sixty years ago; scientific improvements have enabled brewers to produce 25 per cent. more beer from a given quantity of materials; while the price charged for a glass of beer across the counter has remained much the same all the time. The maintenance of the retail price, in spite of an enormous reduction in taxation and in the cost of production, rendered the sale of beer by the glass in public-houses a remarkably profitable business. The concentration of a larger trade in fewer houses all tended to pile up the value of licensed premises to brewers, and vast capital was expended in securing them.

The anomaly of the position was that the licences which gave the whole of the special value to the premises for which fabulous prices were often paid were held on an annual tenure, were specifically granted for twelve months "and no longer," and were liable to be refused renewal at any annual licensing meeting. Consequently, the purchase of licensed premises at a price which assumed that the licence would continue year after year as a matter of course was, from a legal point of view, very risky and imprudent. It was a speculation and, indeed, a gamble, on the chance that the licence would be renewed, that the taxation on liquor would remain at its reduced figure, that licence duties would continue to be absurdly inadequate, and that no additional new licences would be issued in the locality. All that the purchaser obtained, so far as the licence value of the premises was concerned, was a licence for so much of the current twelve months as remained unexpired, with a *locus standi* for renewal at the discretion of the licensing justices, subject to appeal to Quarter Sessions.

On the other hand, the fact that licences had a very considerable market value prevented many licensing justices from exercising their undoubted legal right and discharging their obvious public duty by refusing to renew licences which the public interest required should not be continued. Thus, to a very large extent, the State both lost control over and failed to obtain the full value for its own licences.

Out of this position arose what is known as the compensation difficulty. Public opinion demanded that licences should be far more drastically dealt with, and the number of licensed premises be much reduced. The owners of licensed property claimed a vested interest, pointed to the large capital invested, and demanded that compensation should be paid if licences were refused renewal on grounds other than misconduct. Something like a deadlock ensued. The public absolutely repudiated and entirely refused to recognise any justice in the claim of the trade to compensation from the community. Licensing justices would not use their powers freely, and if any of them manifested a disposition to do so they were usually promptly checked by Quarter Sessions. All attempts at effective temperance legislation were also abortive. The vested interest claim and the compensation problem blocked the way.

The Royal Commission on Licensing, over which Lord Peel presided, did something to clear the air. All its members, strong temperance men and leading representatives of the liquor trade included, agreed in recommending that compensa-

tion should be paid when licences were refused renewal for reasons other than misconduct, and that the funds to provide the compensation should be raised by making special levies upon the liquor trade. That is to say, the claim against the public was abandoned, and the suggestion was accepted that the State should by legislation enable the trade to compensate itself—should in fact set up for the trade a compulsory mutual insurance scheme. There were differences of opinion as to important details, the principal of which was that while the majority, including all the representatives of the liquor trade, recommended that the full value of the premises should be paid, and at the end of seven years the arrangement should be reconsidered, the minority, including Lord Peel, suggested that a seven years' time notice should be given, that at the end of that time the State should resume full possession of its licences and all compensation cease, and during that term limited compensation, diminishing each year as the time notice ran off, should be paid.

Between 1900 and 1904 some licensing benches manifested a disposition to refuse the renewal of licences freely, and others brought pressure to bear upon owners of licensed property to compel them to arrange amongst themselves to reduce the number of licensed premises. This led the trade to urge the Government to bring in a Compensation Bill, and the result was the Act of 1904. That Act settled nothing. A great opportunity was lost. Too much attention was paid to the difficulties of the trade and too little to the needs and rights of the public. The only result was that it was rendered imperative that the whole question should be taken in hand and dealt with.

The fundamental principle which must not only be re-established, but be made thoroughly and practically effective, is that licences are the property of the nation and must be under its absolute and complete control. This involves that all assumed rights, privileges or interests in or with regard to them, which have grown up, must cease, and the appointed authorities must be perfectly at liberty, in their full and free discretion, to decline to issue or continue any licence or all licences or to issue or continue them to any one, as may seem desirable, on any terms and conditions which Parliament may from time to time impose or authorise. That is altogether incompatible with and opposed to any permanent scheme of compensation, and any recognition of any right to or interest in a licence beyond the definite and specified period for which it was issued.

That the State has hitherto granted and renewed licences

for a payment which is far less than their market value, and consequently they have become very valuable to the owners of the premises to which they are attached, is no reason why the foolish practice should continue. That people have paid ridiculously high prices for property because they have assumed that licences always would be renewed at an altogether inadequate charge, cannot be allowed to prevent the State from revising its policy in this respect and putting it upon a more businesslike and sensible footing. For a very long time owners of licensed premises have had an undue advantage at the cost of the public. The public ought to have received the full value of the licences which were the property of the nation. A licence is a privilege granted by the State to a limited number of persons. Equity demands that those who receive that privilege should pay the full value for it, so that the position as between those who are allowed to have the privilege and those who are prevented from having it may be equalised. The nation has not charged what it might and ought to have done. For that the liquor trade should be thankful. The careless attitude of the State in this matter has put millions of money into the pockets of the trade. But that is no reason why it should continue such an absurdity. To do so would be to perpetuate the injustice which has been done to the community as a whole.

Further, the wellbeing of the nation requires that the State should have the most complete control over its licences to sell intoxicating liquors. The trade is a difficult and dangerous one. For four hundred years the general public have been prohibited by law from engaging in it. Only a selected few have been allowed to sell drink, and they have only been authorised to do so for twelve months at a time, at the end of which the licence has lapsed unless application was made for its re-grant or renewal. That renewal had to be asked for implied and involved that it might be refused. Indeed, the object of granting the licence for twelve months only was that it should cease unless it were re-granted, and an application for renewal was required to be made each year, in order that there might be an opportunity of reconsidering the desirability of making the grant at all. Although as a matter of fact and practice, licences were usually renewed unless there had been misconduct, the licence-holder and through him the owner of the premises, were every year reminded in the most formal manner, by the fact that an application for its continuance had to be made, that the licence was only an annual grant, and at the end of any year its renewal might be refused. Thus the

State carefully upheld its legal right, and took precautions to impress it upon those who were concerned. The occupant of an ordinary house or shop on an annual tenancy is not reminded in any such formal manner that his tenancy may be terminated at the end of any year on due notice being given. He has not to make a formal application each year for the continuance of the tenancy for another twelve months. But he is never under any misconception as to his real position. The licence-holder has had his attention directed in the most pointed manner to the real nature of his tenure of his licence; and the absolute right of the licensing authority to refuse its renewal has always been most emphatically upheld by the courts of law when they have been appealed to. The State has guarded its rights most carefully in the public interest in order that it might have a perfectly free hand to refuse to renew any or all licences, and do precisely what it wished with them. That people have traded on their belief that the State would not at any time use its power, but would always let things go on as before, cannot be allowed to deprive the State of its clear right. If a landlord allows the tenants on his estate to continue their tenancies year after year for a long period, that does not in the slightest degree vitiate his right to terminate one or all of the tenancies at the end of any year, and to impose entirely new terms, or to let the properties to new tenants, or to decline to let them to any one. In no case, however, has the position of an ordinary tenant been clearer than that of the holder of an annual licence.

The Act of 1904 has altered the whole situation, and altered it very seriously for the worse. It was passed because, and at the very time when, it became clear that the nation was rapidly coming to the conclusion, first, that far too many licences were granted; and second, that the conditions under which those which might be issued were granted needed to be fundamentally revised. The provisions of that Act are intolerable and cannot be permitted to stand. The nation never authorised their enactment and has emphatically demanded their reversal.

So long as compensation has to be paid where a licence is not renewed the State cannot have full ownership of and complete control over its own licences. If it be recognised and admitted that some persons have a property in them and a right to their renewal or to have compensation paid, a kind of dual ownership will be, and indeed has been, set up, and the authority and control of the State are limited and curtailed.

The only way in which the State can resume complete ownership and control is by putting an end to all compensation,

terminating all licences, and then granting as many entirely new ones as it is deemed expedient to issue, on such terms and conditions as shall be determined. Theoretically that is what ought to be done at the end of the present licensing year. It is what would be done at once if a private individual were in the place of the State, and especially if the State were a Brewery Company dealing with the tenants of its houses. But as a question of practical politics, dealing with the conditions as they are, that is not possible.

Investors in licensed property have placed themselves in an untenable position. They are bound to lose money. But there will be a general willingness to make the resumption by the State of its full rights and powers as little inconvenient as is consistent with justice to the public and due regard to the public welfare.

The suggestion, therefore, is that a time notice should be given that at the end of a specified number of years the State will resume full possession of all its licences, and then issue such of them as it may be deemed desirable to continue, on such conditions as will secure the full monopoly value of the licence for the community. During the currency of that time notice compensation would be paid in the case of licences which were refused renewal on grounds other than misconduct, and the money required to provide such compensation would be raised, as now, by levies on the remaining houses. That is what is meant by enacting a time limit to the operation of the compensation clauses of the Act of 1904.

Such an arrangement would be equitable. However strongly the advocates of the claims of the trade might state their case they would never allege that a licence was a freehold. It was a privilege held at the will of and subject to renewal by a public authority. It was liable to be terminated any year. To make the annual grant practically a fixed one for a number of years subject to the proviso that, if it were terminated before the term expired, compensation would be paid, would fully meet the case. The compensation to be paid would be raised from the trade. Practically it would come out of public funds. The State has made an altogether inadequate charge for its licences. It is entitled to charge their full value for them. Indeed it ought to do so, and at the end of the time limit it will do so. The levy for compensation purposes is only a portion of the larger payment which the State might justly demand for public purposes, but which it defers taking in order that compensation may for a time be paid. The compensation is, therefore, really a gift from the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

It should also be remembered that prior to 1904 all prudent owners of licensed property insured against the risk of losing the licence ; or, if they were a Brewery Company, they might set up their own insurance funds. Now the only risk that need be insured against is that of losing the licence through misconduct. That is a small risk, and involves a much smaller provision than was necessary when the risk of losing the licence on the ground that it was not required had also to be provided against. This latter risk is now covered by the compensation fund. Consequently the payment of the compensation levy is not all additional outlay. Part of it takes the place of some of the former provision against the loss of a licence.

Another consideration is that taking public-houses as a whole they will benefit by a reduction in their number. While the total consumption of drink will no doubt be thereby reduced, the reduction in drinking will not be equivalent to the reduction in licences. Possibly two-thirds of the trade done in the suppressed houses will find its way to other publicans. That additional trade will be done by the remaining houses at little or no increase in working expenses, and will consequently show a larger percentage of profit than their previous trade did. The extra profit given to them in that way will go far towards providing a sufficient annual sum to enable them to write off the capital value of their licences during the time limit period.

The method of fixing the amount of compensation to be paid is important. The arrangement under the Act of 1904 is cumbersome, tedious and unsatisfactory. It should be made as simple and as nearly automatic as possible. The compensation is "a sum equal to the difference between the value of the licensed premises and the value which those premises would bear if they were not licensed premises," plus depreciation of trade fixtures caused by the non-renewal. A simple, and it is submitted a fair and proper way of arriving at that difference in value would be to take the amount at which the premises when licensed are assessed for property tax, and deduct from it the amount at which they would be assessed if they were not licensed. The difference would give the addition which the licence gives to the annual value. If licensed premises are not now assessed at their proper value they ought to be, and the public are being defrauded. It is quite intolerable that compensation should be paid on one valuation, and rates, taxes and licence duties be levied on an altogether different and much lower one. Under the suggested arrangement they would speedily

be properly assessed. In many cases we should have the unusual spectacle of property owners desiring that the assessment of their property should be increased. If the time limit be fixed at a reasonable term, the difference in annual value, ascertained as suggested, might be multiplied by the number of years of the time limit which remained unexpired when the renewal of the licence was refused, and that would give the compensation value, apart from the depreciation of fixtures. Under that method the compensation value would gradually diminish year by year as the time limit ran off; and that is as it should be. Another important point in this connection is that the compensation charges are based on the annual value of the licensed premises. To make the compensation payment on one valuation and the compensation levy on another is clearly indefensible. All charges and payments must be calculated on the same valuation.

The compensation charges should be made national and compulsory. At present each Quarter Sessions decides whether there shall be any levy at all, and, if there is to be one, how much it shall be, within the maximum permitted by the Act. The result is, as under the old law, that the least efficient and active Quarter Sessions do nothing or very little, whereas theirs are often areas in which the number of licences is notoriously excessive. Were the money levied and paid into a national fund, whether there was any reduction made in the number of licences in that area or not, there would be a desire both on the part of the trade and the justices that the money raised in the locality should come back and be used there, and reduction would be much facilitated. By making the levy national the necessity for that extremely objectionable portion of the Act of 1904 which concentrated authority more than ever in the hands of Quarter Sessions would be got rid of, and the way would be open for restoring and very much increasing the power of local justices in boroughs with a separate commission of the peace.

The Act of 1904 established one sound principle, namely, that the payment of the compensation charge bears no relation to the number of licences which may be refused renewal in the locality in which the premises for which the compensation charge is paid are situated. The levies are made over the Quarter Sessions area, which is usually the whole county, and the charges are levied on premises in villages and towns where no reduction is made in the number of licences just the same as in those where a considerable reduction is made. No relation is recognised between the payment of the compensa-

tion charge and the benefit which may or may not accrue to any particular house by the removal of competitors. The charges are levied on the trade as a whole in the county, and the arrangement is one which was made for the convenience and benefit of the trade as a whole. It is really a compulsory mutual assurance.

Whether the present maximum compensation charges will be sufficient when the law has been revised will depend very largely on the method adopted for arriving at the amount of compensation to be paid and on the length of the time limit. The longer the time limit, the larger the compensation is likely to be, and consequently the higher the levy that will be required. Clearly the levy must be such as will provide a fund large enough to render it possible to get rid of as many licences as it is deemed desirable to refuse to renew. The feature of the Act of 1904 which has roused probably more opposition and resentment than any other is that which limits the power of the licensing authority to get rid of licences which ought not to continue, and which practically destroys the extremely valuable administrative control which licensing justices formerly possessed. These undesirable changes are the result of concentrating authority in the hands of Quarter Sessions and limiting the number of licences that can be got rid of to the possibilities of an optional, local and limited levy.

A statutory compensation arrangement is only justifiable and tolerable on the condition that free scope is thereby secured to get rid of as many licences as it is thought the public interest requires should terminate, and to deal with those which remain as may be considered necessary and desirable. Unless that freedom can be secured there is no reason why the public should tolerate a compensation scheme at all. The reason for consenting to a compensation arrangement is that the resumption of its full rights and powers by the nation may be rendered as little inconvenient as possible to the owners of licensed property. But unless those powers and rights are to be fully restored to the State the ground for arranging a compensation scheme disappears. To enact a compensation arrangement and at the same time curtail the power of the licensing authority, as the Act of 1904 did, was simply to subordinate, and indeed to sacrifice, the wellbeing of the people to the interests of a trade. As an act of grace, as a temporary expedient to overcome a temporary difficulty, the nation may consent to postpone the exercise of its right to charge the full value for its licences ; but its duty to itself will not permit it to postpone its right so to deal with its licences that it

may curtail "a gigantic evil" which is a "national degradation."

Consequently the compensation arrangements must be such as will permit the utmost freedom in dealing with licences during the time limit. Theoretically that may appear to be difficult if not impossible, practically it is not. Given a reasonable time limit, a compulsory national levy, and such a method of arriving at the compensation payment as has been suggested, and it is quite possible to frame a measure which will enable all licences to be dealt with throughout the currency of the time limit with the fullest freedom that public opinion is at all likely to confer or to desire the licensing authority to use. This can be done without making the compensation levy at all unreasonable in amount.

At the end of the time limit a fresh start would be made. Every licence would be a new licence, and the full value would be charged for it. Compensation would be at an end. It is extremely important that a recrudescence of the old compensation claim should be rendered impossible. The only way in which that can be prevented is by ensuring that the full value of the licences will be paid for them. Indeed, if there were no other reason for securing the full monopoly value of all licences for the State, the necessity of doing it in order to prevent a new property in them from growing up, and consequently a new compensation claim arising, would render it imperative that it should be done.

The necessity for re-establishing the full power of the State to deal with its own licences precisely as it may desire, and the way in which that can be done with as much consideration as is consistent with the paramount claims and the highest interests of the nation have now been stated. The difficult and complicated problem which remains to be grappled with, when a free hand has once more been secured, may next be considered.

As legislation on licensing deals with matters which closely affect the habits, customs, and prejudices of the people, and as the administration and enforcement of the law must depend almost entirely upon local authorities, who will largely represent and be influenced by local opinion, it is particularly desirable that the law should have the support of that opinion. As the character and customs of the people, the conditions of their daily life, the nature of their occupations, the density of the population, and other factors which tend to create and influence public opinion, and consequently the possibility of successfully enforcing restrictive legislation, vary much in

different localities, the broad general principle on which legislation should proceed is that Parliament should enact such general conditions under which intoxicating liquors may be sold as will represent the average opinion of the best portion of the community, and then give to localities which are prepared to go further and do more, power to do so.

The licensing authority should be reconstituted. In cities and boroughs with a separate commission of the peace it should be elected as to one part by the local justices and as to the other part by the local municipal Council. In counties it should be appointed by the county justices and the County Council.

The licensing authority should be a purely administrative and not a judicial body. Charges of breaches of the licensing laws should not come before it for adjudication. It should be concerned solely with such matters as the grant, renewal and transfer of licences and the determination of the conditions under which they should be granted or renewed.

As to appeals, those which were from the decisions of justices might continue to go to Quarter Sessions. They would be concerned solely with offences against the law. But appeals from the decisions of the licensing authority in cities and boroughs, if there were an appeal at all, should be to an enlarged local authority of which the original licensing authority should be the predominant portion. The anomaly of allowing an appeal on a question of administration, as distinct from that of a conviction for an offence, from a competent local body, which must be well acquainted with the persons and the houses concerned and all the local facts and conditions, to an outside body, which has little or no knowledge of either the people or the place, must cease.

In the counties the appeal authorities might consist of selected representatives from the local licensing authorities.

The powers which local licensing authorities possessed prior to the Act of 1904 with regard to the grant, renewal and transfer of licences should be restored and extended so as to make them full and complete.

Wide discretion should be given to order earlier closing at night and later opening in the morning, and especially earlier closing on Saturday night and total or early closing on holidays and election days. There should also be full power to deal with such matters as back-doors, side entrances, obscured windows, screens, partitions, the employment of barmaids, the sale of drink to young people, and the imposition of any reasonable conditions.

Sunday closing should be enacted, power, possibly, being given to the licensing authority to permit limited opening in special cases.

These would be useful reforms. They would greatly facilitate a large reduction in the number of licensed premises, and the more efficient supervision of those which remained. But they would be far from sufficient to enable localities to grapple effectively with the great drink evil. Broadly speaking these improved conditions are in force in Scotland, and intemperance and all the evils of the drinking system still abound there. Were it not for the restrictions and regulations in operation the state of things would be much worse than it is. But at the best such reforms as have just been outlined, necessary as they are, would only touch the fringe of the great problem which is before us. To present them as a remedy, or as the most that legislation could do, would be a mockery.

The root and branch temperance man steps in at this point and advocates prohibition and asks, as the practical method of giving effect to it, that the people, in their respective localities, should have power given to them to prevent licences being thrust upon them against their will. The argument as to the right of the people to have that power is unanswerable. The extent to which in practice, in this country, in our time, it would prove to be a widespread remedy for the evil with which it is designed to cope, is altogether another matter. Would the people freely use the power if they had it? The experience of the United States and Canada, where temperance opinion is far more general and advanced than here, is that in country districts and small places the power is widely used, and where used the law is enforced with great benefit to the public wellbeing. In towns of any considerable size the power is comparatively little used, and where used the law is laxly and with difficulty enforced.

In England, where temperance sentiment is not nearly so strong, where the public-house is far more a part of the social life of the people, and where the population is, in much larger proportion, gathered together in towns and urban districts, the conditions are less favourable. Nevertheless, those districts which would use the power ought to have the opportunity of so doing. In Scotland and Wales public opinion is more advanced, and the power of veto would be more widely used. But something more is needed.

That brings us to another phase of the problem. During the last thirty years the idea has been slowly permeating the minds of the British people that to pass laws to check drinking

and to spend money and time in other efforts to promote sobriety, and at the same time place the supplying of drink to the public in the hands of men, mostly agents of great brewery companies, whose sole object is to sell as much as possible, and who consequently chafe at and, as far as possible, ignore and evade every restriction, is about as senseless a piece of folly as sane men ever indulged in. The realisation of this truth has begotten the conviction that a great step forward will be taken if the stimulus of private profit can be eliminated from the retail trade in drink. The problem is surrounded by difficulty. The suggestion which naturally first comes to the front is that the licences should be granted to the municipal authorities, and the carrying on of the trade be entrusted to them. To that there are two very substantial objections. If local municipal authorities were to run public-houses, and take the profits made therefrom for local purposes, the temptation to promote the sale in order to increase the profit so available would be great, and the net result would be that a public local interest in pushing the sale would be substituted for a private one. If the profits from so conducting the trade were not allowed to go into the local coffers, but went to the national exchequer, so that the locality would have no direct or appreciable interest in the amount of profit made in their area, that objection would disappear. But another would remain. Brewers and distillers, and every one interested in the equipment and working of licensed premises, would concentrate their energies at municipal elections on securing the selection of members who would not be favourable to the restriction of the sale of drink within the narrowest possible limits, and the openings for, and the tendency towards, the corruption and demoralisation of the local authority would be considerable. We are by no means free from that influence at our municipal elections now ; and although, as compared with the present system, there would be some advantages in the management of the sale of drink by municipalities, the possibility of disadvantage is so considerable that it is desirable it should be avoided, if any other satisfactory method of securing disinterested management can be devised.

In Norway, a very successful and beneficial arrangement has been in operation for a long time. The management of the retail sale of spirits has been entrusted in towns to companies of philanthropic gentlemen. These companies have a small capital, and the dividend which may be paid upon it is strictly limited. Two weak points are—first, that the arrangement is confined to the sale of spirits ; and secondly, that a portion

of the profits goes directly to local purposes, although that portion has now been reduced to small dimensions, and is possibly devoted to uses to which the least objection can be taken. Public opinion in Norway is practically unanimous as to the enormous gain to sobriety and good order which has resulted from the adoption of the system. Every town in the country where prohibition has not been carried adopts it, and even when they had the power to do so, no towns were so foolish as to return to any system of licensing ordinary publicans.

There is a very widespread feeling that the adoption of a similar method of conducting licensed premises in this country would be a great step forward in temperance reform. It is, therefore, proposed that where suitable persons are prepared to undertake the control of the sale of drink under carefully considered statutory conditions and regulations, the local licensing authority should be empowered to grant to them all the licences which they intend to issue in a given area, if it be thought that it will be in the public interest to do so. The suggestion is that where licences are to be issued to somebody the authority should have the option of granting them to a select body of gentlemen, rather than to an ordinary publican, who would almost certainly be little better than the bond slave of a brewer who would compel him to push the sale of drink in every possible way.

Among the statutory conditions there would be provisions that the licences should only be issued to an authorised company or society, which would be one which had satisfied the authorities that the object of those who formed it was to promote sobriety and reduce to a minimum the evils resulting from the sale of drink. The capital would be small and the rate of interest limited to, say, four per cent. No person interested in the liquor trade would be eligible to be either a shareholder or a director. The directors should not receive fees. The managers of the houses should be paid by salary, and have no interest in increasing or preventing a decrease of the sale of drink. A reserve fund should be set up which would refund the capital if the houses were closed and the company wound up. The effect of forming this reserve fund would be, first, that the company would be under no financial inducement to resist the discontinuance of the licences if it were thought desirable to terminate them; and, secondly, that the interest on this fund, invested in Consols, would go far towards providing the interest on the capital of the company, and thereby reduce to a minimum the amount required to be made out of the houses for that purpose. The remaining profits should go to the national exchequer.

The accounts of the companies should be audited by a Government auditor, and be published in the local papers. Power should be given to the Secretary of State to cancel the authorisation at any time, should the company or society violate the conditions on which it was granted.

Some results of an arrangement like this would be, that wherever it was adopted the number of licensed premises would be greatly reduced immediately; the hours of sale would be much shortened; Sunday closing would be general; the flaring gin-palace, with its gaudy decorations and meretricious attractions, would disappear; all pushing of the sale of drink would cease; back-doors, side entrances, and screens and partitions would be abolished; grocers' licences, the tied-house system, hawking drink in bottles and canvassing for orders, would come to an end; there would be no billiard matches, goose-clubs or slate-clubs at public-houses, and the use of the premises by disreputable characters of all kinds would be sternly discouraged; restrictions and regulations which are now resisted, ignored, and evaded, would be welcomed and obeyed, and often suggested. The publican, as we know him, would disappear, and the men and their houses would cease to be an active, interested, and powerful element in the political and municipal life of every town, which always throws the whole weight of its powerful influence into the scale against everything which makes for the real improvement of the condition of the people. The difference would be enormous. Drinking would not cease to be unwise and injurious. Public-houses would not become desirable places of resort and centres of influence for good. Far from it. But they would be far fewer and much less injurious than they are now; the consumption of drink would be substantially reduced; much that is altogether undesirable and demoralising would cease; and all the local forces which make for social and moral improvement would be liberated by the removal of a large element of ever-present obstacle and opposition.

Of course, when suitable persons were not forthcoming to undertake the work, or when the licensing authority would not grant the licences to them, nothing in this direction could be done. But, as in the case of the power of veto, those localities which desired to work out their own salvation in this way, ought to be given the opportunity of doing so. They ought not to be prevented because other places wished to remain as they are, or to move in some other direction. A wide and wise local option is the line on which reform should run.

Clubs must be placed under more stringent regulation and

supervision. It will be useless to reduce the number of public-houses, restrict the hours of sale, and facilitate improved methods of management, if at the same time clubs, which are frequently little or nothing more than unlicensed public-houses, are allowed to spring up in all directions. That is so obvious that it is unnecessary to dwell upon it.

When all this has been done much will remain to claim the attention of the temperance and social reformer. A policy of mere restriction and suppression is not sufficient. Counteracting and constructive effort is also required. The public-house has a social side. Many do not go there, at any rate at first, because they want to drink. They go for company and recreation, and they drink because they are there, with the result that many develop drinking habits and become frequenters of public-houses simply in order that they may drink.

Public indoor resorts are required. Places for recreation, and social intercourse should be provided by the community for the same reasons that open spaces, public gardens and public parks are obtained and maintained. They are almost more necessary. For 250 nights in the year it is either dark or wet when people have left work. The parks are closed or not available. Where are they to go? Libraries, museums, and picture-galleries are all very well. But they are not always available, and when they are, they are not what is wanted by everybody every night after a hard day's work. We may regret it, but the fact is they are places for the few and not for the many: and we must face facts, and deal with things as they are, and not persist in proceeding as though they were as we think they ought to be.

Some of these places, which would really be of the nature of free clubs, might be in connection with free libraries, &c., if that were convenient and thought desirable. They should provide news-rooms, smoking-rooms, rooms for billiards and other games, gymnastics and amateur concerts and entertainments of various kinds. They should be open to both men and women, and be sufficiently numerous to be easily accessible and to provide sufficient accommodation. No propaganda—religious or political—should be permitted. There would be no feeling of patronage or charity about them. They would belong to the people. Every one would feel at home in them. They would be free and easy, but severely and strictly clean and healthy, both physically and morally. The introduction of intoxicating liquors should not be permitted. Good order and good behaviour and obedience to rules, the sole object of which would be to secure general comfort and convenience, would be stringently insisted upon. They would be an enor-

mous boon. When once we get them we shall marvel that we were ever without them. They will come in time.

In these ways and on these lines there is a possibility of grappling with that "gigantic evil" which is a "national degradation." There is no one panacea. When all that has here been suggested has been done much will depend on the people themselves, and upon other efforts and other movements. Our social organism is complex, and each phase and factor acts and reacts upon itself and others. But so far as those phases of the problem which are most closely connected with legislation affecting the sale and consumption of intoxicants are concerned, it is submitted that the inauguration of a comprehensive policy on the lines indicated would hold out great hope of progress and improvement. It would enlist the support of large numbers of people of differing views, and afford opportunities for trying various methods of grappling with what is admittedly a very difficult and complicated problem. From those experiments much valuable experience would be obtained, and each locality would be able to adopt that method which was most suited to its special conditions, possibilities and needs.

THOS. P. WHITTAKER.

GREATER BRITAIN

THE CANADIAN TARIFF

THE "Canadian offer" has been renewed in an even more emphatic form; that is to say, the preference accorded to the British manufacturer, so far from being whittled down in the course of recasting and revising the Canadian Tariff, has actually been increased. Nevertheless the second column of this new formulation of Canada's Fiscal Policy is in the nature of an overt warning which it would be the height of folly to ignore; for, even though the duties scheduled in this second column or "intermediate tariff," are only a little lower than those in the general list and much higher than those in the preferential column, the moment the American manufacturer, with his advantages of proximity and a reserved home-market of 80,000,000 customers, as compared with his British rival's undefended market of 40,000,000, obtains the benefit of this small but all-important margin of discrimination, he will be in a position to check and then gradually destroy Great Britain's growing trade with the growing Dominion. In that case the substitution of American reciprocity for British preference in the programme of Canada's external policy would be only a question of time, despite the best efforts of such practical Imperialists as Mr. W. S. Fielding to postpone the fateful choice. And American reciprocity with Canada would inevitably be followed, as Mr. J. L. Garvin pointed out in a masterly article in the December number of this Review, by similar arrangements with Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and the West Indies. "You will either have a system of Imperial preference with the Mother Country brought in," to quote Mr. Garvin's weighty words, "or you will have a system of Imperial preference with the Mother Country left out; and not only that, not only with Great Britain left out, but with foreign nations coming in instead." Indeed, the ultimate choice is between a British Empire held together by material interests and the ties of a deeper and more effective Imperial sentiment

and an economic Confederation—perhaps even an actual polity armed for its own defence and offence—in which not the United Kingdom, but the United States would be the predominant and character-forming Power. Then this Mother Country of so many great States would be nothing more than a museum of antiques and a playground for the American and Americanised *nouveaux riches* of that which might have been the British Empire but for the British insularity which could not and would not grasp a long-proffered opportunity for enlarging our ancient greatness. To become a nation of hotel-keepers, waiters, guides, and purveyors of souvenir spoons to an American Empire—that is the manifest destiny of this people if they continue too long in the broad path of Little-Englandism into which they flocked at the last General Election.

The recasting and revision of the Canadian Tariff has been luminously dealt with in two great speeches by Mr. W. S. Fielding, the Minister of Finance and heir-apparent to the leadership of his party, who must henceforth rank as one of the great exponents of Imperial statesmanship. I could wish space permitted me to give in full both those vindications of Canada's Fiscal Policy. In the first of these great speeches, which was delivered before the meeting of Parliament at Montreal—a city which occupies the same position in the Dominion as New York does in the United States—before the opening of Parliament Mr. W. S. Fielding defined and justified the Fiscal Policy of the Laurier Administration in terms which aroused the enthusiasm of a great audience of representative business men. As it had been the life-work of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to complete the reconciliation of the two Canadian nationalities, and so confirm that *Entente Cordiale* which is the psychological basis, as it were, of Canada's federal institutions, so it was the chief object of Mr. Fielding and his financial advisers to reconcile the economic differences between the agricultural provinces of the West, and the manufacturing districts of Eastern Canada, which have derived such great profit from the rapid expansion of their Western markets—a result of Confederation foreseen by Sir John Macdonald, who did not live long enough to see the fulfilment of his prophecy that the development of Western Canada would some day rival that of the Western States. Therefore the Dominion Government desired "a moderate and reasonable tariff which will give a measure of protection to our commercial life, but yet not be heavy enough to antagonise the great consuming masses of the country." Adequate protection was to be given to the manufacturing industries of the East without endangering the rapid expansion in

population and wealth of Canada beyond the Great Lakes. Thus the fallacious belief, widely current in this country, that Canada was going to take up "McKinleyism" and foster her manufacturing industries at the expense of her agriculture (on which 45 per cent. of Canadians are directly or indirectly dependent for their means of livelihood), has been once more confuted. Indeed, it was made evident by Mr. Fielding that Canada means to avoid the economic blunders of the United States as well as those of the Mother Country. It was also clearly seen that the great fact of Canada's preferential treatment of the British manufacturer was to remain for future use as the corner-stone of Imperial reconstruction. "We propose," said the Minister of Finance, "to adhere to that principle of British preference which we laid down in 1897. We laid down that principle in the face of adverse criticism, but we believe it has been a great factor in the up-building of Canada's position in the Empire and the world." Those words were enthusiastically applauded by the hard-headed business men of the great Canadian seaport, the growth of which has been almost as marked in recent years as that of Winnipeg and other commercial foci in the Western provinces.

In his Budget speech Mr. Fielding gave a more detailed account of the new scientific Tariff which has now taken the place of that framed in 1897, which has been compared, not altogether unjustly, to a "crazy" or patchwork quilt. Before dealing with the subject of Tariff revision, he had much to say of the continuous progress and prosperity of the Dominion as reflected in the state of the national finances. The revenue for the past fiscal year had amounted to $80,139,360, or $1,139,360 in excess of the estimate. The expenditure on consolidated account had been $67,240,640, so that the net result on the year's operations was an actual surplus of $12,898,720, or considerably more than the estimated margin of $12,500,000. The total net surplus in the ten years during which the speaker had been Minister of Finance was no less than $77,198,885. There was no reason to anticipate any falling off in the expansion of the national revenue so long as Canadian trade continued to increase at its present rate. Canada's aggregate external trade was $470,000,000 in 1904–5, and $550,000,000 in 1905–6, and the official returns up to the end of October clearly proved that the rate of increase was being more than maintained. Mr. Fielding might here have drawn attention to the fact that Canada's credit now stands appreciably higher than that of the Mother Country, to judge by the prices of gilt-edged securities in either country.

In introducing his new Tariff—it will be remembered that Mr. Fielding was the chief author of the revision of 1897—he made the following remarks in regard to the necessity for a growing country of Tariff stability, and the adoption of the high protective duties for the encouragement, or, rather, "forcing," of local industries which are unquestionably favoured by many Canadian Conservatives :

Our desire has been to encourage a large degree of Tariff stability—not a slavish adhesion to every item in the Tariff—but we have been desirous that the impression should go abroad that the Government were not willing to make changes hastily, that they were rather slow to do anything in that line, and only when a case became of extreme urgency would we undertake to make changes. We have, therefore, from time to time resisted many applications for changes, not because in some instances there may not have been something in the argument, but because it was not wise to make changes too often. And if in one or two cases there was some reason perhaps to justify a change, I do not think anybody has suffered any serious loss by delay. Now that we are approaching the question of a general Tariff revision, we again wish to keep in mind this idea of Tariff stability. We do not desire to make radical changes. We feel that the general condition of Canada to-day is such that radical changes in the Tariff are not called for. In accordance with intentions recently expressed, we are changing the shape and form of our Tariff. We are adopting new forms of schedules ; but, after all, it will be found that no very great and no very radical changes are being made in the resolution it will be my duty to present. We have from time to time discussions with honourable gentlemen opposite as to encouraging manufacturing industries. I do not think that there is—certainly as to principle—a very wide difference between us. We all agree that we should like manufacturing industries to prosper in Canada, always provided it does not cost too much. I suppose the question of the difference between us would be as to where the proper line should be drawn. Some of the honourable gentlemen take the extreme view that we should manufacture everything. They see some article which has been imported from abroad, and they say, " You have no right to import these things, because you can make them in Canada and should make them." In most instances we can make them, but whether we should is a debatable question. The question is, can we make the article economically and at as cheap a rate, and should we attempt to make it, or is it something not well adapted to our manufacturing conditions? We are not prepared to take the view that we must manufacture everything in Canada. There are things we cannot manufacture with profit, and I think we would do as well to wait until Canada has a much larger population before attempting to face manufacturing in some lines.

These remarks very strongly corroborate Mr. Chamberlain's much-criticised expression of opinion that Canada and the other British independencies would not be anxious to create "secondary industries" (which can only be done by erecting a high Tariff fence until wages in Greater Britain fall to the old-world level) if the Mother Country was prepared to negotiate treaties of mutual preference. At the time this suggestion was made many

local patriots in the Colonies took offence at what seemed to them the expression of a desire to limit the future industrial activities of the "younger nations" for the benefit of Great Britain. To-day the true significance of Mr. Chamberlain's words has been gauged, and it is clearly seen that secondary manufactures, except they be built up on the great primary industries, are parasites on the body economic of a Commonwealth. Australia has paid a heavy price for creating secondary and even tertiary trades, all of which are "in the air," so to speak. Indeed, these parasitic growths, which have been fostered at such vast expense, are chiefly responsible for the hiving of nearly half Australia's population in hypertrophied cities along the coast-line, and, indirectly, for the social curse of the neurotic "larrykin." Canada means to learn from the experience of other countries rather than by costly experiments of her own, and she has no intention whatever of following Australia's example and paying heavily for the creation of parasitic industries which would withdraw a part of her population from the development of her vast agricultural areas and other natural sources of wealth and of that welfare which the *ens logicum* of the "economic man" was invented to ignore. Mr. Fielding gave as an illustration of the industries, which Canada cannot afford to encourage, the manufacture of tin-plate. Some enterprising capitalists were anxious to establish a tin-plate factory in Ontario, and it is known that they have maintained what is called at Washington (and also, I believe, at Ottawa) a "strong lobby" in order to persuade the Government to impose a duty on tin-plate which had been kept on the free-list for the benefit of Canada's huge canning industry. But the Canadian Government has absolutely refused to benefit a single Ontario town at the cost of a great and complex trade which has a foothold in nearly every province—indeed, the "tin cow" or can of condensed milk is ubiquitous—and is about to profit by the recent revelations in regard to the American packeries. It is certain that this policy of refusing to foster parasitic manufactures through the agency of the Tariff will be rigorously pursued by the present Administration; and there is every reason to believe that even the lawful inheritors of Sir John Macdonald's "National Policy" would refrain from imposing high protective duties, if they came into power in 1908—so strong is the general agreement with Mr. Fielding's advocacy of Tariff stability.

The broad lines of recasting and revision have been explained at length in the London journals, so that I need only summarise them briefly. In the first place the new Tariff

classifies commodities in eleven groups for the convenience of importers. Secondly, all vagueness of wording has been removed so far as possible. To come to changes of more importance, the new Tariff has three columns, the one containing the lowest duties all round being that of the British preference. Hitherto the preferential rate in nearly all cases has been 33⅓ per cent. off the general rate. Now the preferential duties are set forth in a separate column or list, the discrimination in regard to each item being calculated separately. In some cases it is more, in some cases less, than the "flat" or all-round preference of 33⅓ per cent. But the desire to turn trade in the direction of Great Britain has been kept in view throughout; and Mr. Fielding's opinion that the small changes in this direction would be found to have increased the discrimination in favour of the British manufacturer, particularly in the class of metals in which he is met with severe competition, is justified by a close examination of the actual duties. All the specific alterations seem to have been the result of the use of the 2½ per cent. unit. Further changes in favour of Great Britain have been made in the revision of the free list, which imposes a small duty on certain listed articles coming from foreign countries. Clearly the revised British preference will be somewhat more effective in 1907 than it has been in 1906, when many large firms in Great Britain for the first time made a serious attempt to enter the Canadian market—in almost every instance with encouraging results. Of the two remaining columns one is that of the previously existing general Tariff, which, broadly speaking, remains as it was. The second column is that of the "intermediate Tariff." The surtax is retained, and also the various concessions under the French treaty. And the dumping clause remains, though the letter of it has been altered.

Mr. Fielding again justified the British preference which, he believed, had brought commercial advantages of a substantial nature. In support of this contention he pointed out that in 1891 the imports into Canada from Great Britain were $43,000,000 and in 1897, when the preferential Tariff came in, they had fallen to $29,200,000. The tide was turned, and last year the British imports amounted to $69,000,000. Taking dutiable goods only—of course, the preference applied only to these goods—an increase from $20,217,422 to $52,615,725 was shown during the same period. Another view of the preferential Tariff was that it gave a great reduction of taxation to the consumers of the Dominion. A close calculation indicated that if the preference had not been established during the last ten years, if the same

quantity of goods had come into the country under the old rates of duty as had come under the preference, no less than $28,000,000 of taxation over and above what the people had been actually called upon to pay under the preference would have been taken from the people. Rates under the British preference also govern to a very considerable extent the prices of articles sold in Canada by foreign countries; so that even the foregoing large figures do not adequately represent the full benefit accruing to the Canadian consumer of an act of discrimination which was also a first step in a policy of Imperial reconstruction. In this connection Mr. Fielding defined the views of his Government for the *n*th time (eight times, at least, to my knowledge) in regard to a mutual preference:

> If it suits the pleasure and convenience of the British people to grant that preference to the products of Canada we should have been glad to have it, and many of us think it would have been of considerable advantage. But, while we hold that opinion, we have felt that we would not be doing justice to Canada if we were to press the matter unduly upon the British people. We have never made any concealment of our hopes on the subject; but when it became apparent that the adoption of such a policy was obnoxious to the mass of the people of Great Britain for the time being, whatever their views may be in the future, when it became a party question in Great Britain, when one of the great Imperial parties over there took strong ground against it, when it was declared to be a policy antagonistic to the wishes of the mass of the people, we thought the proper position for us to take was and is this: "It is a question for you people of Great Britain. We adopted the British preference because we believed it was a good thing for Canada. When you people see fit to adopt it as a good thing for Great Britain, why, we shall be pleased; but if it does not suit you to adopt it from the standpoint of your own interest, we have no objection to make: you must go your own way."

It is difficult to understand the reasoning of British Free Traders, who argue that because the preference given by Canada has not only benefited the British manufacturer, but also the Canadian consumer, and is, therefore, not a one-sided, sentimental bargain, it is but an ephemeral boon, and not an inducement to open negotiations for a reciprocal arrangement which would increase the benefit to either party. All Canadians are consumers; only a minority are producers of a few of the wares which the British manufacturer purveys in the world's markets. Here, surely, is a good basis of negotiation, when it is remembered that each increase in the British preference relieves the Canadian consumer.

In the sweetest cup there is a drop of bitterness. The penalty for "going our own way" is indicated in the adoption of the intermediate Tariff. In no case does the reduction of duties in this intermediate column from the level of the general Tariff equal

10 per cent. Nor is there any immediate danger that it will become operative so as to injure the interests of the British manufacturer. For the present the American Senate, that stronghold of Trust interests, is a seemingly insuperable obstacle to reciprocity between Canada and the United States. So that circumstances have conspired to grant us a respite—for how long who knows ?—from the inevitable fate of a people that is in slavery to the idols of the Academy. Mr. Fielding's remarks on the intention of this intermediate Tariff are too significant to be left unquoted :

All we do, then, by adopting this intermediate Tariff is to hold it up to countries abroad and say : "This is something which you may obtain, if you desire, by entering into negotiations with Canada ; you may obtain the whole Tariff for equal compensation, or you may obtain a part of that Tariff for compensation." You may obtain it from day to day by reciprocal legislation, or you may obtain it by a treaty, brought about through proper diplomatic channels. We do not, therefore, bring this middle Tariff into operation at once, but we put it before the world as a statement of the terms and conditions upon which we are willing to negotiate with other countries, and in order that we may induce them to give us better terms and take from us a larger share of products of Canada. We will ask Parliament to give us authority within the limits set down in that Tariff, to bring it into operation by an Order in Council, only as respects temporary arrangement, from time to time. I may say that there is no case in which the reduction is equal to 10 per cent., but wherever there is a reduction to that extent it would diminish the British preference. Though in some cases the British preference is reduced, and in others it is increased, on the whole the British preference will be as between itself and the general Tariff about as it is to-day, or perhaps a little better for Great Britain.

Lord Grey has been warning the British investor to be careful in his dealings in Cobalt mines. Cobalt is a good "mining camp," but the proved properties are few in number, mere prospects are numberless, and the Wall-street boom is not warranted by the facts. As long as he allows the American financiers to act as middlemen, the British investor will never derive much benefit from the spectacular development of the Dominion. It is to be hoped that Lord Grey's warning, coming as it does from the first Governor-General of Canada who has proved himself a first-rate man of business, will be carefully considered.

E. B. O.

SOUTH AFRICA

THE TRANSVAAL CONSTITUTION.

ON Wednesday, December 12, the Letters Patent granting Responsible Government to the Transvaal were issued. The public have been kept in complete ignorance about Lord Selborne's views as to the policy of the Government, or his recommendations with regard to the various clauses of this most important State paper. And not only have the Government not published Lord Selborne's despatches, but they have even suppressed the report of their own Ridgeway Commission, consisting of three Liberals, who went out to try to coerce the British party in the new Colonies into abandoning their just claims to political consideration. It is not difficult to realise why the Government have acted in this arbitrary manner with regard to important documents which the public have a right to see. The opinions of Lord Selborne, the report of the Ridgeway Commission, have been suppressed because they did not agree with the views of Mr. Byles of Bradford, who, with his fellows, came to Parliament last January meaning to give South Africa to the Boers, meaning to ruin the great industry upon which the future of the Colony is founded, and meaning to indulge to the uttermost that fanatical hatred of the British, which is the distinguishing mark of the bilious Radical.

We have never taken a sanguine view of the intentions of his Majesty's Ministers; we have all along said that they would do all that ignorance and malevolence could do to prejudice the position of the British in the Transvaal. They have justified our fears. The Constitution which ensures supremacy to the Boers also handicaps the industry upon which the British exist, by denying to it that supply of unskilled labour without which it cannot survive, for it is specifically stated in the Letters Patent that the contracts with the Chinese are not to be renewed, and that no new ordinance dealing with contract labour may pass into law unless it satisfies the home Government (and Mr. Byles) that no "servile" conditions exist. No one, however, imagines that the British Government would resist the united and reiterated demand of all sections of the population in the Transvaal for the renewal of any kind of contract labour, so what this clause of the Letters Patent means is that the British in the Transvaal will have to buy the political support of the Boers *at any cost*, if they are not to be starved out of the country. The cost of the Boer vote will be nothing less than the full control of the schools and the Civil Service. If the

British are prepared to allow their children to be brought up as rebels, as Boers—the Dutch will support Chinese labour, if not, then the British may leave the country where they will no longer be able to earn their living. That is the dilemma in which they have been placed by the malice of the pro-Boer members of the home Government, a malice in no way mitigated by the enfeebled and discredited "Liberal Imperialists."

The reserved portions of the Constitution, that is to say the hampering of a colony, whose trustworthiness the Government are never tired of extolling, with regard not only to its native laws but with regard to all future regulations of Asiatic and coloured immigrants, will be a fruitful source of trouble between the Colonial Office and the Transvaal. It is unparalleled in the history of the British Empire, and Lord Elgin, that man of straw, will not only find himself face to face with those who are seeking a quarrel with Great Britain, but with those who wish to keep on good terms with her. Slowly and surely the loyalists in South Africa are being forced by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Cabinet into alliance with the Boers against England, and the connection between these islands and the African sub-continent will be gravely weakened when the whole population of South Africa is agreed upon one point only, that Downing Street is intolerable.

The Constitution provides, it is true, two "safeguards" to the British. The Upper Chamber, or Council * is to be nominated by the Governor, but this will, as the members are not to be nominated for life, only place them at the mercy of popular outcry, and involve the Governor in a great deal of political hot water if they resist the elected House of Assembly. It is just better than if both Houses were to be elected ; but any one who counts upon a stalwart opposition to Krugerism on the part of men who are liable to be politically abolished every five years, is mistaken. The second safeguard is that a board is to be appointed to protect, at least for a short time, those British settlers who were induced by the British Government to take up their abode in the Transvaal. We welcome this last provision as showing that public opinion has had some effect upon the Home Government, and that Lord Milner's warning and the general uneasiness felt at the contemplated breach of faith with our settlers has penetrated even to Lord Elgin.

Perhaps the grossest mistake in the Letters Patent, and the one most fraught with mischief to the future of South Africa, is that

* There is nothing to ensure that members of this Upper House, or Council, need be British citizens.

in order to enable the penniless Boer Bywoner to vote, manhood suffrage has been granted to all whites. This puts the qualification for voting on a colour level, and it places another stumbling-block in the path of Federation by granting a lower franchise than the other Colonies will be willing to accept.

The Letters Patent granting Responsible Government to the Transvaal, although published in the hurly-burly of a great party controversy on education, have attracted great attention, and provoked much anxious comment. The Unionist press, with the exception of the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Telegraph*—which latter paper must be nowadays counted as a Little England organ—sounded a chorus of grave warning. To all those to whom Imperialism, to quote Lord Milner's fine phrase, is "a creed and not a cry," this precipitate and irrevocable launching of the hardly-pacified Transvaal on the sea of party warfare is an alarming experiment. We may be saved, as we have often been saved before, by the courage and patriotism of over-seas Englishmen, but public opinion in the Empire will continue to condemn those politicians in the Mother Country who are playing a series of risky experiments with a colony in order to tickle the pro-Boer gallery, which is represented in the House of Commons in a measure altogether out of proportion to its influence in the country.

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

THE SEPARATIST CONSPIRACY IN IRELAND

Look you, our foreshore stretches far through sea-gate, dyke, and groin—
Made land all, that our fathers made, where the flats and the fairway join.
They forced the sea a sea-league back. They died and their work stood fast.
We were born to peace in the lee of the dykes, but the time of our peace is past.

. . . . . .

So we come down uneasy, to look, uneasily pacing the beach.
These are the dykes our fathers made: we have never known a breach.
Time and again has the gale blown by, and we were not afraid;
Now we come only to look at the dykes—at the dykes our fathers made.

. . . . . .

Now we can only wait till the day, wait and apportion our shame.
These are the dykes our fathers left, but we would not look to the same.
Time and again were we warned of the dykes, time and again we delayed;
Now, it may fall, we have slain our sons as our fathers we have betrayed.

—KIPLING: *The Dykes.*

I. THE PRESENT SITUATION AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

MR. KIPLING'S fine poem, from which the lines printed above are taken, has at the heart of it a deep and enduring moral. For all generations of mankind the lesson is imperious, in every country and in every form of conflict. It is not in the hours of hot and resolute struggle that disaster is most to be dreaded. It is when use and wont have relaxed the sinews of the mind and dimmed the vision of old experience, when long-continued peace and security have lulled nations to sleep, when over-confidence has become a part of character, and all that reason and fact had driven home even to the most stupid and

sluggish in the crisis of the fight is forgotten like a dream. This is profoundly and permanently true in war, in trade and in policy. All history spells it out, from the siege of Troy to the campaigns that ended in Jena and Sedan, arousing, in the last century, two great nations that had fallen into a stupefying slumber to the realities of ruin and disgrace.

One-and-twenty years ago the British nation, before that time wrapped in one of its too frequent fits of obstinate and unseeing complacency, was on a sudden awakened to the fact that it was standing on the brink of an abyss, to the edge of which it had been led in trusting innocence by guides, blinded themselves and reckless leaders of the blind. There was a short and sharp conflict, but with an effort, like that of one who painfully recovers from an anæsthetic, the nation shook off its drowsiness and, with an unflinching eye, looked at "things as they are," determined to put aside the illusions of optimistic fancies and the intoxications of rhetoric and sentimentality. Few chapters in national history are more creditable to the sterling good sense, insight and firmness that mark the British character than the revolt against Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy in 1886. It was not a party fight. Many tore themselves away with a cruel wrench from party connections and party traditions. Perhaps the larger part of the work of arousing the people was done by persons entirely unconnected with party politics, by men who realised that the heritage not of Empire only, but of British liberties and British order, was at stake. Apart from the Conservative party and its leaders, the array of those who stood by the flag at the critical moment when Mr. Gladstone attempted to haul it down and lead his followers into the enemy's camp was imposing. Not to mention those still living, the opponents of the Gladstone surrender to the Parnellite blackmailers included such names as those of Bright and Forster, Argyll and Selborne, Derby, Grey, Bramwell, Lecky, Froude, Seeley, Huxley, Tyndall, Tennyson, Matthew Arnold, Swinburne, Leighton, and many more of hardly lesser note. But the victory was won not by authority ; it was a triumph of reason. Never has any discussion on public affairs gone down so thoroughly to the root of the principles involved, the historical conditions, the economic qualifications and the constitutional consequences, as that which was opened up by Mr. Gladstone's migration to the Separatist camp. Among those who took the most prominent part in this remarkable controversy, the names of Mr. Lecky, Sir James Stephen and Professor Dicey—whose two books on the subject, *The Case against Home Rule* and *A Leap in the*

Dark, are still of the highest practical value—deserve special mention.

But for a time neither argument nor fact could wholly overcome the appeal to party fidelity and the influence which Mr. Gladstone wielded. Even the General Election of 1886, which gave the combined Unionists a large majority, left the Liberal Opposition in bondage to Home Rule. The prolongation of the discussion, however, slowly dissolved this connection, although in 1892 the Liberals obtained a narrow majority in the House of Commons, including the Irish Nationalists, and the following year saw the introduction of Mr. Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill. But the unexampled shiftings and quibblings that distinguished the seven years' evolution of that measure as well as its Parliamentary career disgusted many "nominal Home Rulers." Many more, who had all the time found it difficult to stand up against the overwhelming logical force and weight of the case for the Union, were in their hearts alienated by the cynical lightheartedness with which those who had denounced the crimes and the tyranny of the Land League in the early eighties defended the same iniquities when Parnellites and Gladstonians had come to be allies. This process was quickened in the consciences of not a few who shrank from a breach with their party by the amazing revelations before the Special Commission and the findings of the judges in the case of Parnell and Davitt and their colleagues, when it was declared that some of these had "entered into a conspiracy," by means of coercion and intimidation, to drive the "English garrison" out of Ireland, and that others, the prime movers in the establishment and organisation of the Land League, had "acted with the intention by its means to bring about the absolute independence of Ireland as a separate nation." Then came Parnell's appearance in the Divorce Court, the wreck of his personal character, and his expulsion, on Gladstone's prompting, from the leadership by the very men who had a few days earlier re-elected him as their chief, followed by his denunciation of the Gladstonian Bill of 1886 and its subsequent modifications, and his repudiation of the pledges he was supposed to have given to accept such a scheme as a settlement. The Bill of 1893 was introduced under these depressing conditions, with Parnell's powerful will no longer present to inspire his party, and with no prospect of obtaining even a plausible excuse for arguing that proposals which were thrust through the House of Commons by the closure constituted a settlement that could be trusted to hold good even for a single year. The rejection of the Bill by the House of Lords was a foregone

conclusion, and the action of the Upper Chamber was promptly and abundantly justified by the return of the great Unionist majority in the summer of 1895.

Thus, after nearly ten years of controversy and conflict, the Separatist policy which the Gladstonians had taken over "as a going concern" from the Parnellite faction was defeated, discredited, and, as men of all parties hastened to say, dead and buried. In the Parliament of 1895 it was never heard of, except in speeches by Nationalist politicians, intended solely for consumption in Ireland. Not even the extreme Radicals pretended to any sympathy with objects which the people of Great Britain had so emphatically disapproved. They thrust the question out of sight with sedulous care, and when they were compelled to make any reference to it they were eager to explain that, in their view, it was no longer "within the sphere of practical politics." Lord Rosebery's repeated attempts to disentangle himself from the record of his former half-hearted complicity in the Separatist scheme of his departed chief kept their surviving colleagues up to the mark. The nation felt ashamed that it had been so nearly tricked into a shameful surrender, and the attitude, during the Boer War, of the Irish "rebel party," which Bright had denounced long before, deepened the feeling of indignation. In these years public opinion in regard to the relations between Great Britain and Ireland had gone back, it seemed, to the point at which it had been steadily fixed from the time of the Union to the date of the Gladstonian apostasy after the General Election of 1885. That position might be illustrated by an enormous mass of quotations from the speeches and writings of public men, Whig, Tory and Radical, but a single extract will suffice :

> There is an Irish party, a determined and not insignificant one, for which British indignation has no terrors. Their wish is to disgust England with Irish business and Irish members, and to induce England, through sheer disgust and the sense of public inconvenience due to obstruction offered to the progress of all other business in Parliament, to listen to repeal of the legislative union.

These pregnant words are from a memorandum which Sir Robert Peel submitted to the Duke of Wellington a few days before his defeat and resignation in June 1846. To the day of his death he never thought it conceivable that a British Minister could surrender to such a faction, wielding such weapons. Nor did any of his successors in office contemplate such a humiliating and suicidal course till Peel's most brilliant disciple yielded to the temptation of overriding the will of the people of England and Scotland by a transaction that was to purchase *en bloc* the

votes of a "rebel party" numbering eighty-five members of the House of Commons.

Yet to-day we have ominous warning that the Separatist danger, which was thought to be "dead and buried" nearly a dozen years ago, is to come upon the United Kingdom in full flood in the next Session of Parliament. A surprise such as Gladstone and Parnell, in the first flush of their confederacy, nearly brought to a successful ending is hardly possible now, unless the new Separatist alliance is justified in its calculation that Englishmen and Scotchmen who were broad awake in 1895 have gone to sleep again and left the citadel of the State unguarded. A new generation of electors, it is true, have come into existence ; many have forgotten and many more had never mastered the arguments and the lessons of experience which were so familiar in the days when the battle of the Union was last fought out. Are the people of Great Britain steeped in apathy, indifference and ignorance, as they were when they had so rude an awakening twenty-one years ago ? Have other controversies diverted their minds from the paramount duty of watching "the dykes our fathers made"? A short time will show. But not a day is to be lost, if the people are to rouse up before we are "surrendered to night and the sea."

II. The Devolution Policy: Its Futility.

The situation is essentially the same as that which had to be faced in 1886, but the accomplices of the Irish Separatists have found a new mask which they hope will, for the moment, disguise the dangerous features of a Home Rule measure. The substitution of a word of Latin origin for the question-begging Saxon phrase which Mr. Gladstone worked "for all it was worth" can deceive none except those who are determined to be deceived. More than three and a half years before Lord Dunraven's Committee, with the advice and assistance of Sir Antony MacDonnell, concocted the "Devolution" policy launched by the "Irish Reform Association," Mr. Redmond welcomed that policy, not as in any way adequate to meet the Nationalist claim, but as "an enormous step on the road to Home Rule." When the Dunraven scheme was disclosed, Mr. William O'Brien hailed it as "a new birth of Home Rule." The Nationalist newspapers recognised that this new departure, for which they pretended to consider the Irish Unionists responsible—though no Unionists of any representative position or authority in Ireland gave the slightest support to the Dunraven project—was an opportunity for securing the objects at which they had aimed openly and all along. When Sir Henry

Campbell-Bannerman, just before he took office, advocated, in the speech at Stirling which aroused the alarm of Lord Rosebery and of many other Liberals, concessions to the Nationalist claims on the "instalment" plan, the *Freeman's Journal* contended that he had put forward his Home Rule policy clearly, and, appealing to the Irish voters in Great Britain as well as in Ireland, declared that "Every vote given to a follower of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman at the next election is a vote given for Home Rule."* Well might Lord Rosebery, addressing the Liberal League a couple of weeks later, take note of this statement as representing the Nationalist view that the policy of a Government under such leadership "would bring an Irish Parliament to the doors of the Irish people." To the same conclusion all sections of the Irish Unionists had unanimously and unhesitatingly come. The Irish Unionist Alliance had from the first condemned the Devolution proposals as eventually, and, probably, almost at once, leading to the establishment of an Irish Parliament, with all the perils and evils which had been discerned and denounced in 1886 and 1893. The Ulster Liberal-Unionist Association issued a manifesto, after an important meeting in Belfast,† insisting that, having regard to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's promise of the transfer of "the effective management of Irish affairs to a representative Irish authority" as an instalment, and his advice to the Nationalist members to accept this, "provided always that it was consistent with, and led up to, *the larger policy*," "Devolution must be sternly resisted at every stage." It was pointed out that "the larger policy" had, a few days earlier, been authoritatively defined at the Convention of the United Irish League in Dublin: "No new system of Government for Ireland would be accepted as satisfactory or would prove effective except a Legislative Assembly freely elected and representative of the people, with powers to make laws for Ireland, and an Executive Government responsible to that Assembly."

The policy of Home Rule by instalments, foreshadowed in Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's speech at Stirling, is generally, and not unnaturally, identified with the projects of devolution that have been so much talked of, and so little understood, during the last two years. No plan for "representative control over Irish administration," to use the Prime Minister's words, has been authoritatively published, though there has been much unauthorised speculation on the subject. The nearest approach to an official or semi-official indication of the nature of the measure contemplated by the present Government has come,

* November 24, 1905. † December 15, 1905.

characteristically enough, from Sir Antony MacDonnell, the Under-Secretary at Dublin Castle. This permanent official, bound by the usage of the Civil Service to keep clear of political controversies, went out of his way while Parliament was still sitting * to announce at the Master Builders' dinner in Dublin that the legislation of next Session would include a measure with the object of "associating the people with the conduct of Irish affairs." "My firm belief," the Under-Secretary said, "is that the coming year, 1907, will see the fruition of many of the hopes which the best Irishmen have for many years entertained," intimating at the same time that all must not be expected at once—just as the Prime Minister had previously advised Irish Nationalists to take an instalment and to bide their time till the larger policy could be yielded to them without unpleasant Parliamentary consequences.† As Sir Antony MacDonnell—who has freely used, and indeed extended, under Mr. Bryce, the extraordinary and unconstitutional privileges conceded to him by Mr. Wyndham, with the connivance of Lord Lansdowne, on his original appointment—had been associated, it is now undisputed, in the preparation and publication of the devolution scheme put forward by Lord Dunraven's Committee in September 1904, it has been widely assumed that the Bill thus put forward by the Under-Secretary as a "message of hope" is that of the so-called Irish Reform Association. For several reasons, however, it would be waste of time to enter upon a serious examination of the Dunraven proposals as if they constituted the policy that the Government is to produce. The plan, by the way, was materially altered a year after its first appearance, with the object—clearly not attained—of placating the Nationalists by more "liberal" arrangements about finance and by a pledge that the iniquitous over-representation of Ireland in the Imperial Legislature shall, in no circumstances, be diminished. The experience of the Gladstonian Home Rule Bills should warn us that any concessions to the Nationalists are liable to frequent and far-reaching changes after their production. As surely, any devolution plan ever propounded would be transformed beyond recognition before the final Parliamentary verdict upon it was given.

* August 1, 1906.

† The Under-Secretary's words, as reported in the Dublin newspapers, were: "His firm belief was that the coming year, 1907, would see the fruition of many of those hopes which the best Irishmen had for many years entertained. It might not be the fruition of everything which Irishmen had hoped for, but it would be, he believed, the fruition of so much that Irishmen, if they were true to themselves, would make it the fountain and the source from which the whole of their hopes might be fulfilled."

It is further to be considered that the Dunraven proposals carry with them no sort of authority. They have been contumeliously rejected by the Nationalist members, and, as Davitt pointed out soon after their appearance, "they had no backing from their own party, no endorsement from their own class, no sanction of any kind from their own recognised landlord or Unionist leaders." Neither Lord Dunraven himself nor any of his colleagues of the "Irish Reform Association" have been active and leading workers in the Unionist cause. They have taken no foremost part in resistance to the tyranny and coercion carried on by the United Irish League and earlier organisations of the same kind in the much-abused name of Irish nationality. It is remarkable that not one of the Dunraven Committee has ever been a member of the House of Commons, and we believe not one has sat on the executive of the Irish Unionist Alliance, which, more than any other organisation, represents every shade of Unionist opinion in Ireland. It may be mentioned that, according to the best information, more than one important member of Lord Dunraven's Committee has withdrawn from any co-operation in a movement the dangers of which to the highest interests both of Ireland and of the Empire had at last become apparent to them. On the other hand, Mr. Talbot Crosbie, one of Lord Dunraven's most conspicuous coadjutors, who posed, especially in the English newspapers, as a representative Unionist, and contended that devolution was the true Unionism, has recently come out in his real colours and declared himself a convert to Home Rule without qualification. Lord Dunraven's personal position is rather ambiguous. In his pamphlet *The Crisis in Ireland* he writes:* "Home Rule is a vague and indeterminate expression, and our proposals may be Home Rule, disguised or undisguised. *I do not quarrel with the name. I have no objection to it as applied to myself.* But the assertion that they are repeal in disguise or dualism in disguise, or that they abrogate the ultimate and effective control of Parliament, is utterly absurd." It is not surprising that a politician of this amphibious type finds himself without any support either from Unionists or from Nationalists.

We have quoted some passages showing the nature of the dissent on both sides from the devolution policy. The Irish Unionist Alliance promptly protested against the attempt to obtain Unionist support for that policy, being firmly convinced that "legislation in the direction indicated, instead of lessening agitation on the part of the Nationalist Party, would only

* P. 51.

be used as additional means to extort further concessions." At the same time, the Liberal Unionists of Ulster placed on record their conviction that the devolution proposals opened the door for "concessions fraught with danger and injustice to loyalist minorities," to be forced upon Parliament year by year until, before another appeal to the constituencies was possible, we "should find ourselves the victims of the substance of Home Rule, and a substance the more intolerable because presented to us under the garb of an angel of light." To Irish Unionists who are face to face with the practical aspects of the situation Lord Dunraven's suggestion seems a mockery that "the ultimate and effective control of Parliament" is fully secured because it rests with the House of Commons under the devolution plan to vote the supplies for Ireland, though the allocation of those supplies is to be given over to the Irish Council, or whatever the new authority in Ireland may be called. The remedy of withdrawing the grants to Ireland, if the Irish majority should oppress and despoil the minority, is about as practical, and, perhaps, as seriously meant, as Sir William Harcourt's argument in bygone days that if Home Rule "went wrong" in Ireland the Imperial Government could always set things right by invading the sister island with horse, foot, and artillery. The absurdity is increased by the fact that the devolutionists are pledged to maintain the present representation of Ireland in its full strength at Westminster. Of course, any attempt to bring financial pressure to bear for such purposes as Lord Dunraven professes to contemplate would be resisted to the bitter end by the eighty-five Nationalists in the House of Commons. If any one imagines that a Radical Government, with its own ends to pursue, would have such virtue as to disregard the Irish vote in the spirit of an ancient Roman, his innocence is to be envied. The following words, written by Professor Dicey in 1893 of the Gladstonians of that day, are as true now of the motley following of the Campbell-Bannerman Ministry. "Their policy can be carried through, if at all, only by alliance with the Irish leaders. The alliance and support of those leaders the Gladstonians must have at any cost." However monstrous the price, there will be no hesitation about paying it.

In advocating both the first and the second of his Home Rule Bills Mr. Gladstone put in the forefront of his argument the necessity that the settlement must be "real" and that it must be one accepted by the Irish people. He was able to persuade himself, in the teeth of facts and probabilities, that

his policy was so accepted by Mr. Parnell and his following until the illusion was torn into tatters in Committee-room No. 15. But under the influence of his optimistic dreams he gave promises and held out hopes by which the Nationalists are determined to bind the Gladstonian Epigoni. It is hard indeed for politicians who claim the allegiance of the Liberal Party, as Gladstone's successors in title do, to ignore these words of his, written in reply to Parnell's manifesto of November 28, 1890: "For me to propose any measure except such as Ireland could approve, *on the lines already laid down*, would be fatuity as regards myself and treachery to the Irish nation." To the obligations so defined, Mr. Redmond and the whole body of the Irish Nationalists—with the possible exception of Mr. William O'Brien and a few of his adherents, whose bond of union seems to be that they are eager to say "black" when the dominant faction of the party says "white"—are bent on holding the present Cabinet. It can, therefore, be no matter for surprise that the repudiation of the devolution proposals by the Nationalists has been even more drastic and unhesitating than that of the Unionists themselves. Pages and pages might be filled with extracts showing how far the Nationalist leaders and organisers were from the most distant thought of accepting devolution as a "real settlement," such as Gladstone tried to make Parliament and the constituencies believe he had laid the foundations of by a compact with the Parnellites. A few specimens, however, must suffice here. Shortly before his death, Davitt in a speech at Maryborough * scouted the devolution plan of Lord Dunraven's association in the fiercest language of distrust and scorn, and a little later the *Freeman's Journal* contemptuously dismissed those proposals as "vestry reforms." Still earlier Mr. Dillon had taken his line. Of the Dunraven proposals he said:† "They are preposterous; they are utterly unworkable. If set up they would not last six months; if set up in the House of Commons they would not last a night's debate." A year later, at Liverpool, he said that "devolution was a system to delude Ireland, and machinery to break and destroy the National movement"; while, on the same occasion, Mr. T. P. O'Connor "warned British statesmen that the Irish leaders had no intention of palming off on the Irish people an incomplete and unworkable scheme," restating the claim that they "must have no less than an Irish Parliament, and an Executive responsible to it." Mr. Dillon and Mr. Redmond have both declared, over and over again, that this

* October 22, 1905. † *Freeman's Journal*, December 2, 1904.

is their "minimum demand." Mr. Joseph Nolan, Mr. Kettle and Mr. Sheehy emphasise and embellish the claim. One says, "Ireland must have an Executive of its own and a Parliament of its own, and if they got anything less they would fling it back in the Government's teeth"; * while another does not want "any devolutionary humbug, but the old flag, a democratic and generous measure of Home Rule." †

Nor must it be supposed that Mr. Redmond, "the leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party," has been less outspoken than his colleagues. Immediately before the General Election he said that when he spoke of "a settlement of the Irish claim he did not mean a half-way house; he did not mean a scheme of devolution; he did not mean a qualified Indian Council to control Irish finance." His language has been still fuller and freer during the past autumn. At Grange, in the County Limerick,‡ Mr. Redmond said, in a speech fully reported in the *Times* as well as in the Irish newspapers:

At the present moment the Irish party and people stood face to face with a most critical, delicate, difficult, and yet a most extraordinary political situation. The Government, with two or three exceptions, were avowed Home Rulers, and they were told they would introduce a Bill next year dealing with self-government for Ireland. This was on the highest authority. But the extraordinary portion of the situation was that they also were told that this Home Rule Government was only to introduce what was called administrative Home Rule. He was anxious that the Irish public should fully understand that the Irish party and he had no responsibility whatever, direct or indirect, for the proposals of any such makeshift as that. Neither his colleagues nor he were consulted in this measure. He had heard of men being consulted, and he knew that neither the leaders nor any of the representatives of Ireland were consulted. They had, however, this consolation [said the hon. member]; if we do not know the Government's mind, the Government shall know ours. He declared there to-day that the Irish people stood where they always stood. They declared that nothing short of a complete measure of Home Rule—and *by that he meant a Parliament freely elected, with an Executive responsible to it*—that nothing short of a complete scheme of Home Rule could ever be accepted as a settlement of the Irish question.

As for proposals "leading up to Home Rule," Mr. Redmond said the Irish Parliamentary Party and the Irish people would have to pronounce upon them in a National Convention. As for himself, he said:

When the hour came, any influence he possessed would be used to induce his countrymen to reject any proposals, no matter how plausible they might seem, which tended in his judgment to endanger the prestige and power of the Irish National party and to weaken or disrupt the national movement. His

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* Mr. Sheehy, *Irish Independent*, August 17, 1906.

† Mr. Kettle, *Freeman's Journal*, August 22. ‡ September 24, 1906.

first and greatest policy, which overshadowed everything else, was to preserve the unity of the National party in Ireland, to preserve a united and powerful national organisation in Ireland, until they had achieved the full measure of national freedom they were entitled to. Some one had said there was a half-way house; that was a matter of opinion; but his policy, above all, was to preserve those great weapons of unity unblunted, and, therefore, his advice would be to reject it. As far as Ireland was concerned, let no one make any mistake; their policy was to hold aloof from all English parties and Governments, and it would be well for the present Government to realise that, while they were undoubtedly strong enough to do justice to this country, they were not strong enough—no matter how large their majority—to govern Ireland against the wish of the Irish people.

A few weeks later at Athlone Mr. Redmond warned the Government that the Irish Nationalists were "unchanged and unchangeable," and that "nothing except a free Parliament with an Executive responsible to it could ever settle the Irish question or could ever be accepted as a settlement of their claims." * What the "settlement," to Mr. Redmond's mind, would be was foreshadowed in another speech of his, delivered about the same time, in which he warned the Protestants of Ulster that if they persisted in resistance they would have to be "overborne by the strong hand." Colonel Saunderson, in a letter he sent to the *Times* a day or two before his death, took note of this insolent threat, the meaning of which the men of Ulster thoroughly understand. He wrote:

What has been the lesson taught by Irish history in the last few years? The County Government Bill was passed for Ireland, which conferred on the Irish people the power of proving their love of fair play and their ardent desire to fraternise with their Protestant fellow-countrymen. What happened? In almost every case every Protestant and every Unionist was swept out of public existence, so far as it was possible, myself among the rest, and Roman Catholics and Nationalists given entire control of those Irish counties where Protestants and Unionists found themselves in a minority. Thus, in addressing the British public we Irish Unionists need not rely on our knowledge of the Irish character and the well-known aims of Irish Nationalist politicians, clerical and lay, which at the time was described by our opponents as absolutely devoid of foundation. We can now point to what has been actually done in recent years as absolutely proving the accuracy of the estimate we had formed of the inevitable result of placing the Irish priests and Nationalists in a position of authority. Mr. Redmond in his speech classifies Ulster political parties as consisting of two classes—Nationalists on the one side and a "handful of Protestants on the other." The method he proposes to adopt with regard to these irreconcilables is very clearly indicated. He appears to realise that this latter class is quite hopeless. They cannot be persuaded that Ireland governed by priests and Nationalists is an Ireland in which they would flourish.†

* *Freeman's Journal*, October 8, 1906. † *Times*, October 19, 1906.

III. The "Larger Policy" of the Nationalists, in Theory and Practice.

To do him justice, Mr. Redmond has made not the slightest pretence of disguising his real aims and objects, any more than the rest of his party. He has been true to the traditions of Parnell's speeches in Ireland and the United States as long ago as the early eighties, when "the Irish leader" declared at Galway that he would "never have taken off his coat" in the agrarian and Parliamentary conflict, except to win "legislative independence"; and when he said in Cincinnati, "None of us, whether we be in Ireland or in America, or wherever we may be, will be satisfied until we have destroyed the *last link* which keeps Ireland bound to England." Mr. Redmond has gone out of his way repeatedly to assure the American Irish that he has never renounced the ideals and the hopes of Owen Roe O'Neill, of Sarsfield, Wolfe Tone, Robert Emmet, and the rest. In speaking of a "send off" meeting in Dublin,* where he wished "godspeed" to two newly-elected members of his party who had accepted a pressing invitation, signed by Mr. Patrick Ford of the *Irish World*, "Colonel" Finnerty, and other Transatlantic sympathisers, to visit the United States, Mr. Redmond said, "I have no quarrel with men who hold extremer views than I do." He went on: "I have always held the view that it was a strength to the National movement and not a weakness that England should realise that *there was behind the men who were conducting the constitutional movement on the floor of the House of Commons a great unknown power waiting for an opportunity which might arise to have recourse, if necessary, to other methods to advance the cause of Ireland.*" Not a single member of the Nationalist Party has ever asked for less than Mr. Redmond's "minimum," a Parliament in Dublin and an Executive nominated by it. None have repudiated the "other methods" broadly hinted at. New recruits as well as old "stalwarts" have to come up to the mark. The latest convert to Home Rule, Mr. Talbot Crosbie, recently one of the so-called Unionists of Lord Dunraven's Devolution Committee, wrote to an English Radical newspaper, in August 1906: "The sooner Ireland and her future are committed into the hands of Irishmen and an Irish Parliament created with an Executive responsible to it, the better will it be for Ireland and for the British Empire." Mr. Crosbie, who about the same time is reported to have become a subscriber to the Nationalist Party Fund, was

* *Freeman's Journal*, October 9, 1906.

gratified by the favourable comments on this declaration in the organs of the Ministerialists in England as well as in the Nationalist newspapers in Ireland. In another letter published a few weeks later,* and in an interview printed at the same time, he had the effrontery to call on Mr. Balfour to adopt the policy of creating an Irish Parliament with an Executive dependent on it, as advocated by Mr. Redmond.

Perhaps an even more striking testimony to the sense in which Irish Nationalists interpret the loose and reckless promises of the Prime Minister and his colleagues in regard to the Home Rule question is to be found in an address by "the Most Reverend Dr. Farley," Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York. Dr. Farley, in the course of a somewhat lengthened visit to Europe last summer, was enthusiastically welcomed in Monaghan, his native county, by priests and politicians of the "popular party." In returning thanks at the principal gathering of this sort, he said † "he passed through a country a few weeks ago which had much the same experience as Ireland had had, and that was Norway. He paid a visit to that country, which had just been emancipated from a Government which had stolen the Norwegian Government two or three centuries ago [*sic*], as the English Government had stolen the Irish Government. . . . He hoped to see the day, though he was not the youngest man among them, when they would have their own Parliament in College Green, as Norway had just secured her own Government and her own Parliament by the same peaceful agitation which they in Ireland had been pursuing very successfully." It is idle to pretend that now, when Norway has not only avowed a policy of complete separation—which Gladstone derided in 1886 as a moral impossibility—but has actually accomplished that object, ridding herself of the "last link" that bound her to Sweden, even "the golden link of the crown," the Scandinavian kingdom can be cited as an example for Irish Home Rule except by those who mean separation in all the length and breadth of that word. To present the case thus would be to make too large a demand on the credulity of any reasoning being. Yet Gladstone assured the House of Commons, when he introduced his first Home Rule Bill, that the relations between Sweden and Norway, with one sovereign and two separate legislatures, were perfectly satisfactory. There was "a constantly growing sympathy," he declared, between Sweden and Norway. More and more Swedes and Norwegians "felt themselves both the children of a common country,

* *Freeman's Journal*, October 25, 1906. † *Ibid.* August 17, 1906.

united by a tie which never is to be broken." And this was only twenty years ago!

To the complete refutation by facts of Gladstone's arguments supported by historical examples, of the working of "subordinate legislatures" in other countries, which Lord Rosebery has referred to—especially the severance of the "last link" between Sweden and Norway, and the severe straining of the system of dualism in Austria-Hungary—may now be added the revival of the old conflict between the Federal power and "State rights" in the United States. On the question of the admission of Japanese to the common schools the Federal Government appears to be fully justified both by law and under the stipulations of treaties, but the State of California has refused to take this view, and the question arises how the execution of federal policy is to be enforced, if at all. The references to the point in Mr. Roosevelt's message to Congress a few weeks ago show that the matter is regarded as one of extreme gravity by American statesmen.

The claim of the Irish Nationalists is, in substance, that they should have a Parliament and an Executive emanating from that Parliament, as independent of any interference on the part of the Imperial Legislature at Westminster as the Government of Norway was of the Government of Sweden before the disruption of the Scandinavian Union. It cannot be doubted that a very powerful party in Ireland, supported by the American Irish, would struggle unceasingly to use legislative independence in order to destroy the "last link" that Parnell abhorred. The aims of the American Irish were fully revealed before the Special Commission. They were put in the most concise form in the famous circular of the Clan-na-Gael of December 18, 1885, issued when the head of the Liberal Party was meditating his capitulation to the Separatists. "The language of the Convention" (ran this remarkable document, which was placed in evidence before the Special Commission, and remains on record) "must be forcible and emphatic. While our objects lie far beyond what may be obtained by agitation, a National Parliament is an object which we are bound to attain by any means offered. The achievement of a National Parliament gives us a footing upon Irish soil; it gives us the agencies and instrumentalities of a Government *de facto* at the very commencement of the Irish struggle. It places the government of the land in the hands of our friends and brothers. It removes the Castle's rings, and gives us what we may well express as *the plant of an armed revolution*." * These

* Report of the Special Commission, pp. 116–117.

words were once familiar, and their dangerous significance was understood. It is well to recall them now, "Lest we forget."

It is well also to look at the self-government policy, as lately avowed by its most authoritative exponents, and to consider how far its working would harmonise with the objects aimed at by the Clan-na-Gael in 1885, which are the same as those still entertained by the Transatlantic sympathisers to whom Mr. Redmond's constitutional party sends its recurrent appeals for the sinews of war. At the annual meeting of "the General Council of the Irish County Councils"—a body composed of delegates from the elected bodies, from which the Duke of Abercorn and the other Unionist members were forced to withdraw, as noted in Colonel Saunderson's letter already quoted, because the understanding that the proceedings were to be non-political had been deliberately violated—a resolution was passed * affirming that "the people of this country would be satisfied with nothing less than a full measure of Home Rule." The majority of the delegates objected on the ground that this was "not strong enough," and, by a unanimous vote, the following addition was made to the resolution: "And to make our position plain in this matter, we affirm our resolution on the 12th of January, 1905, viz., that the Irish people are a free people, with a natural right to govern themselves; that no Parliament is competent to make such laws for Ireland, *except an Irish Parliament sitting in Dublin, and that the claim by other bodies of men to make laws for us to govern Ireland is illegal, unconstitutional, and at variance with the rights of the people.*"

To what purposes the legislative and administrative powers thus demanded would be turned in practice by an Irish Parliament, dominated by the leaders of the Nationalists and the rank and file of the United Irish League, and other organisations of that kind, the speeches reported daily in the Nationalist newspapers, and the comments upon them, leave no room for doubt. One or two specimens will serve to show the conditions as they have developed recently under the *mitis sapientia* of Mr. Bryce. Mr. Ginnell, M.P., well known in Irish politics, before he appeared on the Parliamentary scene a few months ago, as Mr. John Dillon's private secretary, spoke near Mullingar, on October 14, 1906, and denounced "the ranches"—a nickname lately given to the grazing-lands let to farmers for the fattening of stock. He told his audience:

The League had work before it to tackle this demon in the ranches. They must not imagine that this work was easy, or that it could be accomplished

* *Freeman's Journal*, October 19, 1906.

without strong action. . . . It was good that they should all realise the urgency of carrying out the National programme. . . . The ranches should be broken up not only in Westmeath, but throughout all Ireland. . . . Disappointed in the Parliament, they were determined to try *another method*, and that was the purpose of their gathering. No man of common intelligence believed that the Bryces, MacDonnells, and others of that class would help them to break up the ranch system of Westmeath. . . . If the people were in earnest when they said they wished the grazing lands to be distributed, then they should take stern measures. (Voice: "Shoot them.") The land was too small for Irishmen and grabbers to exist together. Either one or the other must go; it rested with them to say which. He advised them to stamp out the ranch demon themselves, and not leave an alien Parliament to do the duty. . . . He would tell them that there were 80,000 acres of land in Westmeath, mostly evicted land, which should be divided among them. He would tell them that cattle could run forty miles in a single night, and if the ranchers found their stalls empty, they might find their cattle in six or eight weeks, some in Connaught, some in Munster, some among the Wicklow mountains. . . . He advised them to leave the ranches unfenced, unused and unusable, unstocked and uncut, cursed by God, cursed by the people of Ireland, cursed by the widows and orphans of the ruined land, and so effectually cursed here and now by the men of the living present that no man or demon would dare to stand another hour between the people and the land that should be theirs.

This sort of advice does not remain unfruitful. Compare the list of applications for compensation for malicious injuries at the County Court sittings in Galway in October, including shocking mutilation of cattle and horses and other animals, wanton destruction of crops, turf, and pasture, wanton mischief to houses, farm-buildings, threshing machines, and the like.* It is no wonder that one of the Nationalist members called upon Mr. Bryce in the House of Commons last summer to stop the publication of the police returns of agrarian outrages, and that the Chief Secretary meekly replied: "It is not intended to continue the presentation of these returns." The decision was cheered by the Nationalists in the House, and applauded by the *Freeman's Journal* as "the forestalment of a Bill for the repeal of the Coercion Act." But whether returns are suppressed or not, it is easy to guess what the condition of unpopular minorities in Ireland will be when the counsels of Mr. Ginnell and his friends have free play under the "generous and democratic" measure of self-government demanded by the "Irish Parliamentary party."

IV. No Settlement! A Gamble in Votes!

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman ought to know something of Ireland and the Irish question, but he seems to have a great capacity for forgetting what he learned. He was Chief Secretary at Dublin Castle when Lord Spencer was Viceroy, in the

* *Galway Express*, October 27, 1906.

closing years of the Gladstonian Administration which collapsed in 1885; and, like his chief, he then made fervid appeals to the loyalists of Ireland, and especially to the Unionists of Ulster, to stand by the Liberal Government and so to save the Union and all that it involved. These appeals were recalled, with bitter indignation, when, a few months later, the politician who is now Prime Minister "found salvation," to use his own cynical phrase, as soon as Gladstone had seen that he could not secure a majority in the House of Commons without buying the services of the Parnellite band of "free companions." Before that he was out of favour with those who have since been his allies, and are now his "honourable friends." With a graceful wit, which British Liberals had not yet taken as a model, the principal Parnellite organ of that time described Lord Spencer's Chief Secretary of 1885 as "this moon-faced oaf"; but these courtesies were soon sunk in oblivion when the convenience and the advantage of the "union of hearts" were perceived. All this, it may be said, is "ancient history"; but it is, at any rate, pertinent to inquire how Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, with his experience of Irish affairs, has apparently lost all recollection of Gladstone's own defence of his new departure in policy more than twenty years ago. It is certain that this Minister, who had been Chief Secretary the year before, and who was then an important member of the Gladstone Cabinet, was consulted during the preparation of the Home Rule Bill of 1886, of which he was a thorough-going partisan. In his speech on the introduction of that measure * Gladstone examined and dismissed as impracticable the very policy of devolution which the present Government is about to propound as the solution of the Irish difficulty. He said: "It is absurd, in my opinion, to talk of the adoption of such a scheme [that of delegating various branches of Irish affairs to a "central elective body"] in the face of two obstacles —first of all, that those *whom it is intended to benefit do not want it, do not ask it and refuse it*; and, secondly, the obstacle, not less important, that all those who are fearful of giving a domestic Legislature to Ireland would naturally and emphatically and rather justly say,—We will not create your central board and palter with this question, because we feel certain that it *will afford nothing in this world except a stage from which to agitate for a further concession*, and because we see that by the proposal you make you will not even attain the advantage of settling the question that is raised." "What we seek," Gladstone added, in his most emphatic tones, "is a settlement."

* April 8, 1886.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has full warning from the Nationalists—leaving the Unionists out of consideration altogether—that no settlement, as his old chief foresaw, can be built upon a Devolution scheme.

In the face of the recent statements of the Nationalists laying down and defining their demands, a settlement, even of a temporary kind, is plainly out of the question. If anything of the sort were to be patched up, it would go to pieces, as Mr. Dillon has predicted, either during the ordeal of Parliamentary discussion or after a few months' trial, which would give no hope of securing peace, but would be full of possibilities of mischief. But if a settlement in any sense of the word is, as Gladstone argued, impossible, a gamble in votes is only too easy. The Stirling overtures served their purpose when the Irish electors in British constituencies gave their support to the Liberal candidates after the dissolution last year. It is worth while to reproduce the exact words of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's declaration in favour of meeting the Nationalist demand, which, as has been seen, induced the *Freeman's Journal* to welcome the "promptitude and magnitude" of the Liberal leader's advance on the path to the "larger policy," and to point out that every vote given to the supporters of the Campbell-Bannerman Ministry was "a vote given for Home Rule." He said, addressing his constituents in November 1905, "If I were asked for advice by an ardent Irish Nationalist, I would say that my desire was to see the effective management of Irish affairs in the hands of a *representative Irish authority*, and I further say that if I were the Irish Nationalist I would take it any way that I could get it. If an instalment of representative control were offered to Ireland, or any administrative improvement, I should advise the Nationalists thankfully to accept it, provided it was consistent with, and led up to, their larger policy; but, I repeat, it must be consistent, and must *lead up to the larger policy*." Lord Rosebery, commenting on this declaration at Bodmin, a couple of days afterwards, said that in these words "the responsible leader of the Liberal Party" had "hoisted once more in its most pronounced form the flag of Irish Home Rule"; and he protested against "raising that banner"—among other reasons —"because of high constitutional objections, founded on the experience, the recent experience, of foreign European countries," and, also, because of his belief that such a policy would not "really conduce to the welfare of the Irish people." He added: "I say emphatically, explicitly, and once for all, that I cannot serve under that banner."

But what was, and is, the position of Lord Rosebery's "Liberal Imperialists," of Mr. Asquith, Mr. Haldane, Sir Edward Grey, and the rest? Their part, while the decision of the constituencies was still awaited, was to "pretend very much" that their leader's words had not the meaning which both Lord Rosebery and the *Freeman's Journal*, as well as all Unionist writers and speakers, concurred in reading into them. The expedient served its turn for the moment. The electorate was tricked into believing that Home Rule was a "dead issue," that when the Unionists pointed to it as a danger, as in a vigorous passage in Mr. Chamberlain's address to his constituents in Birmingham,* they were only dressing up a "bogey," a "scarecrow"—out of which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, with his light-hearted impudence, boasted that he and his merry men had "knocked the stuffing." Sir Edward Grey positively assured those to whom he appealed in the sacred cause of Free Trade that votes so obtained would not be used to carry out a Home Rule policy. Mr. Asquith declared, before the polling, that a Home Rule Bill was not to be thought of during the Parliament which was about to come into existence. Sir Henry Fowler "indignantly denied" that the Campbell-Bannerman Government would or could attempt to use its majority, secured on other issues, for the purpose of bringing in anything like a measure of Home Rule. "Such conduct," he said, "would be *not only a fraud, but it would be a breach of faith and an act of dishonesty.* Personally he would pledge his word of honour that he would be no party to the introduction of a Home Rule Bill in the Parliament that was now about to be elected." Mr. Sydney Buxton said: "As far as I am concerned, I am not, if returned for Poplar, going to support a measure for Home Rule in the coming Parliament. I do not say I shall vote against it, but I shall not support it." Other Ministers and Ministerialists, who could never have been "reasonably suspected" of moderation—the modern political sin that is the *incivisme* of the latter-day syndicate of Radical revolutionists—thought it expedient to sing the same tune. Mr. Birrell, the head of the Liberal Publications Department,

* "They have declared that they will be satisfied with nothing short of separation on their own terms. They have admitted that they hope to gain their ends by practising on your fears, and you are threatened once more with their methods of terrorism which were devised to place our loyal fellow-subjects in Ireland at the mercy of the enemies of this country. Whether in opposition or in office, *I will spare no efforts to defeat this conspiracy of violence and treason.*" (Address to the electors of West Birmingham, January 1906).

whose services in that capacity had been rewarded with Cabinet office, protested that "Home Rule was not the issue, and could not be." These doses of soothing syrup were swallowed by the British public with the same hypnotised subjection to the power of words which led the electors in 1880 to reject, under Mr. Gladstone's influence, Lord Beaconsfield's warning of the imminence and gravity of the Irish danger. It is difficult to find excuses for those professing Unionists who, angered because they were unable to impose their own view of the Tariff question on the majority of the Party, refused to make any effort to withstand the operations of the Separatists. In any case, the General Election was not fought and won on Home Rule. But when the Government got their majority they took no pains to correct the assumption of the Nationalists, persisted in to the present hour, that they received a "mandate" to deal with the problem of Irish Self-Government. When their Bill is produced in the House of Commons, it is certain that this claim will be, once more, unblushingly put forward.

V. The Policy of "Trust": Character and Confidence

There is much truth in a remark made by Mr. Lecky many years ago when he said that "the case against Home Rule had been argued too much on technical grounds." "It is, as I understand it (he went on to say), before all things a question of confidence and character. Every Englishman who advocates it on a platform should be asked this simple question: Are you prepared to declare on your honour that you believe the men into whose hands you propose to surrender the government of Ireland to be men on whom such a trust can be safely and righteously conceded?" Mr. Gladstone himself did not deny in express terms that this was true. He used all his powers of rhetoric and sophistry to obscure the plain meaning of the fact that in 1886 and afterwards he made a desperate attempt to induce the people of Great Britain to consent to proposals for placing the control of Irish affairs in the hands of the "rebel party" of whom he had declared some five years earlier: "It is perfectly true that they wish to march through rapine to the disintegration and dismemberment of the Empire."* At Derby, in October 1887, when challenged on this point, he admitted that he had used the "strong language" quoted as truly describing what seemed to him the objects, at the time, of the Nationalist leaders. But to justify his confidence after the lapse of six years in the men he had thus branded, he pledged

* Liverpool, October 27, 1881.

himself to the astounding statement that no such purposes were any longer entertained by Parnell and his party. "As they have obtained greater power," he said, "their moderation has become conspicuous. As they now command an overwhelming majority, so all grounds of a suspicion of a desire to destroy the landed property of Ireland has disappeared." Just ten days before Mr. Gladstone went back to his "policy of trust" on these extraordinary grounds, Mr. Healy was inciting the people at Longford to get rid of Lord Granard, a Liberal and a Catholic, as they would "drive a rat out of a haystack . . . at any rate God made the rat, but the landlord was a human invention." Similar proofs of "conspicuous moderation" were given by Davitt, Dillon, William Redmond, William O'Brien, and other prominent agitators during the latter half of 1886 and the whole of the following year. The oratory of these "moderate men" supplied the driving force which set going and kept going, the "Plan of Campaign," denounced as organised fraud by saintly ecclesiastics, eminent judges, and men of high character belonging to all parties and classes. Lecky's measured judgment on the proceedings for which the former Liberal Minister was occupied in devising excuses by the travesty of facts, was formed during this period and during the later inquiry before Sir James Hannen and his colleagues into "Parnellism and Crime."

When the glamour of party rhetoric [he wrote in 1892] shall have passed away, history will have little difficulty in estimating the character of an English statesman who, for the purpose of winning a majority, deliberately attempted to place the government of an integral part of the Empire in the hands of men whom he had himself denounced in the strongest language as both dishonest and disloyal. After the overwhelming evidence collected by the Parnell Commissioners, and after the sentence of the judges, it is impossible for any candid man to doubt that the Parnellite movement was *essentially a treasonable conspiracy, promoting its ends by calculated fraud, violence and lawlessness, by an amount of cruelty and oppression seldom equalled in modern times, by constant and systematic appeals to the worst passions of the Irish people. No respectable Government ever was or ever will be founded on such methods.* Any attempt to place such men at the head of Irish affairs would, in my opinion, only lead to widespread anarchy and ruin, very possibly to civil war and separation.

In what respects is the claim of the Nationalists to be trusted with the Government of Ireland better founded now, on the basis of character and confidence, than it was when the "Plan of Campaign" was rampant and the frantic folly of "New Tipperary" was at its height in 1887, or when the Special Commission issued its scathing Report in February 1890? As has been shown, all the Nationalist leaders of the present day

persistently and defiantly reiterate the declaration that their end and aim is the complete independence of Ireland. They are indeed more outspoken now than in the days when Gladstone paid his tribute to their "conspicuous moderation," the value of which has been seen. The conspiracy to compel, by organised terrorism and unceasing menaces, all owners and tenants of grass lands to "clear out" in order that the pastures used by the "ranchers" shall be divided among "the people" is as scandalous as anything that took place in connection with the Plan of Campaign. Such incitements as those contained in the speech of Mr. Ginnell, M.P., quoted above, meet with no attempt to check them on the part of the Government; and, as a natural consequence, agrarian outrages are multiplying. Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon do not say a word to restrain the incitements or to condemn the outrages. The situation is, in essentials, the same on which the Special Commission pronounced, when it was found that the great majority of the members of the Nationalist party were guilty of "inciting to intimidation," the consequence being that crimes and outrages were committed, and that intimidation was not condemned, but "persisted in with knowledge of its effect." The Irish Parliamentary party is once more "inviting assistance and co-operation, and accepting subscriptions in money" from Ford and Finnerty and the like, as at the time with which the Report of the Special Commission dealt in Paragraph IX. of the "findings." While the Prime Minister is repeating all the old narcotic commonplaces about "trusting the people" and professing to believe that no measures claiming to be introduced in pursuance of that policy can be resisted by the Unionists because a Unionist Government carried the Local Government Act of 1892 and the Land Purchase Act of 1903, the rank and file of Mr. Redmond's faction are carrying on an active campaign against enlistment in the Army, the Navy, and the Royal Irish Constabulary—forces with all of which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has been officially connected at different times. A few sentences will suffice to show the nature of these appeals, which the present Irish Executive seem to regard with benevolent neutrality:

> Don't be deluded by the wiles and false promises of the enlisting sergeant. Regiments of the British army with Irish names, like the Connaught Rangers Munster Fusiliers, Irish Rifles, or Dublin Fusiliers, &c., are only Irish in their title. The man who joins them is an anti-Irishman. They are part of the English garrison holding Ireland in subjection. . . .
>
> Hearken to the words of Father Kavanagh, the Irish Franciscan patriot priest, who pronounces it a heinous crime against Ireland for Irishmen to

enter the forces of robber England; and he who engages in one of England's unjust wars is *guilty of deadly sin.*

Make a vow that you will not recognise or mix with any man who dons the livery of an Irish slave—the red or black coat, or blue jacket—and keep your children from mixing with this anti-Irish horde—the slaughterers of the innocent Boer women and children. They would not hesitate to slaughter their own kith and kin to-morrow, as they have often done before, to carry out England's dirty work.

You can assist in the uplifting of the Irish nation by refraining from entering the English forces. If you are an Irishman, you will be true to Ireland, and by refusing to take the cursed Saxon shilling you will lend a hand in restoring your Mother Erin to Nationhood.

There are other aspects of the policy of trust that hardly seem to "make for peace." The Clan-na-Gael long ago revealed the calculation that the Irish-American enemies of the British Empire reckon upon capturing and controlling a Home Rule Government in Dublin, and that they will there find ready to their hand "the plant of an armed revolution." Their interest in the subject has revived with the renewal of the Parliamentary war. From their own point of view, their hopes are in every way justified. Not a word inconsistent with them has been said or written by the Parliamentary leaders of the Nationalists. A very high authority has emphasised some of the consequences, from a strategic and international standpoint, of the realisation of these sinister anticipations.

It is impossible [writes Captain Mahan] for a military man, or a statesman with appreciation of military conditions, to look at the map and not perceive that the ambition of Irish Separatists, if realised, would be even more threatening to the national life of Great Britain than the secession of the South was to that of the American Union. It would be deadlier also to Imperial aspirations; for Ireland, by geographical position, lies across and controls the communications of Great Britain with all the outside world, save only that considerable, but far from preponderant, portion which borders the North Sea and the Baltic. Independent and hostile, it would manacle Great Britain, which at present is, and for years to come must remain, by long odds the most powerful member of the federation, if that take form. The Irish question, therefore, is vitally important, not to Great Britain only, but to the Colonies. The legislative supremacy of the British Parliament, against the assertion of which the American colonists revolted, and which to-day would be found intolerable in exercise in Canada and Australia, cannot be yielded in the case of an island, where independent action might very well be attended with fatal consequences to its partner. The instrument for such action, in the shape of an independent Parliament, could not safely be trusted even to avowed friends.*

It is unfortunately true that, in regard to one of the questions

* This interesting and pertinen quotation appears in a valuable little pamphlet, *The New Home Rule and the Old Objections*, published by the Irish Unionist Alliance.

referred to by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman as proving that the Unionists were committed to a policy of "trusting the people" without reserve in Ireland, and that, therefore, the fear of evil consequences from granting Home Rule is not sincere, "a leap in the dark" was taken in flagrant contradiction of the principles clearly laid down by Lord Salisbury when he originally advocated a large extension of local self-government for Ireland as well as for Great Britain. Speaking at Newport, during his first Premiership, he said, on October 7, 1885:

> Our first principle, on which we have always gone, is to extend as far as we can to Ireland all those institutions that we have established in this country. But I fully recognise that, in the case of local institutions especially, there is *one limiting consideration which, in the present state of Ireland, you cannot leave out of account.* A local authority is more exposed to the temptation and has more of the facility for enabling the majority to be unjust to the minority than is the case when the authority derives its sanction and extends its jurisdiction over a wider area. . . . It is impossible to leave that out of sight in the extension of any such local authority to Ireland. The fact is that the population is on certain subjects deeply divided, and *it is the duty of every Government in all matters of essential justice to protect the minority from the majority.*

Some not very satisfactory attempts to give effect to these sound views were made in Mr. Arthur Balfour's abortive Irish Local Government Bill of 1892, which was dropped, after the second reading had been carried by a large majority, just before the Dissolution. When the Unionists returned to office in 1895, their overwhelming majority at the polls and the emphatic approval given by the people of Great Britain to the course taken by the Upper House in rejecting the second Home Rule Bill, unfortunately produced a feeling of over-confidence, which led, in more directions than one, to disastrous results. Mr. Gerald Balfour was made Chief Secretary, and the appointment was welcomed by many who remembered the vigour and firmness that had been displayed by his elder brother in the same office in the critical years following 1887. Some "amazing devil" prompted the new Chief Secretary, before he had any time to master the Irish problem, or even to begin to understand the Irish character, to commit himself and the Government to the happy-go-lucky policy known as "Killing Home Rule with kindness." In pursuit of this elusive Will o' the Wisp, Mr. Gerald Balfour's Irish Local Government Bill of 1898 abandoned all endeavours to keep in view the necessity for those checks and safeguards to secure the protection of minorities which his uncle, the Prime Minister, had maintained should never be lost sight of. In spite of the protests of the Irish

Unionists and of those Englishmen and Scotchmen who knew Ireland best, the measure became law without any provision for the representation of minorities, or other security that the loyal portion of the population should not be oppressed and despoiled without the opportunity at least of making their voice heard. The effect of "trusting the people" in this uncalculating spirit, and of building upon too sanguine hopes instead of facing uncomfortable facts, is no longer a disputable point. Colonel Saunderson's letter, already quoted, puts, in a most moderate way, the case of the Irish loyalists under the system which is adduced as a justification of a much larger extension of "local government." In four-fifths of the County Councils elected in Ireland under the Act of 1898, the loyalists, who are by far the largest contributors to the local taxation, have absolutely no more share in the levying and the expenditure of the rates than if they had the "Uitlanders" under the despotism of President Kruger and his ring. The local elected bodies are entirely dominated, except in North-Eastern Ulster—the only prosperous and progressive part of Ireland—by the priesthood and the United Irish League. It was held out as a certainty that the experience of practical business would give a different bent to the elected representatives of the masses; but after several years' experience there is not the slightest indication of a change for the better.

The notion that ignorant and prejudiced men will gradually learn by their own mistakes—at the expense of other people—to discover a more excellent way is one of the most pitiful examples of blind following of unpractical theorising. As a brilliant satirist of our own day, who is unhappily no longer with us, has put it, we are asked by our philosophic politicians to act upon the assumption "That the use of the scalpel in surgical functions Will give us the skill of the surgeon professed ; That by much engine-driving at intricate junctions, We learn to drive engines as well as the best!" Unfortunately in the case of the Irish local elected bodies the lessons of practical experience do not seem to have been learned, as the theorists tell us they must be. The Unionists have no representation at all, in the south, west, and central parts of Ireland. Complaints are loud everywhere—except in the north-east—that this lopsided and untrained administration results in culpable extravagance and shameless jobbery. The rates, of which by far the largest share is paid by the loyalists, are increasing everywhere by leaps and bounds ; while those who bear the burden, as helpless as the Uitlanders of the Transvaal before 1899, have to submit in silence. The class which had at least

some experience of affairs is systematically excluded from sitting on the elected Councils. It is a disqualification for public appointments, not to be overcome in the eyes of those bodies, to be a Protestant in creed, or a Unionist in politics, or to have been educated anywhere except in priest-directed schools and colleges. This is not only the practice, but the acknowledged purpose of the majority, and, after more than seven years of "trust in the people," the exclusion system has become more rigorous and exultingly insolent than ever. Yet the present Government, instead of seeing any reason for cautious progress and salutary checks in this painful exhibition of injustice and incompetence, interpret the concessions of the Act of 1898 as involving the admission of a principle that must be applied henceforth without limitation or restriction.*

It is a strange logic which maintains that because one or two Unionist Ministers were guilty of a deplorable miscalculation in assuming that the creation of elective Councils for administrative business in Ireland, without any real check or control, would work for social peace, and be actuated by no bias as between creeds and classes, and because these over-sanguine views prevailed in the passing of Mr. Gerald Balfour's Local Government Act, the Unionist party are permanently estopped from protesting against the widest extension of the powers of such elective bodies, and their admission to the sphere of political authority. Still more extraordinary is the argument that the policy of "trust," in its broadest interpretation, is binding for ever on all Unionists, because, under the Land Purchase Acts, Parliament, while the Unionists were in office, sanctioned advances, which may ultimately amount to much more than a hundred million sterling, for the purchase of the holdings of tenant occupiers. These are henceforward to be owners, subject to a fixed and terminable quit-rent, secured by the land itself and by the power of the Imperial Government, supported by the courts of law and by the police, to enforce payment or to sell the property in case of default. It might have been supposed that, even in Ireland or in the discussion of Irish politics, the difference between lending money on ample and effective security and upon none at all would have been understood. Is

* Those who care to study for themselves the actual working of local self-government in Ireland might consult with advantage a very useful little publication, *Grievances from Ireland* (published monthly at one penny, at Dudley House, Southampton Street, Strand), which gives instructive details from reports in the Nationalist newspapers, of proceedings in the county councils and other elective bodies, as well as particulars of the agrarian terrorism and outrage now unchecked and officially unnoticed. See also *Notes from Ireland*, published monthly by the Irish Unionist Alliance, 109, Grafton Street, Dublin.

the distinction really too much to be grasped by "the wit of man," or, at least, of the Prime Minister? It is certain that if the policy of trust which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman advocates is carried out, the Imperial taxpayers would have no real means of enforcing payment of the purchase advances, in respect of principal or interest.

The Irish Nationalists of the present breed are true to their political and moral descent. Most Englishmen and Scotchmen go wildly astray in this matter. They have vague ideas about earlier movements identified with the names of O'Connell and Butt, which have no more to do with all that has been going on in Irish politics since 1879 than with the intrigues of "silken Thomas" or the career of "lying Dick Talbot." The filiation of Mr. Redmond's party is perfectly clear and well known, and they are proud of it. The "only begetter" of their policy and organisation was John Mitchel, a man now half forgotten, and in his own day hardly known outside his own country, except during his sensational trial for treason. Mitchel's *Jail Journal*, especially if read in the unexpurgated American edition, is a "human document" perhaps better worth study and more illuminative of the dark places of the Irish hatred of England than even Wolfe Tone's *Diary*, which revealed so many lurid secrets to the late Duke of Argyll. Mitchel, the advocate of the use of vitriol in the war against "Carthage," as he loved to call England—anticipating the later generation of patriots who placed their faith in dynamite—had as his most promising disciple James Finton Lalor, sometime editor of the *Irish Felon*, who developed and expounded Mitchel's ideas and taught them in turn to John Devoy, one of the trustees of the *Irish World's* "Skirmishing Fund," and Michael Davitt's immediate instructor in the true principles of the "Irish Revolution." The essence of Lalor's policy was "to achieve the independence of Ireland by linking the repeal movement, like a railway carriage to the engine, to some other question strong enough to carry both repeal and itself together; and such a question there is in the land." The mode of "reconquest" which Lalor vainly recommended in 1848 was "to refuse payment of rent and resist process of ejectment." It was this policy, containing in embryo both the "No rent manifesto" and the later "Plan of Campaign," which Davitt and Devoy (both of them members of the Fenian Brotherhood and the links between the physical force party and "Lalorism"), a few months after the foundation of the Land League in the West, induced Parnell to take up in 1880. The earlier history of these strange developments is clearly and forcibly told in a pamphlet by Professor Brougham

Leech on *The Continuity of the Irish Revolutionary Movement*, published in 1887, and in the writings of Mr. Philip Bagenal; but much further light has been since thrown upon them by the proceedings before the Special Commission and by the writings of Davitt himself, full of an extravagant vanity which disdained disguise. The pedigree there shown of the policy to which the party led by Mr. Redmond is chained both by the passions awakened in Ireland and by the obligations incurred beyond the Atlantic cannot be expected to inspire a larger confidence among the people of England and Scotland. There is, indeed, a crushing mass of evidence which imperatively forbids the Imperial Parliament to place any trust in the statements or in the promises of the Irish revolutionary faction.

The most instructive example is that furnished by Parnell's repudiation, during the "split" of 1890, of the understanding as to Home Rule on which the action of Gladstone and his following had been based during the preceding five years. After the defeat of 1886, and throughout the period of uncertainty and confusion that followed, while efforts were made to "stop the holes" in the first Home Rule Bill, Parnellites and Gladstonians seemed to draw closer together. No doubt was admitted among the Opposition of that day that the two chiefs were in entire agreement on the main lines of the disruption policy. The seal appeared to be set upon the compact when in November 1889, Parnell was received as a distinguished guest at Hawarden, amid the jubilation of the Radical newspapers, and discussed with Gladstone the details of the proposed new measure, quite unknown up to this and long after, to the main body of the Gladstonian following. Parnell seemed to acquiesce, as he had done in 1886, when he accepted the first Home Rule Bill lest there should be a crisis in the Cabinet. Nothing was heard of any objections on his part, and the silence would have remained unbroken till Parliament had been beguiled or overawed, if, after the verdict in the divorce case, he had not been "thrown to the wolves," as he said, by Gladstone, in obedience to the Nonconformist Conscience, and in accord with the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Then, in Committee-room No. 15, he told his story of the negotiations, explained the effect of Gladstone's revised proposals, and contended, without dissent from any of the Nationalists, that these could not possibly be entertained. "There has not been a man," he declared, "to say a word for this Bill," and Mr. Healy, then one of Parnell's ostracisers, promptly pledged himself not to accept such a measure. The controversy as to the details discussed between Parnell and Gladstone is

now out of date, but the attitude of the Nationalists, Parnellites and anti-Parnellites alike, was eloquent. It was explained a few weeks later with great frankness by Parnell himself—and the explanation applies not only to the proposals discussed in Committee-room No. 15, but to the acceptance *pro tanto* of the Bill of 1886 by the whole party : "Although I praised him (Gladstone) I never entirely trusted him. I hoped undoubtedly that he would have been able, *by degrees*, to have given us a solution of the national question which we could have accepted, under which our people would have had full powers over their own destinies. . . . *That was the point to which I was encouraging him.*" * Parnell's appreciation of Gladstone—his host just a year before the discussion in Committee-room No. 15—was characteristic and instructive: "Now, gentlemen, it is for you to act in this matter. You are dealing with a man who is an unrivalled sophist. You are dealing with a man with whom and to whom it is impossible to give a direct answer to a plain and simple question. . . . Now I know this old gentleman well. It is not sufficient here to call him a grand old man ; . . . but *I can tell you that I have never yet succeeded in getting a straight answer to a single straight question from him.*" † Such was the unshaken strength of the "union of hearts!" The whole story is a warning how fatally rash it would be for the Imperial Parliament to rely upon Nationalist pledges of acquiescence in any arrangement whatever giving Ireland a large instalment of independence, but not the whole.

VI. Home Rule once more.

The prospect of Home Rule in the Gladstonian sense, which the Nationalists declare is the minimum they will accept, and which would be accepted only *pro tanto*, as we know from the revelations in Committee-room No. 15, brings before the nation all the issues which had to be faced in 1886 and in 1893. The dangers that were then recognised are upon us now in flood, and the folly of refusing to see their imminence, because there is a pretence of a "half-way house," which is scoffed at on all sides, ought to be plain enough to the slowest-witted amongst us. Devolution can be no settlement ; it cannot be even a stopgap. The party of whom the Government want to purchase the support have told Parliament and the country, with exceeding candour and with much repetition, that they do not want anything falling short of what Gladstone called "the lines already laid down." They say that if they have the power to dictate what the new Irish Bill is to be, they will be content

* *Freeman's Journal*, March 18, 1891. † December 4, 1890.

with nothing less than a Legislature in Dublin, dealing independently with all Irish affairs, and empowered to place all Irish administration in the hands of an Executive nominated by the majority in the Irish Assembly. That is the position on which Parliament, in the first instance, and, unless there is a great failure of courage and honour in the Unionist ranks and in the House of Lords, the electorate of the United Kingdom will, at no distant date, have to decide. In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to show, almost exclusively by citations from the language used, and never withdrawn or apologised for, by Nationalist speakers and writers, that all the considerations which were operative in 1886 and 1893 apply now in equal, and in many respects in greater, force from the Unionist point of view. It is plain, first of all, that no form of local self-government will be accepted by the Nationalists, "except" as, in Mr. Gladstone's words, "a stage from which to agitate for a further concession"; secondly, that no pledges of acceptance, provisional or absolute, will be regarded as binding on those who adhere, as Mr. Redmond and his followers all persistently declare that they adhere, to Parnell's refusal to "set limits upon the aspirations" of the Irish nation; thirdly, that the introduction of any measure offering less than the old Parnellite demand will lead to an obstinate Parliamentary struggle for the achievement of the whole claim, succeeded by other struggles to carry the conquest further, for which the machinery is to be provided by the retention, in undiminished numbers, of the present Irish representation. Thus every pretence of finality disappears, and with it every prospect of peace. The Government that offers such a settlement really falls back on Mr. Morley's philosophising complacency:" * "The talk about finality rests upon an illusion of perfection and immutability. . . . It is enough if the statesman can see his way to the next step"—even, it seems, if it bring him to the edge of a cliff over which he has protested that he does not intend to go. A "philosopher" of a different type, Mr. Ford, of the *Irish World*, writing a little later than Mr. Morley, said: "This talk about finality is the more foolish as the past history of the Irish question shows it to be futile." In these circumstances, how can it be denied that a Devolution Bill will be only the first move in the game, which must end—if not energetically, obstinately, and successfully contested from the outset by those who value the Union—in the loss, at one blow, or after two or three inroads, of all or more than all that was at stake in 1886?

Few believe, or even profess to believe, that the opinion of

* *Nineteenth Century*, February 1887.

the "predominant partner" on the possibility of granting Home Rule has changed since 1895. The calculations of the Separatists are based on the assumption that the national conscience and intelligence have become torpid on the subject, and that the public memory has lost the grasp of facts. But is it really the case that the people of Great Britain have forgotten why the Union became necessary at the close of the eighteenth century, or that they are insensible now to the shame and danger they saw in Home Rule a few years ago? The assiduity with which the politicians who called themselves "Liberal Imperialists" laboured to show twelve months ago that Home Rule was not within the region of practical politics, is not less significant than the discreditable tactics at present employed to persuade the guileless that, as Devolution is not Home Rule, there has been no change and there is nothing to be feared. If the electors realise that no settlement on the basis of Devolution is practicable, trustworthy, or seriously meant, the deception will be no longer possible. But it is essential that "the truth should appear." It is indispensable that the popular mind should be informed and aroused before the battle is joined. The people of the United Kingdom have to remember that the Union could no longer be postponed, in the last years of the eighteenth century, because an anti-British section of the Irish people not only defied the law and made social order impossible, but actually invited foreign enemies to invade the country and conspired with such assistance to cut off the sister island from the British connection and the sovereignty of the Crown. A self-governed Ireland would not only mean the cruel and lawless oppression of the minority in Ulster and elsewhere under a majority dominated by a fanatical and intolerant priesthood and by the politicians of the United Irish League. The power of an Executive which could hold out the hand to hostile forces from other lands would bring all the perilous consequences which Captain Mahan has described.* Home Rule means the danger of foreign invasion and of domestic anarchy, in addition to the growing paralysis of national strength and the inevitable ruin of Imperial dignity that must

* Gladstone taught his disciples that the Union accomplished no result beyond an exacerbation of strife and bitterness in the relations between Great Britain and Ireland. Let us not forget that under the Union the danger of foreign intrigue and the threats of foreign invasion, previously very formidable, have disappeared for over one hundred years. Political agitation and popular turbulence during that time have at least not been aided by the armed intervention of any foreign Government. "These are the dykes our fathers made. We have never known a breach."

follow the reinforcement of the Separatist attacks on the Empire in and out of Parliament. In any of its forms Home Rule involves the destruction of the existing Constitution, which would have to be transformed from top to bottom to square with the exigencies of a bastard Federalism. A written Constitution and elaborate arrangements for altering it from time to time, an Imperial tribunal to settle disputed questions, and other consequential changes could not be avoided. All these results would have to be confronted the moment the mask of Devolution was taken off and the nation was left face to face with Home Rule in the Gladstonian, or rather the Parnellite, sense, that is, according to the contention of the Nationalists themselves, with a form of independence not distinguishable from virtual, if not formal, Separation.*

No misinterpretation of the real issues that the constituencies will have to vote upon, after the new policy of concession to the Separatists has been embodied in a Parliamentary measure and referred to the national judgment, can now be possible. The Nationalists of the present day do not recede an inch from Parnell's declaration in the year before his death : "We assert, what we asserted in 1885 and the years before it, that no man has a right to fix the boundary of a nation ;" and, again, "There can be mistake about it ; we want a Parliament with full power to manage the affairs of Ireland and with no English veto, whether on the appointment of your leaders or *on the laws you shall make.*" From Gladstone himself we know what he held to be the governing factor in the question. In his reply to resolutions passed by the Nationalists in Committee-room No. 15,† he quoted and emphatically endorsed Sir William Harcourt's appeal to "the unquestionable political fact that *no party and no leaders could ever hope to carry any scheme of Home Rule which had not the cordial concurrence and support of the Irish nation as declared by their representatives in Parliament.*"

* The growth and progress of the "*Sinn Fein*" ("ourselves alone") organisation, and of other branches of the "Irish Ireland" movement, promoted by the Gaelic League and its offshoots, have tended to accentuate the claim for the full recognition of "independent nationality." The "Parliamentary Party" are afraid to seem less determined and outspoken Separatists than the "patriots" who proclaim their distrust of Parliamentary politics and politicians. Mr. Sweetman, a leading "Gaelic League" apostle, and vice-chairman of the "Central Council of Irish County Councils," wrote in the *Freeman's Journal* (January 31, 1906), affirming that "out of the Gaelic League's deanglicising propaganda have already grown a series of movements, not only strongly political, but each and all making for *a separate independent Irish nation, freed from every link of the British connection.*"

† *Times*, December 6, 1890.

In the face of all this it is plainly idle for the Campbell-Bannerman Government to pretend that the Devolution scheme can hold out any promise of a settlement. It has been ruled out both by Gladstone and by the men he sought to satisfy in his two Home Rule Bills. It would, therefore, be sheer folly for the Unionists to be drawn into a discussion of the details of such a proposal, which could only lead to a waste of time and confusion of thought. It is Home Rule, in its most drastic form, on which Parliament and the nation have really to pronounce. To adopt, tacitly or directly, anything that could be twisted into a pretext for asserting that the Home Rule principle had been admitted would be disastrous.

The situation is so grave and the issues so vital that Unionists cannot run the risk of weakening their strength—out of all proportion greater though it be in the constituencies than is suggested by their present weakness in Parliamentary voting power—by divergent action on minor points. Divisions on principle there are and have been none. It is, however, too certain that some time ago grave dissatisfaction was created among the vast majority of Irish Unionists and among very many in Great Britain, by the inexplicable and, it must be added, entirely inexcusable proceedings of Mr. Wyndham and one or two of his colleagues in the late Cabinet in connection with the original appointment of Sir Antony MacDonnell as Under-Secretary at Dublin Castle and his subsequent establishment as the principal permanent official of the Irish Government in the teeth of an explicit understanding that he was only "lent" by the India Office and might be at any moment recalled. The bitterness of feeling excited by the elevation to such a position of one well known to be of strong Nationalist opinions and a fervid Roman Catholic was intense, and certainly not unreasonable, among the Unionists of Ulster, many of whom were disposed to show their resentment at the last General Election by abstaining from the poll. But "a good deal of water has flowed under the bridges" since last winter. The position has been radically changed by the accession to power of the present Ministry and the taste of their quality they have bestowed on Ireland during the period of Mr. Bryce's tenure of office as the Minister nominally responsible for Irish affairs. At the same time, the discussion of the Wyndham-MacDonnell-Dunraven episode opened up by Mr. Long's speeches in the autumn has made it clear that for the course which Mr. Wyndham adopted, with the co-operation of Lord Lansdowne, the Unionist Party as a whole had no responsibility. No part of it, as appeared from the speeches and letters of the

Ministers above mentioned, was carried out after consideration by the Cabinet and with its approval. The rank and file of the Party had absolutely no knowledge of any of the successive steps in this foolish adventure except what they derived, from time to time, and without explanation, from announcements in the newspapers. Why should Unionists, under these conditions, pay the slightest attention to the Radical pretence that they are debarred by any intrigues, underhand or avowed, in and around Dublin Castle, from offering the same resistance to Separatist measures as they have done unflinchingly and all along ? To borrow the Prime Minister's elegant phraseology, "the stuffing has been knocked out of that scarecrow."

All the Unionist organs and organisations in Ireland have called on those who are neither Separatists at heart nor terrorised by Separatist threats to forget the aberrations of a handful of misguided individuals, now ashamed of their blundering weakness, and to close up their ranks for a straight and stout fight in the old cause. The appeal has been answered manfully. In Ulster persistent attempts have been made to undermine the fidelity of the men of the Plantation to the Imperial flag. Mr. T. W. Russell, since his abandonment of Unionist principles, though he keeps the Unionist name, has addressed incessant and ingenious appeals to the material interest of the farmers of the North, but without any enduring effect. A secession from the Orange organisation was able to secure a very few votes for so-called "Independents" and to capture, in every case by a junction with the Nationalists, two or three Unionist seats. But all this passed away the moment that the Home Rule issue was brought to the front again. The election of Mr. W. Moore, K.C., for the seat in North Armagh, held so many years by Col. Saunderson, is a proof that the Devolution juggle does not impose on Ulstermen. Mr. Moore was returned by a majority of three to one over a candidate who obtained only 1433 votes, all, or almost all, Nationalists—fewer indeed than Colonel Saunderson's avowed Home Rule opponent obtained in 1886. Ulster stands fast by the position taken up more than twenty years ago : "We will not have Home Rule !" Devolution and its extension do not attract Ulstermen, who have seen the principles of the "Catholic Association," of which even the priesthood was ashamed, rigorously applied in practice by the local elected bodies in Connaught, Munster, and Leinster. They will not fall into line with Dr. Douglas Hyde and other fanatic denouncers of "the demon of Anglicisation," even though these are petted and promoted by Mr. Bryce. They see that Mr.

Devlin, who slipped in for West Belfast through Unionist divisions last January, has been sent out to collect funds for the Separatist war-chest in Australia. They do not forget that the same politician, who tries to conciliate colonial opinion in Sydney and Melbourne by professing to be an Imperialist of a sort, not long before, both in Ireland and in the United States, proclaimed that his objects were the same as those of Emmet and Wolfe Tone,* and boasted that when there was an Irish Parliament, with full powers over the police, the judiciary and all the administration, "the time would come for those who think we should destroy the last link that binds us to England *to operate by whatever means they think best to achieve that great and desirable end.*"† Other things, too, the men of the Ulster Plantation bear in memory—Mr. Dillon's menaces of vengeance, when Home Rule was won, against those who dared to stand in the path of "the people," marching to the goal and through the instrumentalities indicated long ago by Gladstone; the denunciation of the great industries of the Province by the Nationalist newspapers in 1893: the reiterated threats to place a ruthless heel on the neck of the minority wherever they are not strong enough to protect themselves. Ulster is sound at heart and in purpose, and will refuse to be taken by the paltry bait of "special securities." She will not, to use a striking expression of Sir William Petty in the seventeenth century, consent to be "cantonised for the advantage of parties."

But it is in this country that the battle is to be fought. What will be England's answer when the momentous question is put to her, once again, to which she returned a stern and uncompromising negative in 1886 and 1895?

PACTUM SERVA.

* *Freeman's Journal*, September 11, 1905.

† *Irish People*, June 21, 1902.

THE

NATIONAL REVIEW

No. 288.—February 1907

EPISODES OF THE MONTH

The International Outlook.

THERE has been an appreciable improvement in the international situation during the domestic crisis in Germany, which has to some extent absorbed Imperial energies which would otherwise have been devoted to setting other Powers by the ears. The world becomes a distinctly more comfortable place on the relaxation of Prussian intrigue; but it would be senseless to expect this respite to last. Directly the issue, which the results of the First Ballots in the General Election of the Reichstag, held on January 25, leave in some doubt, is decided one way or the other, William II. will resume his *rôle* of general *agent provocateur*, and the effect will be immediate in every Chancery of Europe, Asia, and America, though it must be admitted that his method is now so thoroughly *connu* throughout Europe that his mischievous activity is practically sterilised. In remoter continents, however, his sinister operations will continue to achieve a certain measure of success That there will be no change in German foreign policy, whatever the ultimate upshot of the contest between the Kaiser and his people, is obvious to every student of German affairs. Should his Majesty defeat the Black and Red combination of Catholics and Socialists, as seems highly probable, he will interpret the verdict as a personal vote of confidence in himself, and a popular ratification of his ubiquitous policy. Were he by any miracle defeated he would probably make a scapegoat of Prince Bülow—whose disappearance we should deeply regret, because so long as the present Chancellorship endures it will

be possible to prevent Englishmen from harbouring amiable illusions regarding German policy—but he would take care to replace him by an equally pliable, or, if possible, a more pliable tool. Wilhelm II. will never tolerate another Caprivi, even were he so fortunate as to find one, because he will not brook independence or sincerity in a subject. As Bismarck predicted, the present Emperor has surrounded himself with a *camarilla* of creatures who regard him as an Almighty. As the Reichstag, which is no Parliament in the real sense of the word, has absolutely no control over external policy, William II. will in this sphere of public affairs remain the autocrat he always has been. If defeated at home he might become even more dangerous to his neighbours than he was in the summer of 1905 or the winter of 1905–6, as he is quite capable in a mad fit of vanity of plunging Europe into war as the only solution of his domestic difficulties. It is therefore all-important for the rulers and statesmen of other countries, especially Great Britain, to preserve an attitude of suspicious watchfulness—to remain, in fact, *toujours en vedette*. They must on the one hand show the German people that no responsible foreigner entertains any hostility towards them, or harbours any designs whatsoever against the German Empire. On the other hand they must convince the German Emperor that his preposterous claim to the suzerainty of Europe is quite untenable because wholly unacceptable to other Powers, who intend to pursue their own independent foreign policy, and will not allow themselves to be manipulated from Potsdam. Although there is no justification for the appointment of a political "deadhead" like Professor Bryce to our Washington Embassy, the reduction of the Potsdam Party in the present Cabinet by one is all to the good. It now consists of the Lord Chancellor and the War Minister—a somewhat discordant duet—who hope to be reinforced by Sir Ernest Cassel's friend, Mr. Winston Churchill, in the near future.

A Bankrupt Diplomacy.

THE Hohenlohe memoirs, which have been widely read in this country, confirm the Busch, Bismarck, and Granville revelations, and remove all vestige of excuse for any misunderstanding of German policy and German methods in the minds of British statesmen. The whole machinery of the Wilhelmstrasse has been laid bare for the benefit of all who have the use of their eyes ; and even in Washington, where German diplomacy still vaunts its successes, it should be difficult for men of the calibre of President Roosevelt and Mr. Root to ignore this cumulative and illuminating body of evidence. German foreign policy is founded on the

traditional principle that the general stock of international goodwill is strictly limited in quantity, whence it follows that any improvement in the mutual relations of other Powers can only be effected at the expense of Germany, and consequently it becomes the duty of her diplomacy to employ every weapon, legitimate or illegitimate, in putting spokes in other people's wheels, and in nipping incipient *ententes* in the bud. Bismarck positively dreaded the development of confidential relations between other European statesmen, apparently fearing that if they compared notes they might discover something discreditable to Germany which would increase the distrust she already inspired. This policy of the guilty conscience is perfectly intelligible, because ever since the days of Frederick the Great there has been no trick that the Berlin Government was not prepared to play in order to prejudice and poison the intercourse of other Governments. Any exchange of confidences elsewhere is necessarily dangerous to this diplomacy. Bismarck, who was as great as he was unscrupulous, was amazingly successful as a mischief-maker. Thanks to his efforts, Great Britain, Russia, and France continued to look askance at one another for a whole generation, while each made a confidant of Germany; and one of the automatic results of his retirement was the Dual Alliance between France and Russia, who had been barely on speaking terms during his Chancellorship. This was the first great check sustained by Wilhelm II. His Government has since striven hard to pursue the Bismarckian policy, and has imitated all Bismarck's methods; but, having more of the contortions of the Sibyl than the inspiration, they have gradually seen the whole superstructure crumble away, and to-day German foreign policy is virtually in liquidation. It is a matter of common knowledge that the German Emperor openly scoffed at the possibility of an *entente cordiale* between France and England until it was a *fait accompli*. It had hitherto been an *idée fixe* in Potsdam that the two world-wide colonial rivals, whose antagonism had been craftily stimulated by Bismarck, who at one time acquired complete ascendency over Jules Ferry, while Downing Street was a mere department of the Wilhelmstrasse, could never compose their differences, and his infuriate Majesty refused to credit the evidence of his senses when he first heard that the incredible had happened. His subsequent frenzy against M. Delcassé was the measure of the blow dealt, not at German interests, because no legitimate German interests could conceivably be affected by the decision of France and England to put an end to their unprofitable colonial controversies, but to German diplomacy, founded as it was on the vindictive basis of *Schaden-*

freude. There was no offensive note in the Delcassé-Lansdowne settlement, but Berlin is so terrified of any friendly deals between other Powers that the Anglo-French Agreement was almost regarded as a *casus belli*, and it was almost made a *casus belli.*

Publicity *v.* Intrigue.

THE failure of Germany to keep France and Russia, and France and Great Britain, from entering alliances or signing agreements, and her similar want of success in perpetuating discord between Russia and Austria-Hungary, who now pursue a common policy in the Balkans, and between Italy and France, who are understood to have settled their outstanding Mediterranean differences, seem unfortunately to have had no effect in inducing the Kaiser and his advisers—so far as he tolerates advisers—to change tactics which are fast reducing Germany to a state of international isolation. On the contrary, they have sought in other directions for some compensation for their diplomatic fiascoes, and have redoubled their exertions as *agents provocateurs.* This generation will probably never know the prodigious efforts made by Berlin throughout the Russo-Japanese War to enlarge the area of conflict by bringing in England and France on opposite sides in support of their respective allies. It was continually "rubbed in" in St. Petersburg that France had left the *nation amie et alliée* in the lurch, while the Japanese were encouraged to believe that England was a fickle friend whose only idea was to avoid "complications" with Russia, no matter at what cost to the interests of Japan. Meanwhile in St. Petersburg our moral support of the Japanese was represented as the *fons et origo mali* without which the war could never have taken place. The sinister ambition to extend the war was believed to be within an ace of success at the moment of the North Sea outrage, when the Kaiser did his utmost to prevent Russia from making any *amende* to this country. But probably his most active—and at one time hopeful—sphere of operations of late years has been Washington, where he has been ably seconded by Baron Speck von Sternberg, the German Ambassador, who lives on the doorstep of the White House, and whose business it is to foment discord between the United States and Great Britain, while preserving the friendliest personal relations with British diplomatists. These elementary facts should by this time be familiar to our readers, but we make no apology for reiterating them, because people's memories are short, and publicity is the only weapon with which to combat intrigue. When the German game

is universally understood, it will be a universal failure, and a serious danger to the peace of the world will be eliminated.

Anglo-American Relations.

ALL sensible Englishmen have welcomed the improvement in Anglo-American relations which, in spite of the persistent intrigues of the German Government, has developed in recent years. They regard the friendship of these great kindred Powers as one of the cardinal features of any intelligent foreign policy. At the same time it may be questioned whether the British Government or the British Press goes the wisest way to work to secure this object. The present writer has frequently heard Americans observe that in the days before the United States became a World-Power, Great Britain seemed to regard her with considerable contempt, and the comments of London newspapers on American affairs were insolent and provocative; but that the moment the United States became a great Power and a desirable ally, the British swung round to the opposite extreme, and both our statesmen and editors proceeded to crawl before the Americans —an attitude which does not impress them. This contrast is no doubt exaggerated, but Mr. Maurice Low, always a sympathetic and intelligent interpreter of American sentiment, has something to say in this month's correspondence upon the ignominious discussion of the recent vacancy in the British Embassy at Washington, which was not calculated to enhance our prestige across the Atlantic, and a similar remark applies with infinitely more force to the deplorable exhibition we made of ourselves, over the unfortunate Jamaica incident, when a British Governor, at a moment of intolerable strain, wrote a foolish letter to an American Admiral, whom he erroneously imagined to have taken advantage of the helplessness of a British Colony to make a political demonstration by landing an armed force under the American flag. Although the full facts have not been published at the time of writing, and we do not yet know the Governor's version, every dispassionate onlooker can see how the regrettable incident occurred. What was piteous and painful was the panic which seized our Press and Government. If a victorious American fleet had sailed up the Thames and held London at its mercy, we could hardly have been more abject. Mr. Haldane sent a telegram to Mr. Root which any decent-minded Englishman would much sooner lose his right hand than have penned. The only conceivable effect of such cringing is to bring this country into hatred, ridicule, and contempt on the other side of the Atlantic—among the people who live under the Stars and Stripes

no less than those who live under the Union Jack. We would ask Canadians and Americans to believe that we are not a nation of flunkeys, and that the flunkeys misrepresent us, and we would once more remind the flunkeys that they are imperilling our relations with two great Powers, Canada and the United States.

The "Cranks."

It is high time for the formation of a League to defend the British Foreign Office against "cranks" of all kinds, of whom three species of a peculiarly virulent type appear to be in the ascendant at the present moment. There are in the first place the Baghdad Railway "cranks," who are anxious to entangle British policy and British finance in the construction of a so-called international commercial railway, *alias* a German strategic railway, which will convert Asia Minor into an appanage of the Hohenzollerns, will give the Wilhelmstrasse a permanent lever for intrigue in the Middle East, will endanger the security of Egypt and compromise the position of India. Secondly there are the Macedonian "cranks," who demand that Great Britain shall light-heartedly plunge into war in order to prevent the Bulgarians, Greeks, Turks and other miscellaneous inhabitants of Macedonia, from cutting one another's throats. Turkey can place a million men in the field. Mr. Haldane claims to be able to equip an expeditionary force of 150,000 men. Nevertheless this country is solemnly summoned by the Macedonian "crank" in the person of Dr. Evans, to challenge Turkey to mortal combat with the incidental result of bringing all Europe about our ears, and endangering our position as a Mahommedan Power without the smallest chance of conferring the faintest advantage on the unfortunate Macedonians. We do not for a moment deny the gravity of the disease in Macedonia, but we profoundly distrust the proposed remedy. The curious thing about these cranks is that as a general rule they pride themselves on being "anti-militarist." They grudge every farthing spent on our Army or our Navy, and are inexpressedly shocked at the suggestion of Universal Service. Then there are the Congo "cranks," who are more formidable than their prototypes because they have already captured the Foreign Office, and a conflict with the Congo Free State, which possesses neither army nor navy, would be a peculiarly cheap and easy method of salving the conscience of the Nonconformist jingo. It will be rather hard if besides suffering the humiliation of a Little England Government, this country is to find itself involved in wild-cat schemes in the Middle East, the Near East and Central Africa. Why does the Labour Party remain silent on these subjects?

The Unionist Crisis.

Our pages this month bear abundant testimony to the deplorable plight of the Unionist Party caused by the great and growing gulf between the Front Bench in Parliament and the rank and file in the constituencies, in the absence of leadership calculated either to inspire enthusiasm in the masses or to command the confidence of the classes. Things have come to such a pass that it would be perfectly idle to attempt to conceal the condition of our Party, which renders it utterly inefficient as an Opposition, and threatens to perpetuate the Bannerman Cabinet indefinitely, than which it would be impossible to imagine a greater disaster to the nation or the Empire. Ponderous injunctions are from time to time addressed by the wiseacres of our Front Bench to the Party at large to the effect that all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds, and that if the rank and file will only keep their eyes shut and their mouths open, and joyfully swallow whatever may be vouchsafed by the dwellers on Olympus, all will come ultimately right, but that if we fritter away our energies in criticising the great, wise, and eminent statesmen who mismanage our affairs—in itself a species of *lèse-majesté* —there can be no hope or future for the Party. We must confine ourselves to attacking the other side, leaving the distinguished organisers of disaster in unchallenged control of the Party policy and the Party machinery. But there is some limit to human patience, and after waiting for more than a year in order to see whether any effort would be made to set the Unionist house in order, or to profit by the lessons of a unique catastrophe, it is, in our opinion, high time for the robust discontent which happily runs all through the Unionist army to manifest itself as vigorously and as offensively as it can.* Unionist demoralisation is something more than a party question. It would indeed, be no exaggeration to say that the greatest national and Imperial interest at this moment is that some efficiency, initiative, statesmanship, and enthusiasm should be imported into the

* Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Balfour Government, has (see *Outlook* of January 5) fully accounted for the treatment its members and supporters received at the late General Election :

"From 1903 onwards, in spite of Lord Lansdowne's brilliant successes in the domain of foreign affairs, the members of that Government appeared to the onlooker to have exhausted their mission and put an end to their own usefulness. They ceased to guide events, and seemed rather to wait upon them ; and their tardy resignation came too late to avert any of the mischief caused by the paralysing hesitations of the previous two years."

We believe this explanation of the *débâcle* to be absolutely accurate ; but unfortunately there would appear to be little or no change in the attitude of the Unionist Front Benchers towards public affairs. Most of them, like the Bourbons, have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing.

councils of his Majesty's Opposition, as on present lines it has no prospect whatsoever of retrieving its fortunes or becoming a serious factor in the State. The general course of public affairs has been simply dismal. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and Co. have been in office for more than a year, during which they have afforded innumerable golden opportunities to their opponents hardly one of which has been taken, and as a consequence there is no appreciable symptom of a popular reaction against a Government which by this time might have been made to stink in the nostrils of the electorate whom they fooled and duped at the General Election. The Unionist Party has so far captured a solitary seat at the by-elections, and that was in a three-cornered contest; and as we have to win about two hundred seats, our readers can calculate for themselves how long it will be at the present pace before we may hope to secure a working majority. So long as the only alternative to the Bannerman Government is a Balfour Government, so long shall we remain where we are, because, though it may not be realised on the Front Opposition Bench, any Cabinet remotely resembling the Ministry of finesse is about the very last Government which the people of this country desire.

Lost Opportunities.

THE Unionist Party has fallen upon evil days. It is led by Mandarins who do everything according to formal and futile rules, while the Unionist Press is, to some extent, in the hands of Mugwumps whose single ambition is to be "fair-minded," which means habitually giving away one's own side and making excuses for every outrage perpetrated by the other side. A sort of sleeping sickness seems to have stolen over us. Can it be said, for instance, that any serious effort has been made to awaken the country to the cowardly and gratuitous surrender of South Africa to the Boers by the present Pro-Boer Government, whose sole object is to justify their treason during the war, when they openly championed the enemy, and by their speeches and propaganda encouraged him to fight on, and whose moral responsibility was not exaggerated in the manly outburst of the late Mr. Seddon, the New Zealand Prime Minister, who declared in June 1901:

> He was pained to learn that there were statesmen at home who, at this juncture, were protesting against the war, exposing our weakness, and thus encouraging the Boers to continue their resistance. Action of this kind was reprehensible in the extreme. *Those who encouraged the continuance of the war were aiders and abetters of murder* [our italics].

Surely the Unionist Party, which was responsible for the Boer War and the *post-bellum* settlement, has a duty to discharge in teaching the country the true meaning of the South African policy so offensively expounded by that Tory renegade Mr. Winston Churchill—who, though a renegade, seems to carry several Unionist papers in his pocket—which involves the destruction of the great enterprise which inspired the enthusiasm of the British Empire as it had never been aroused before, and cost the Mother Country £250,000,000 and 20,000 precious lives? The betrayal of our own people in the Transvaal, where Lord Elgin has deliberately gerrymandered the Constitution so as to make it practically impossible for the British majority to secure a majority of representatives in the coming Parliament, is surely a suitable theme for Opposition oratory and Opposition journalism, while the treatment of the Orange River Colony is, if possible, more infamous, because a Constitution has been forced upon that community—contrary, it is alleged, to the advice of the West Ridgway Commission, which the Government was allowed to suppress without any effective protest from our side—which no one wanted, simply in order to humiliate the British by placing them under the heel of the Boers. It might also have been imagined that the insolent treatment of the Australians over the New Hebrides Convention, and the sacrifice of Newfoundland to the United States, to say nothing of the wanton and deliberate ruin inflicted upon the helpless people of St. Helena, who appeal to our historic sense, would have automatically brought every Conservative Member to his feet, for after all, whatever we may actually be, we claim to be, and pride ourselves on platforms on being, an Imperial Party. The Labour Party are apparently always able to bring Ministers "on the knee" by threatening motions of adjournment, an elementary weapon unknown to the Opposition.

Parochial Opposition.

UNDER present auspices Unionists are prepared to confine their efforts to the local controversies of these islands, and to remain silent spectators of every outrage inflicted upon the Empire. Mr. Chamberlain's monumental work of uniting the Mother Country and the daughter-nations is being rapidly undone by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and Co., and Great Britain is rapidly resuming her former *rôle* of Stepmother Country of the Empire. This transformation is taking place with the tacit connivance of our parochial Opposition. To onlookers it is simply stupefying. During the past year the Conservative Party has lost a

generation of growth, and is as it was under Sir Stafford Northcote, before it was roused by the brilliant exertions of Lord Randolph Churchill, who, with all his faults, helped to lay the foundations of twenty years' Unionist Government. Last Session we fought the battle of the Bishops. Next Session we shall fight under the banner of the Brewers. After that we shall presumably become a branch of the Liberty and Property Defence League, and make of Socialism an even worse bogey than it actually is. The *National Review* cannot be fairly accused of any half-heartedness in defending interests and institutions which are unfairly attacked by the Radicals, and no Churchman detested the Birrelligious Education Bill more than we did. But we cannot help feeling that the Unionist Party is fighting these causes on the wrong lines, owing to its purely negative and critical attitude, and that if we go on as we are at present, our powers of resistance will gradually decay, and everything for which we stand will go by the board. The union with Ireland was saved for twenty years not only by identifying the cause of Home Rule with Separatism, but also by associating the Union with Social Reform as embodied in a positive constructive policy, which convinced the country that Unionism was no mere class party, as Mr. Gladstone had impudently declared, and by continually putting forward the national and Imperial ideals as opposed to the Separatist and Little England ideals. But with Mr. Chamberlain in retirement, the Empire and the nation seem to have been forgotten. They are scarcely mentioned in the speeches of Unionist statesmen, with the conspicuous exception of two memorable utterances by Lord Milner. We allow Mr. Haldane to run amok in the Army without making any serious protest. How many of our politicians realise that he is diminishing our diminutive land forces by some 40,000 men, at the very time when two great wars have served to remind the world anew that a powerful, highly-trained, well-equipped, and ever-ready army is an indispensable adjunct of every Great Power. The Boer War taught us, if it could teach us anything, that the British Army is too small, and yet Mr. Haldane is allowed to make it still smaller. He is doing absolutely nothing to replace the disbanded battalions beyond delivering portentous orations. He has become the embodiment of *cacoethes loquendi*. Then, again, the Opposition has given practically no support to the public-spirited efforts of Mr. Carlyon Bellairs, the Radical member for King's Lynn, to prevent Lord Tweedmouth and Sir John Fisher from demobilising the British Navy; while more than one so-called Unionist newspaper is not ashamed of

helping the Admiralty in its fell work of killing the *esprit de corps* in our Navy, and in compromising our Sea-Power. Sir John Fisher apparently keeps a tame jackal in nearly every newspaper office. It is all very amazing and distressing.

Tariff Reform.

On the Fiscal Question there is similar paralysis, but in this case the evil is entirely due to the tragic misfortune that the Unionist Party believes in a cause in which its leader does not believe. As regards other questions, the Unionist Party might conceivably shake off its lethargy, and ultimately wake up when it has recovered from what Mr. Howard Gritten terms the "chill torpor" of the last General Election. But on this question there are only two possible solutions—either that the Leader shall drop the Party, or that the Party shall drop the Leader. That one of these solutions will ultimately be adopted there can be no shadow of doubt, but meanwhile untold injury will be suffered by the Party and the cause. We need not discuss the matter in any detail, as it is luminously dealt with in "Compatriot's" remarkable article. We would, however, venture on a piece of practical advice to those Tariff Reformers who have allowed themselves to be hypnotised and paralysed for nearly four years by the artless assumption that Mr. Balfour is a Tariff Reformer. The Leader of the Opposition is largely responsible for this legend, owing to the "sympathy" he has consistently expressed for Mr. Chamberlain's propaganda. But Tariff Reformers themselves, many of whom are men of singular simplicity, must share the responsibility, owing to the ease with which they have allowed themselves to be bamboozled. Mr. Balfour cannot justly be accused of ever having made any serious effort on behalf of Fiscal Reform, either when he was at the head of the Government or since he has been Leader of the Opposition, and all his declarations, to which Tariff Reformers attach such pathetic importance, are invariably studded with loopholes. During Mr. Chamberlain's unfortunate absence from the fray, when it might have been imagined that every chivalrous instinct would have induced his former colleagues, who for years have lived on his popularity, to see that the cause for which he had made such stupendous sacrifices did not suffer, there has not been a single reference to Tariff Reform in any of Mr. Balfour's innumerable speeches, while his political satellites on the Front Bench and elsewhere have taken their cue from their leader. That is all that Tariff Reformers have gained by remaining "on the knee" to Mr. Balfour. It is high time they adopted a more dignified posture.

Test Questions.

It has been a complete boycott, and all the Party machinery, which remains under Mr. Balfour's control, has been employed for the purpose of freezing out any one suspected of the crime of Chamberlainism. Our advice, therefore, to Tariff Reformers is that they should once and for all discard their senseless delusion that Mr. Balfour is with them—and treat him as an indifferent or a hostile force, and, so to speak, "gang their own gait." This change of attitude would necessitate a certain change of tactics. Henceforward no candidate should be accepted on the plea that he is a Balfourite on the Fiscal Question, for the simple reason that no one knows what a Balfourite is, and life is too short to find out. If Balfourism means anything, it might involve a dangerous system of high Protection *viâ* Retaliation, which would be dead against the interests of Great Britain, and would entirely ignore the Empire. All Tariff Reformers who have thought about the question are opposed to the Balfourian proposal that a Government department should be free to impose any duties which might be suggested by any particular series of negotiations. Our policy is: (1) A moderate general tariff on foreign manufactured goods; and (2) Imperial Preference, which means a rebate in favour of the Colonies on existing duties, or on any duties which may hereafter be imposed. We would, therefore, urge upon Tariff Reformers that instead of presenting the Valentine letter as an ultimatum to Parliamentary candidates, the latter should be asked these two elementary questions: "Are you in favour of a general tariff!" "Are you in favour of Imperial Preference?" Any man who is unwilling to answer both these questions in the affirmative, cannot be regarded as a Tariff Reformer by Tariff Reformers. In confirmation of our view of Mr. Balfour, it should be noted that the Leader of the Opposition declines to give a plain answer to these very plain questions.

The Trade Boom.

Human happiness is always an agreeable spectacle, and the Trade Returns have caused such delirious delight to our Cobdenite contemporaries that it seems almost cruel of Mr. Hewins and the Tariff Commission to reduce these frenzied figures to their proper proportions. It is instructive in the first place to observe how completely the argument against Fiscal Reform has been altered by this much exploited boom in our foreign trade. We were told during the "slump" that Mr. Chamberlain's "raging, tearing propaganda" was killing British trade, because it was disturbing business and unsettling the minds of our manufacturers. But now we are

told that our trade, or at any rate our trade statistics, have killed Tariff Reform, and pitying contempt is expressed for its prophet. Then again, Mr. Asquith used to perambulate the country declaring that the Germans were beating us through their superior scientific methods and their more enlightened system of education, and Mr. Haldane attributed our industrial failure to the lack of Charlottenburgs, while other superior persons debited our defeat to the stupidity, laziness and drunkenness of the British working man, and the iniquities of Trade Unionism. Now, however, we are invited to imagine that in spite of all these impossible handicaps, we are beating the benighted foreigner, thanks to Free Imports. Then again, we are no longer deafened by that "verbal jingle of an abstract dogma" that if we took care of the imports the exports would take care of themselves. Our expanding exports are treated as the one serious criterion of national prosperity, and the suggestive fact that German imports are increasing, in spite of the German tariff, at a greater rate than British imports, is conveniently concealed. It is all thoroughly characteristic of the Cobdenite temperament, and we do not grudge the pundits their pæans. They require some consolation for the serious development of Trusts and the portentous strides of Socialism in this country, against both of which "products of Protection" Free Trade was supposed to provide an absolute guarantee.

WHAT is the extent of this wonderful boom? How far is it due to fiscal causes? How far is it peculiar to Free Trade England? Because it stands to reason that if it be due to other than fiscal causes, or if protected countries enjoy a greater measure of prosperity than we do, *cadit questio*. It is here that the Tariff Commission has rendered such valuable service by its memorandum analysing the figures, from which it appears that,

Tariff Commission's Memorandum.

(1) The import and export trade of the United Kingdom in 1906 as set out in the Board of Trade returns amounted to £1,069,000,000 exclusive of bullion and specie.

(2) The increase in the import and export trade of 10 per cent. in 1906 over 1905 compares with the following estimated percentage increases in the case of other countries, viz., Germany, 12½; United States, 11; France, 7.

(3) The rise in wholesale prices in 1906 in the United Kingdom was 6.8 per cent. There are no available estimates of the change in prices in other countries.

(4) Allowing for this change in prices, the increase of imports into the United Kingdom in 1906 over 1905, which according to the Board of Trade figures was 7.4 per cent. in values, corresponds with an increase of 2.3 per

cent. in quantities; the increase of 13.6 per cent. in the values of exports corresponds with 8.1 per cent. in quantities; and the increase of 10 per cent. in the values of total trade becomes less than 5 per cent. in quantities.

(5) That is to say, of the increase of 35 millions sterling in the value of imports for home consumption, 23¾ millions was due to increased prices and 11¼ to increased quantities. Similarly of the increase of 45½ millions sterling in the value of exports, 17½ millions is accounted for by increased prices and 28 millions by increased quantities.

The Tariff Commission gives us what the Board of Trade, which is the War Office of Commerce, ought to give us, but usually fails to do, viz., the means of comparing our trade with the trade of our competitors, and the following figures are peculiarly instructive as showing that our two principal protectionist rivals are enjoying a greater share of the present wave of prosperity than we are—a fact which completely shatters the Cobdenite case.

	Imports for Home Consumption.			Exports.			Total Trade.		
	1905. mill. £	1906. mill. £	Inc. per cent.	1905. mill. £	1906. mill. £	Inc. per cent.	1905. mill. £	1906. mill. £	Inc. per cent.
U.K. .	487	523	7.4	330	376	13.6	817	899	10.0
Germany*	336½	386	14.9	279	306	9.7	615	692	12.5
France* .	187	204	9.1	190	200	5.3	377	404	7.2
U.S.A.* .	237	262	10.0	329	369	12.2	566	631	11.1

Quantity *v.* Price.

The truth is, though like most economic truths it is systematically overlooked by Free Trade writers and speakers, that the year 1906 was simply marked by a continued upward movement in prices to which "Chinese Slavery" in the Transvaal, by increasing the output of gold, was a material contributory factor, but for which Free Imports was no more responsible than it was for the earthquakes at San Francisco and Valparaiso—incidents which have also played their part in inflating prices. Our readers will remember that two or three years ago when our foreign exports were declining, Cobdenites used to allege that the fall in values was more than counterbalanced by the increase in quantity, and that quantity was the only thing that mattered. The Tariff Commission does well in repaying the Cobdenites in their own coin by showing in tabular form how exceedingly small is the actual expansion of our trade on the quantitative theory.

* The figures for Germany, France, and United States are estimates of the *Statist* (January 12, 1907), and are based on eleven months trade for the United States and France, and on nine months trade for Germany.

NET IMPORTS, 1905–6.

	Declared value of net imports in 1905.	Inc. in price in 1906.	Estimated value at 1906 prices of 1905 net imports.	1906 net imports declared value.	Change in quantity.
	million £	per cent.	million £	million £	per cent.
1. Food, Drink, and Tobacco .	219.26	0.6	220.66	226.17	+2 5
2. Raw Materials . . .	144.25	11.4	160.66	164.11	+2.1
3. Manufactured Articles . .	121.61	5.3	128.08	130.32	+1.7
4. Miscellaneous . . .	2.09	15.8	2.42	2.24	−7.4
.	487.21	5.1	511.82	522.84	+2.2

EXPORTS, 1905–6.

	Declared value in 1905.	Inc. in price in 1906.	1905 Exports at 1906 prices.	Declared value in 1906.	Increase in quantity exported
	million £	per cent.	million £	million £	per cent.
1. Food, Drink, and Tobacco .	19.39	5.0	20.35	21.13	3.8
2. Raw Materials . . .	36.31	5.2	38.19	43.26	13.3
3. Manufactures . . .	269.07	5.4	283.54	305.61	7.9
4. Miscellaneous . . .	5.03	8.6	5 46	5.66	3.7
	329.80	5.3	347.54	375.66	8.1

It will be seen that there appears to have been a rise in prices amounting to about 5.5 per cent. on all exports, this rise being more or less evenly distributed between food-stuffs, raw materials, and manufactures. The declared value of the exports in 1905 amounted to £329,800,000. At 1906 prices this is estimated to have been worth £347,540,000. The declared value of the exports in 1906 was £375,700,000. Thus as compared with 1905 there was an increase worth £28,100,000 due to increases in quantities, and £17,700,000 due to increases in values. The increase in quantity is equal to 8.1 per cent., and this corresponds very closely with the increase in quantity of manufactures exported (7 9 per cent.). The largest proportionate increase is shown in the group of raw materials exported (13.3 per cent.).

"A Gigantic Error."

THE decisive factors in the international struggle for life are not to be found in the Board of Trade Returns, but they are readily accessible to all who want them. They are such as to make every thinking Englishman, whether he call himself a Free Trader or a Tariff Reformer, think the more. Cobdenite England is simply being beaten out of sight in all the attributes that constitute the material greatness of Empires, and if the present conditions over which we are invited to gloat continue to prevail here and

elsewhere no power on earth can prevent us from sinking as a nation into the second class. Under Protection the United States is adding some 1,500,000 souls to her 80 millions every year, while the 60 million Germans are annually increasing by 800,000. The annual increase in Free Trade England is only 400,000, owing to the leakage through emigration to protected communities. If Free Trade were economically superior to Protection, it stands to reason that we should be enjoying greater prosperity than our competitors, and emigration would flow the other way. The fact is that we have made a huge blunder, which we are too conceited to acknowledge. Lord Playfair, one of the few Cobdenites with any *flair*, declared fifteen years ago when discussing the McKinley policy, "If the Americans be right in principle, and if they be successful in practice, the whole policy of the United Kingdom is founded on a gigantic error, and must lead to our ruin as a commercial nation." But it is not only the United States which is enjoying phenomenal and boundless prosperity. There is also Germany, a country of infinitely inferior resources to ours, which in her Free Trade days was in a pitiable industrial condition. Nowadays she is leaping and bounding with prosperity. The drain of emigration has ceased, and according to all the evidence, including that of our Consuls, the problem of Unemployment has been solved, not by pauperising nor Poplarising experiments, but by the natural expansion of employment due to the immense development of productive power under the fostering influence of a scientific tariff. With all its faults the German Government endeavours to promote the material welfare of the people. The British Government merely seeks to gratify the doctrinaires.

A Chance for Cobdenites.

We do not believe that these elementary and eloquent truths can be permanently concealed from the British working classes even by the combined efforts of his Majesty's Ministers and his Majesty's Opposition, with all the Party machinery and Party Press at their disposal. Mr. Lloyd-George (the President of the Board of Trade), who has become an advance agent of prosperity, has been compelled to disclose the disagreeable facts that as regards skilled and organised labour, there are at the present time four men out of work in Free Trade England for one in Protectionist Germany, and that during the last four years there has been a lamentable fall of wages in this country, and while we know that there have been remarkable increases in the United States, we have every reason to believe that there is a progressive improvement of wages in Germany. Such facts outweigh many tons of

statistics, and those who have had any experience in addressing public meetings throughout the Fiscal controversy, are aware that there never was a time when the working classes were more receptive on this question than they are to-day. There is, after all, a very elementary means of testing our prosperity. On the Cobdenite assumption 1906 has been a record year of prosperity. *Ex hypothesi* all Free Trade employers have made their fortunes. Why, then, should they not celebrate the boom, which so far has only been celebrated upon platforms, by a general increase in the wages of their employees? It would be impossible to imagine a more impressive service to the cause of Free Trade than the establishment of a minimum living wage in every Free Trade workshop in this country, and certainly, if times are as good as the *Westminster Gazette* professes to believe, the working classes are entitled to some share of the spoils.

The Channel Tunnel.

ALTHOUGH our professional politicians have been singularly silent —perhaps not "singularly," because they rarely give the country a lead on any great national question—there has been a prolific discussion in the Press on the subject of the Channel Tunnel. Unless we are greatly mistaken, effective public opinion is steadily hardening against this perfidious and perilous project, which is scarcely surprising, considering that apart from the convenience of tourists not one serious argument has been adduced in its favour from the British standpoint, although the *onus probandi* necessarily lies with those who would light-heartedly imperil our impregnable insular position for the purpose of preventing sea-sickness. Outside the ranks of the brotherhood-of-man-mongers, who live in a world of their own, and reach conclusions bearing no reference whatsoever to the world in which the world lives, and politicians of the Pro-Boer, Pro-Zulu, Pro-Lama, Pro-Mahdi, or Pro-German school, who on principle approve any proposal calculated to weaken or injure their own country—the Channel Tunnel has practically no friends. At the same time, it is necessary to enter a caveat against the well-meant suggestion of some of our contemporaries that the public should suspend their judgment until we have heard the views of the inevitable Lord Esher and the Committee of Defence. We trust that our readers, at any rate, will do nothing of the kind. The Committee of Defence is dominated by politics and politicians. At the present moment it is presided over by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman who, as a member of the Hartington Commission, wrote a monumental memorandum protesting against the creation of a

General Staff which should think out in peace-time the problems of war, lest it might encourage wicked warlike thoughts in British officers. If it be wrong on principle to prepare for war, it is impossible to be ready for war, and, *ex hypothesi*, the Premier's opinion upon any national danger—*e.g.*, the conceivable seizure of the British end of the Channel Tunnel by a foreign foe—is worth less than nothing, simply because he does not believe in the possibility of any national danger, or in the existence of any potential foreign foe. Perish such wicked thoughts! We are adored by all foreign nations, especially the Germans.

Defence Committee.

When Englishmen are exhorted to subordinate their own judgment to that of the Committee of Defence, they should ask themselves, What is the Committee of Defence? Unfortunately for the prestige of that body, Mr. Balfour informed the House of Commons, in his unfortunte speech of May 11, 1905, that the Prime Minister is the only permanent member of the Committee of Defence, and consequently, its opinions are his opinions; and he proceeded to lay down, ostensibly in the name and with the sanction of that Committee, a series of propositions to which it would be impossible to induce any sane expert, either naval or military, with any regard for his own reputation, to subscribe, *inter alia*, that if the British Army were in one part of the world, and the British Navy in another part of the world, that this island would nevertheless remain immune from invasion, whence the inference was drawn that invasion was beyond the domain of the possible. The Committee of Defence has never recovered, and never can recover, from the injury inflicted on its reputation by this declaration made on its behalf, and the public is justified in regarding its pronouncements with the utmost suspicion. We therefore venture to hope that, without waiting for the ukase of a body which has done little so far to gain the confidence of the country, Englishmen and Englishwomen will make up their own minds upon the wisdom of constructing a Channel Tunnel—a subject upon which any man or woman of ordinary common sense is quite as competent to form a sound judgment as the most learned expert. If by any miracle the Committee of Defence should for once "fluke" into a wise conclusion, no harm whatsoever will have been done by the intelligent anticipation of the public; while any inclination of the Committee to go wrong would be sensibly steadied by a strong manifestation of popular opinion. All committees habitually seek the line of least resistance.

ANY one remaining in doubt on this momentous question could hardly do better than master two striking articles from the pen of the *Times* Military Correspondent (*Times*, January 2 and 3), who is always brilliant and generally convincing, the first reviewing the chequered history of the Channel Tunnel, and the second discussing whether any reasons have recently accrued for modifying the national prejudice against this enterprise. As the writer points out, a study of this question involves the consideration of a large number of separate and yet interdependent problems of politics, geology, engineering, mining, ventilation, commerce, tariffs, customs, finance, shipping, insurance, rates, gauges, rolling-stock, railway management, through traffic, jurisdiction, &c. &c., but

A Retrospect.

> fascinating though must always be the large and daring operation which the tunnel suggests ; captivating though grand generalisations upon the theme of the union of nations must always prove for generous souls ; valuable though may appear to be the commercial advantages which the tunnel may conceivably afford us, we must all allow that none of these things can be allowed to weigh in the balance against proof, or even reasonable supposition, that the venture will prove in the remotest degree a menace to our national security by reducing the measure of inaccessibility in time of war, which insularity, coupled with the possession of a powerful Navy, implies.

As Mr. Chamberlain, then President of the Board of Trade, wrote to Sir Edward Watkin on October 15, 1881, "the Government consider that their duty requires them to see, in the first place, that no national danger is involved in such an undertaking," though curiously enough in the earlier days of the discussion of the Channel Tunnel, which first seems to have taken practical shape in the late 'sixties and early 'seventies, the question was never considered from the national standpoint. This was the golden age of Gladstonianism, and therefore of Little Englandism, when all problems of national defence were deemed *infra dig.* by our political and official mandarins. Mr. Gladstone's Government declared in 1871 that they had no objection to the construction of the Channel Tunnel provided there was no monopoly, and Lord Derby, who though nominally a Conservative was always more of a Whig than an Englishman, was permitted to state on behalf of the succeeding administration, that it was very desirable to support any well-considered scheme ; while Colonel Charles Nugent, R.E., informed the British members of the Joint Committee of 1875 that our precious War Office had no desire to interfere with the proposed tunnel ! The only discordant note seems to have been the demurrer very prudently and properly entered by Mr. C. M. Clode, then Solicitor at the War Office, that the Committee had been assembled without any

consideration of the effect of the tunnel on the insular position of Great Britain and the interests of National Defence. All honour to Mr. Clode, who seems to have been the only sensible man in an unusually silly world.

The Alison Committee.

THE Bills authorising the British and French promoters to commence operations received the sanction of the Legislatures of the two countries in 1875, though fortunately the British public, which is invariably more intelligent and patriotic than the British Government, flatly refused to provide the £80,000 required for preliminary expenses, and for the moment the scheme collapsed. In 1880 the chairman of the South Eastern Railway Company, the indefatigable Sir Edward Watkin, brought forward another scheme, and a Departmental Committee, presided over by Mr. (afterwards Lord) Farrer, began to sit upon the rival projects, and for the first time, thanks to Lord Wolseley (then Sir Garnet Wolseley), the more serious aspects of the question were raised. He wrote a strong memorandum condemning the enterprise in December 1881, and Admiral Sir A. Cooper Key, Senior Naval Lord of the Admiralty, followed suit with a protest to Lord Northbrook, then First Lord of the Admiralty, and as a consequence the proceedings of Mr. Farrer's Committee were stopped, and the question as to whether the English end of the Channel Tunnel could be closed in war was specifically referred to a scientific committee, presided over by Major-General Sir Archibald Alison, which reported in May 1882, to the effect that the exit of the tunnel should be carried beyond the reach of naval guns, and ought to be dominated by a fortress. They also, to quote the *Times* Military Correspondent, advised that there should be "means of closing the tunnel by a portcullis, and also of discharging irrespirable gases into it; that there should be power to produce a temporary demolition of the land portion of the tunnel by means of mining; and that sluices should allow the tunnel to be temporarily and permanently flooded by mines which should open a direct communication between the bottom of the sea and the tunnel." They further recommended that mechanical arrangements creating temporary obstructions should be controlled from different points within the fortress, and those for permanent destruction not only from the fortress, but also from one or more distant places, which should have independent connection with the mines, and they rejected the schemes submitted to them as not fulfilling these conditions. Moreover the Alison Committee were careful to add that "it would be presumptuous to place absolute reliance upon even the most comprehensive and complete arrange-

ments which can be devised, with the view of rendering the tunnel absolutely useless to an enemy in every imaginable contingency." This verdict had a considerable influence on the report of the Joint Select Committee of the House of Lords and the House of Commons, presided over by Lord Lansdowne, which concluded its lengthy, but not exhaustive, labours in July 1883, by a majority report, recommending that it was inexpedient to give Parliamentary sanction to the proposed tunnel. The shortcomings of this inquiry may be gathered from the fact, that though there was a certain amount of commercial evidence, no effort was made to take the general sense of the British Chambers of Commerce, and, as the writer we have quoted points out, our Parliamentarians "appear to have completely overlooked the fact that the French gauge is half an inch wider than ours between the rails, and French rolling stock of the Nord Line a foot and a half wider than the carriages on our southern lines. These variations practically debar the use of this foreign rolling stock on British lines, but there is no evidence that the Committee were aware of the fact."

Lord Randolph Churchill's Intervention.

Sir Edward Watkin refused to accept defeat, and more than once endeavoured to obtain the assent of the House of Commons, but his Channel Tunnel Bill was lost by 222 votes to 84 in 1884, and by 307 to 165 in 1888. It was on the first of these occasions that Mr. Chamberlain declared that the report of the Alison Committee had been the death-warrant of the project, and it was on the second occasion that, in exchange for his opposition to "coercion" in Ireland, Sir Edward Watkin secured the patronage of Mr. Gladstone, but fortunately Lord Randolph Churchill intervened with one of his most brilliant speeches, in which he literally laughed the joint promoters out of court. The views of our naval and military experts in the 'eighties are buried in innumerable Blue-books and in the minutes of evidence taken by the various Committees which at different times investigated this question. The *Times* Military Correspondent does good service in classifying and epitomising these views. The sailors objected to the tunnel because it evaded a naval attack, and if lost could only be recovered by the army, while they feared that in the absence of the Fleet it might be taken by surprise. Admiral Hay, "saw no reason why sixty thousand men should not be thrown upon the English coast in a very short time," and he considered that if the tunnel were seized by an enemy the supply of a hostile army in England could proceed without naval molestation on our part. The

Senior Naval Lord (Sir A. Cooper Key) was equally emphatic. "At the present moment," he said, "we cannot insure against the enemy landing; he may land at any place in this country"; but he added that at present no enemy would trust himself on our shores with the certainty of finding his communications cut, but with the tunnel in hostile hands this deterrent would be removed. It would be necessary to provide Dover with gigantic fortifications, and the country would be compelled to maintain an army equal in every respect to other European armies. Four hours' possession of the tunnel, according to Sir A. Cooper Key, would enable a hundred thousand men to assemble, and they could be joined in a few hours by as many more. Such a force could take London, while our Navy remained an impotent spectator. With two or three exceptions, the soldiers of the day entirely concurred with the sailors, the Duke of Cambridge, Sir Garnet Wolseley, Sir John Lintorn Simmons, Sir Archibald Alison, and others, being determined opponents of the project. Sir Frederick Maurice wrote his "Hostilities without Declaration of War," showing how frequently military action had preceded diplomatic notification.

The Capture of Dover.

As the *Times* Military Correspondent caustically observes, "There was, and there may be again, a small minority of soldiers in favour of a tunnel, for, as a leading article in the *Times* said in 1884, advocacy of enterprises from which cautious people recoil is a very insidious and subtle form of self-flattery," an observation which may be commended to Sir A. Turner and Sir William Butler, who appear to be the solitary military champions of this enterprise to-day. According to the best military opinion of twenty years ago a Channel Tunnel must involve the construction of a large fortress at Dover, an additional garrison of 10,000 men, and a corresponding increase in our Regular Army, while no one appears to have thought it possible to obtain security against surprise. Forces might be landed during the night at Dover or in its neighbourhood, and the tunnel itself might become a contributory means for capturing the entrance. "To assert," said Sir Garnet Wolseley, "that no such operation as a surprise can be effected without our obtaining ample warning of it is to assume that the general charged with its accomplishment is as entirely ignorant of the business of war as the man must be who makes such an assumption," and Dover in possession of an enemy holding the tunnel meant England at his mercy. It was unfair to saddle the officer commanding the garrison with the responsibility of destroying the tunnel, but unless he acted promptly he might be

too late. Moreover, the various means proposed for blowing up, drowning, or asphyxiating people in the tunnel would either cause so much alarm as to make passengers prefer travelling by sea, or would be removed under public pressure. We could not hope to expel an enemy once in possession of Dover, and it is painful and humiliating to be compelled to recognise that the judgment pronounced by the Duke of Cambridge so long ago as 1883 equally fits our military condition to-day. "An army of unorganised and very partially trained Volunteers and Militia cannot, by anything short of a miracle, stand up successfully against a regularly trained and well-organised enemy."

A Reproach to the Nation.

THAT the politicians should have been allowed by the nation, in spite of all the costly experience of the last twenty years, to leave the British Army in the condition described by the Duke of Cambridge is a standing reproach to our people. We grant that the politicians are largely to blame, but in a democratic Government, where the will of the people ultimately prevails, the nation is primarily responsible, and they cannot shelve that responsibility on to their representatives. Sir Lintorn Simmons pointed out that the danger was not confined to the capture of Dover, as England might be invaded elsewhere, as was frankly admitted by the wisest sailors of the day, and in the event of a successful invasion the surrender of Dover and the tunnel would probably be made conditions of peace. The strongest places in the world, had fallen by surprise, attack, or cession. Then, again, as the Duke of Cambridge pointed out with remarkable prescience, the danger was not from France alone, as "Calais might be occupied by a German army, and Germany might wish to punish our alliance with France by the seizure of Dover." "If this tunnel be constructed," wrote the Duke, "I wish to record my opinion—an opinion shared by the ablest of our officers—that our only possible security can be found in following the example of our neighbours by creating a vast army like theirs, an army which would probably entail the necessity of a compulsory system of universal military service"; and he ends his admirable memorandum with the following warning: "I would most earnestly beg H.M.'s Ministers to pause ere they accept for the nation, whose destinies are in their hands, a new element of danger which will threaten our very national existence. For me, at all events, there is one plain duty, and that is, on military grounds, to protest most emphatically against the construction of this tunnel between England and France."

The Trade Question.

In discussing the case for the new Channel Tunnel Bill now before Parliament, the writer reminds us that two of the strongest arguments formerly advanced in favour of the scheme have lost their force. It was alleged in the first place that a Channel Tunnel was necessary for the expansion of our foreign trade, and secondly that it would greatly improve our relations with France, but without a tunnel the annual volume of our imports and exports has increased by something like £400,000,000 during the last quarter of a century. The value of our imports from France has risen from £36,599,450 in 1886 to £53,072,900 in 1905, and though our exports to France are unfortunately stagnant, this "can only be attributed to French tariffs, and these will not necessarily be altered by the completion of through railway communication." However much passenger traffic might increase, "so long as tariff walls remain intact, the existence of through railway communication will probably benefit foreign merchants more than British, and give the foreign producers of light, perishable, and fragile articles, liable to injury by transhipment and loss of time, a better opportunity of competing with our producers in our home markets. Many industries in this country will be heavily hit." Even in the unexpected event of our being able to withstand tariff taxes upon our exports, we could never prevent foreign legislatures "from giving the necessary turn of the tariff screw, and it is inherently probable that such action will be demanded by every interest imperilled by British competition." This is a complete and conclusive answer to those thoughtless enthusiasts who affect to believe that a Channel Tunnel will promote our Continental trade. Under one-sided Free Trade it could only promote Continental trade with England, which is a very different thing. Then as regards the *Entente Cordiale*, the *Times* Military Correspondent pertinently inquires whether it would be possible to establish closer and more cordial relations than at present subsist between the two countries. No doubt in the event of our mutual military co-operation in Europe the tunnel might prove a considerable convenience, though even this may be easily exaggerated, as it would be impossible to imagine a war in which England and France in alliance did not command the seas which divide them. At the most the advantages gained by a tunnel would be a matter of a few hours, "and only very extraordinary circumstances would cause the loss or gain of a few hours to influence the fate of a war conducted in common by the eighty million people of France and the British Isles."

Germany at Calais.

We shall not deny for a moment that the attitude of this country towards the Channel Tunnel has caused keen disappointment among its enthusiastic votaries in France; but just as we recognise that the French are the sole judges of their own national interests, we must ask them to reciprocate by recognising that we are the sole judges of British interests. The situation of the two Powers is totally dissimilar. France is an armed nation, having nothing to fear from oversea invasion, and one railway more or less is a matter of no concern to her soldiers. Even the loss of Calais and the tunnel, and the appearance of an advance-guard of a hostile British army on her coast, would be of little moment to France, for what could an expeditionary force of 150,000 British troops effect against her hosts? To France, therefore, the project need not cause a single military qualm, but we, unfortunately, are in a different plight. As the *Times* Military Correspondent points out, "Our modern military regeneration has scarcely begun, and apart from the small numbers of our Regulars at home we have next to nothing fit to put in line of battle at short notice." The capture of Dover and the English entrance to the tunnel by surprise, siege, or cession "would enable an enemy holding Calais to swamp us with his masses of trained men, and would give him a line of communications against which our Navy could do nothing." In other words, the Channel Tunnel would fundamentally alter our whole strategic position, and revolutionise our problem of National Defence. Nor must the fact be overlooked that Calais is a frontier district with no serious obstacles between it and the Belgian frontier to arrest a hostile army marching upon France, or that Belgium possesses no military resources capable of offering serious opposition to the rapid advance of a German army from the Lower Rhine upon the Pas de Calais. "The seizure of Calais, Sangatte, and the French end of the tunnel in the event of war between Germany and France is a contingency that must always be faced; and, if we were co-operating with France, the cessation of all traffic by the tunnel would naturally ensue. The greater the transit trade by the submarine railway, and the more numerous the tunnels, the greater the loss to us." Germany in possession of Calais would have her hand upon the throat of our through railway communications with Europe and Asia, and could throttle them at will. So long as we trust to the sea for our highway, and maintain our sea-power, our foreign trade is safe. It can be protected and if necessary diverted to any point we please. But by opening land routes for trade, "we give hostages to a watchful enemy, we allow him

to cut the arteries when he pleases, and we may not hereafter find it easy to replace the carrying trade on the sea which we may, gradually and little by little, sacrifice to the tunnel traffic."

Sailors and Soldiers.

No Board of Admiralty conscious of its duties—there are unfortunately increasing indications that the present Board of Admiralty is not conscious of its duties—could fail to offer the most uncompromising opposition to a scheme which effectually undermines and sterilises our sea-power. To what condition of moral pulp Mr. Haldane may have reduced the Army Council we know not, but any British soldier would be a traitor to his country who supported the Channel Tunnel until we possess a national army of the type which the present War Minister describes so eloquently from every platform, but which he resolutely refuses to take a single step towards creating. We are entitled to ask that our French friends should abstain from pressing upon us in their commercial interests a railway which would be of little or no commercial advantage to this country, which might seriously endanger the security of the British State, and which all wise and patriotic Englishmen regard with profound dismay; and if it were declared to be the price of the maintenance of the *Entente Cordiale*, we should not hesitate to say that, greatly as we value that international compact, which has become the corner-stone of our European policy and is acknowledged to be one of the main buttresses of peace, it would be too high a price for Great Britain to pay for the loss of that impregnable insular strength to which she owes the fact that she is a Great Power, and not the mere annex of some other Great Power. We must remain masters in our own house.

Running away from the Lords.

In spite of its big battalions, the Bannerman Cabinet is anything but heroic. Ministers have devoted the past month to running away from their agitation against the House of Lords, which was inaugurated with such unctuous pomp by the Prime Minister in the closing days of last Session, when he solemnly informed the country, "The resources of the British Constitution are not wholly exhausted—(cheers)—the resources of the House of Commons are not exhausted—(cheers)—and I say with conviction that the way must be found, a way will be found, by which the will of the people, expressed through their elected representatives in this House, will be made to prevail. (Loud cheers.)" So far, however, neither "a way" nor "the way" have been found, and since his mock-heroic demonstration Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has been

as silent upon the subject of the House of Lords as Mr. Balfour upon the Fiscal question; and, like Mr. Balfour, he encourages one set of colleagues to say one thing and others to say the opposite, with the inevitable result that his followers are reduced to a condition of bewildered chaos. There are two solid reasons why the Radicals will never abolish the House of Lords and why the House of Lords remains master of the situation. In the first place, too many purse-proud plutocrats, whose contributions maintain the Radical war-chest, aspire to peerages, and no Radical leader will be such a fool as to cut off his nose to spite his face. The second reason is that were the House of Lords abolished its place would be taken by a stronger Second Chamber, which would refuse to be a mere echo of the House of Commons, as the Lords are in nine cases out of ten, and would mete out very different treatment to such measures as the Trade Disputes Bill and the Feeding of School Children, which now slip through the Lords practically without discussion. For the same reason the Radicals will never reform the House of Lords, as to strengthen it would be an essentially Conservative measure. We trust that Lord Newton and other peers who take an intelligent interest in their own future will persevere in their proposals. An hereditary House is an anachronism which cannot permanently endure. It requires fortifying by the addition of other elements of the community.

By-Elections.

THE Cabinet not only show the white feather in their policy, but also in their appointments. They are terrified of promoting any Liberal member to any "office of profit under the Crown" unless he has a majority of at least 4000, for fear of losing a by-election. This partially accounts for the selection of Mr. Bryce as British Ambassador in Washington—a thoroughly unsuitable appointment, upon which we expressed our opinion with sufficient but not excessive vigour last month. To eject Sir Mortimer Durand for the purpose of injecting Mr. Bryce is an equally ludicrous and lamentable proceeding. That the Americans are pleased at the choice of a politician with an invincible prejudice against his own side, and an insurmountable conviction that Great Britain must always be in the wrong, is intelligible, but the assertion that he is *persona gratissima* to any one who counts in Washington is pure romance. Americans may like doing business with cringers, but they respect men who stand by their own country. The appointment is keenly resented by the Canadians, who have not forgotten that at the opening of the South African War Mr. Bryce published an abominable article in the *North American Review*

for the express purpose of poisoning American opinion against the British Government, the offence being aggravated by the fact that the author had previously written a book which was substantially a plea for the coercion of the Boers. Fear of by-elections to some extent explains Mr. Birrell's succession to the Irish Chief Secretaryship, which may be accepted by Unionists as a happy omen for the fate of the coming Birreligious Home Rule Bill, under whatever *alias* it may disguise itself, while we shall greatly enjoy seeing a Nonconformist floundering over a denominational Irish University Bill. Mr. Reginald McKenna's elevation from the office of Financial Secretary to the Treasury to Mr. Birrell's position at the Board of Education may be attributed to the fact that he has a 4000 majority. It will be a cruel disappointment to the Colonies if amidst all this re-shuffling of portfolios no means can be found for "promoting" Mr. Winston Churchill, whose Press *claque* has been proclaiming for months past that he was "billed" for the first vacancy in the Cabinet. Unfortunately he appears to inspire as much distrust among all classes in Ireland as he does throughout the Colonies, and Mr. Redmond is understood to have vetoed his appointment as Irish Secretary. Then, again, while Mr. Winston Churchill claims to hold Manchester in the hollow of his hand, the Party wire-pullers are afraid of a by-election where Labour opposition is threatened and the Suffragettes promise to be peculiarly aggressive; though if it be true that the Manchester Unionists intend to oppose him with "a Free Trader" our Party has not the ghost of a chance of winning the seat. It will be nothing less than an Imperial disaster should Mr. Churchill remain in Downing Street during the Colonial Conference, as he will make it his business to insult every Colonial Premier.

The German Elections.

ALTHOUGH the British Press has, on the whole, practised a wise reserve in discussing the General Election in Germany, Prince Bülow and his reptile newspapers have not scrupled to proclaim that "a vote given against the Government is a vote given to the enemy," and by "enemy" the Berlin Government means, of course, Great Britain. But, as the *Times* pointed out in an incisive article on the eve of the elections, nothing could possibly suit British interests better than a national vote of confidence in the present *régime*, which has played our game so admirably. Through sheer clumsiness Prince Bülow has manœuvred Germany out of her former proud position as the arbiter of Continental Europe into a most uncomfortable isolation while he has

actually succeeded in making Great Britain what she has never been before—a popular Power throughout the non-German part of Europe. A few years ago we were despised in Germany, to whom we had appointed ourselves principal door-mat, and hated elsewhere, especially in France and Russia. To-day the governing classes of Germany no doubt still hate us, but they no longer despise us, and we enjoy considerable respect and good-will in other countries, who regard us as one of the principal guarantors of the liberties and independence of Europe against Teutonic encroachment. For all this we are immensely indebted to the German Government in general and Prince Bülow in particular, who through excessive cleverness has overreached himself all round. Believing that we were beaten by the Boers, he openly announced that Germany would be in at the death of the British Empire in order to secure her fair share of the spoils; and throughout the dubious period of the South African War he consistently displayed his hostility. It was a natural miscalculation by a superficial statesman, with whom the wish was father to the thought; but it was rash of Prince Bülow and the German Emperor to show their hands so plainly that even the easy-going, good-natured, unsuspicious British public appreciated the utter falseness of German friendship, and realised that the traditional Anglo-German policy was a huge blunder on our part. Fortunately the French were similarly undeceived at the same time by the transparent machinations of the Wilhelmstrasse, and the great change in Anglo-French relations automatically ensued. Count Bülow was made a prince to celebrate the downfall of M. Delcassé. He deserved to be made a king for engineering the *Entente*. Englishmen and Frenchmen would indeed be ungrateful if they desired the dethronement of such a splendid benefactor as the present Imperial Chancellor. So long as he remains at the head of German affairs it will be easy to prevent our somewhat somnolent countrymen from relapsing into their former attitude of unquestioning confidence, and we therefore unfeignedly rejoice at the results of the first round of the Reichstag elections so far as they indicate the continuance of Bülowism.

The First Ballots.

THE outstanding feature of the First Ballots is the serious loss of seats sustained by the Social Democracy, in spite of the general increase in their voting strength and the really huge polls they have piled up in many populous centres. Indeed it looks as though the Socialists would be found at the close of the General Election to be still the most numerically powerful of all the German parties.

We may nevertheless rejoice at the serious check they have sustained, which can hardly fail to have a salutary effect in other countries. To Englishmen it is of especial interest that the German Socialists, who are invariably described on our Free Trade platforms as "the inevitable product of German Protection," should lose about thirty seats within a year of our General Election, at which the Socialists gained thirty seats. As the *Daily Mail* appositely observes, "A year ago Englishmen were told by the Free Traders at every turn that Free Trade was fatal to Socialism, which could only flourish in the Protectionist State. To-day the Free Trade State is hagridden by the Socialist incubus, while the Protectionist State has turned upon and rent its Socialists." This is a fact for Unionist Free Traders to put in their pipes and smoke, and we shall be interested to read the comments of our friends of the *Spectator* at this simultaneous expansion of Socialism in Free Trade England and its decline in Protectionist Germany. At the last elections (1903) Herr Bebel's party polled over three million votes, and secured eighty-one seats in the Reichstag as compared with 1,875,000 votes polled by the Clerical Centre, which nevertheless obtained 100 seats. At the First Ballots, on January 25, the Socialists only captured twenty-nine seats outright instead of the fifty-six they gained in 1903, and it is estimated that in the new Parliament their numbers will be reduced from eighty-one to about fifty. This is a very agreeable birthday present for the German Emperor, which we need not grudge him. On the other hand, Prince Bülow's declaration of war against the "Blacks" (the Centre) has resulted in a pitiable fiasco, as that party has so far gained on the balance, and promises to be at least as formidable in the next House as it was in the last. Nor can it be altogether pleasant for the "powers that be" that the marked success of the Radicals should be interpreted by such usually docile organs as the *Vossische Zeitung* as indicating that "a revision in the relationship between the Crown and the nation is indispensable," for this, after all, is practically the platform upon which the Social Democrats and Clericals fought. It will be interesting to see whether the Radicals are content to remain servile items in the Ministerial *bloc*, or whether they will make a serious fight for their Constitutional principles.

Church and State in France.

We are all for discussing international affairs with the utmost freedom where British interests are involved, but we would renew our plea for reserve in dealing with the domestic affairs of other countries which do not directly concern us. It is obvious, for example, that Englishmen would have made a hideous blunder had they

plunged into the German crisis, as some of them seemed at one moment disposed to do, and the same remark holds good as regards the acute tension between Church and State in France, which will be decided one way or the other by the French people without any regard to the lectures that may be addressed to them from outside. We can understand the disgraceful demonstration of the Dublin Corporation, which as an Ultramontane body is the friend of every enemy of England and the enemy of all our friends, but when we find Mr. Wilfrid Ward, a leading English Catholic, solemnly adjuring the people of England in the columns of the *Times* actively to espouse the cause of the little clique of obscurantist Cardinals—Spaniards, Italians, Germans, &c.—who unfortunately have the Pope's ear on French affairs, and are primarily responsible for the present plight of the Roman Catholic Church in France, it is high time to protest. The Clemençeau Government has throughout maintained a statesmanlike attitude towards the Church in spite of every provocation, and has left loophole after loophole open in the hope of a compromise. All to no purpose. It is the Vatican that has made war on the Republic, and not the Republic on the Vatican, and if Leo XIII. had lived the present crisis would have been avoided; and should the cause of Catholicism and Christianity suffer, as there is only too much reason to dread, the saintly Pius X. will have no one but himself to thank. As Mr. Ward himself admits, many of the French Episcopate "were prepared, rather than sacrifice all their worldly possessions, to trust to M. Briand's assurance" about the Separation Law, "and to organise the French Church on that basis." But "the Holy Father was more deeply suspicious than these bishops as to the immediate designs of the Government." Hence his *non-possumus* attitude. The only present alternative to a Clemençeau Government is a Combes Government, which would certainly close the churches and might possibly provoke civil war. The French crisis is surely a case for British non-intervention.

Miscellaneous.

THE British Colony of Jamaica, which has never enjoyed an excessive share of the smiles of fortune, has recently been visited by an appalling catastrophe. Its capital, the city of Kingston, was literally swallowed up by an earthquake on January 14, which was followed, as usual, by outbreaks of fire, which immensely increased the damage and the death-roll. Among the victims was Sir James Fergusson, the late member for Manchester, who had held high offices at home and abroad for nearly fifty years. He was one of a large party of

British tourists who were visiting Jamaica under the auspices of Sir Alfred Jones. The rest of the party were happily uninjured, though some of them had hair-breadth escapes. As in the case of San Francisco and Valparaiso, the first accounts of the catastrophe were exaggerated, but the subsequent news underrated the damage. The latest estimates put the loss of life at nearly a thousand, and many thousand inhabitants have been rendered homeless, and all the prosperous part of the city seems to have been wrecked. The whole civilised world has shown its sympathy for Jamaica in the hour of her sorrow, and the home public are responding generously to the appeal of the Lord Mayor. * * * The Shah of Persia, Muzaffer-ed-din, died on Jan. 8, and the heir apparent Mahomed-ali-Mirza, was at once acknowledged his successor by the Grand Vizier and other Ministers. Thanks to the support of Great Britain and Russia, he ascended the throne without any difficulty, although as Governor of the province of Azerbijan he had been in some conflict with the Constitutional Reform Party. It is devoutly to be hoped that the new reign may inaugurate a new era in this unfortunate country, which has been almost ruined by recent Shahs. The omens are favourable, because the two most influential Powers—Russia and Great Britain—are in cordial agreement, and will not allow themselves to be played off against one another. We are particularly fortunate in being so efficiently represented at Teheran, where our Minister is Sir Cecil Spring Rice, who, though young as diplomatists go, has had great experience, and thoroughly understands the international, as well as the local, aspects of the Persian question.

Lord Milner's Speeches.

Our readers will be interested to know that Lord Milner's great speeches at Manchester (December 14) and Wolverhampton (December 17) have been revised by the speaker, and issued under the auspices of the Compatriots' Club. Although published from this office, we have no material interest in the sale of this attractive little volume (price 1*s.* net), and therefore need have no hesitation in advising all our readers to lose no time in ordering it from their booksellers or newsagents. No thinking man can read these speeches without becoming wiser. At Lord Milner's request a popular reprint, for propaganda purposes (price 4*s.* per fifty copies, and 8*s.* per hundred, or £3 per thousand), is issued simultaneously, and may be had on written application to the Manager of the *National Review*.

THE VALENTINE COMPACT: A YEAR AFTER

"The lying party cry about raising the price of food."
BISMARCK, *Reflections and Reminiscences*, vol. ii. p. 224.

REGARDED as a dynamic force or a paralysing agent, the power of leadership is independent of the merits of opinion in the abstract. Nations have been sometimes ruined by men of great acumen, and as often saved by tenacious mediocrity. A person of admirable intelligence and precautionary instincts may be always right in the abstract, and a total failure in life. Miracles of private and public achievement are constantly wrought, on the other hand, by fine character powerfully in error. When we study the Midlothian campaign we are at first struck by the ordinary style and earnest sophistry of the speeches, but upon looking into the question we perceive that to preoccupy ourselves with the merits of Mr. Gladstone's case is as irrelevant as discussing the morals of Niagara. What mattered was the overwhelming example of action set by Mr. Gladstone. It was like the transmission of electric energy from a cataract, and brought an immense driving force to bear upon the whole machinery of his party. It inspired workers in every constituency, and it put the average mass of voters who exist to be worked upon in the mood to be roused. That was leadership. The generation of power is the very definition of its function. There is no such thing as leadership which confines itself to the occasional statement of formulas and leaves action in abeyance. Everything depends not upon the correctness of the principles stated, still less upon the ingenuity of the verbiage employed, but upon the vigour and perseverance with which those principles are advocated. Example alone is the living influence in these things. Precept is as dead by itself as faith without works. It is useless to include an item in the programme of a party if those who have accepted it upon paper are not prepared to urge it upon the country. No responsible statesman can be an effective adherent to a cause which he is supposed to have nominally

embraced but for which he is not prepared to fight; and nothing could be more ruinous to a party than a policy of suspended conviction upon the first article in its creed. It may indeed be first; but in these circumstances the word "whereas" occupies an equal pride of precedence at the head of a Bill, and conveys as much specific meaning.

We are confining ourselves for the moment, let it be repeated, to a study of the nature of leadership. The thing, we observe, is a dynamic agent. It is the mainspring of a given political mechanism. Its power is something distinct from the correctness or otherwise of the proposition to which it may be applied. It depends upon some quality of intellect or character, concentrated upon one purpose with a moral or temperamental efficiency of which ordinary men are not capable. The quality of character, for instance, possesses a strength of its own superior to the influence that can be exerted upon practical political life by mere novelty or fertility or profundity, or even conspicuous sanity, of ideas. The truth of political propositions is always incapable of absolute demonstration. They resolve themselves at every step into disputable prophecies about the future, opposed by no less disputable inferences from the past. No man can be relieved from the burthen of making up his mind, and the effective element in politics is not speculative subtlety, but decision.

If this analysis of the nature of leadership is sound, it is evident that Mr. Balfour is not a leader. He is a dialectician of the moment, unrivalled in the Parliamentary word-play which is as impotent as stage-fence; he is a tactician who is always winning a trick and always losing the game; but he is not a leader. He brings no driving force to bear in support of any positive policy, and he depresses instead of energising his party. It would now require a very sanguine politician to believe that any future explanation of previous explanations can have any more effective bearing than the Sheffield speech, the half-sheet of notepaper, and the St. Valentine's letter upon the problems of *action* with which Tariff Reformers are exclusively concerned. A statesman nominally at the head of a great cause which he does not advocate may easily be described as a non-leader. A leader who ceases to mention a great cause as soon as he is generally supposed to have finally included it in his programme is a phenomenon only to be described by those who are capable of unprecedented success in defining a negative. The Sheffield speech carried no meaning to its audience. The half-sheet of notepaper carried no meaning to the country. The St.

Valentine's letter did carry meanings to the country. But the country was wrong and the meanings existed solely in its imagination. Mr. Balfour is a politician by accident, a philosopher by nature, and his philosophic aptitude is doubtless remarkable. But that side of his mind, however interesting in itself, is not an asset to a political party, and it is not important to the country. The speculations of Mr. Balfour the philosopher upon the pure theory of Tariff Reform were and are of no more political moment than his possible speculations upon the nature of helium. What the country desired from Mr. Balfour, the Leader of the Opposition, was not another explanation of his mental attitude, but a declaration of his real intentions. What Tariff Reformers were eager to have was not an improved verbal expression of his previous conceptions upon the abstract merits of the theory of Free Trade and the theory of the Tariff, but a clear statement of the policy he meant to pursue.

The plain man's inference from the St. Valentine's letter was that Mr. Balfour had given his leadership to Tariff Reform. In the last twelve months he has refused his leadership to Tariff Reform. He has not advocated that cause—he has ignored it. His example has invited his party to suppress it; for a leader must wish his example to be imitated, and it is impossible to follow the leadership except by following the example. That is sufficiently clear. Mr. Balfour's opinions upon the Tariff movement remain for all vital purposes an unsolved and presumably insoluble problem, and to that mental attitude or predicament there need be no abstract objection on the part of persons of more positive temperament. Politicians are only concerned with policy.

For all the purposes of the years which the Unionist party may spend in Opposition, whether it wanders in the wilderness for five years or twenty, Mr. Balfour's policy is a policy of dead silence. His action being *nil*, his leadership is adverse, and, continued on the present lines—for no member of the Unionist party expects the lines to be altered—will be more certainly fatal to Mr. Chamberlain's ideas than any other method conceivable. Mr. Balfour's actual repudiation of Tariff Reform would leave it a living cause. There are "more quaint and subtle ways to kill." The policy of silence is one of them. Tariff Reformers who do not desire to live in a fool's paradise must find another residence than the one they have been occupying for the last twelve months.

Again, let us clearly understand that the question of Mr. Balfour's theories is irrelevant to the argument. Our business

is not to inquire into the state of his mind, but to analyse the effect of his leadership, and to deal with his procedure as though it were calculated on his part to have the effects which it is obviously producing. Those who are still bent on disbelieving all the evidence of their own senses, and attributing the situation to the ex-Premier's absent-mindedness, are the pathetic dupes of their own credulity. It is better to be guided exclusively by the state of the facts, and to leave motives out of the question. While simple souls are asking themselves whether Mr. Balfour means to drop Tariff Reform, and wondering how they will act if he does, Mr. Balfour is creating another situation by holding the head of Tariff Reform under water. There would soon be no need for any other kind of action if Mr. Chamberlain's followers were prepared to sit indefinitely on the bank and to confine themselves to anxious speculations upon their official leader's real reasons for the distressing character of his proceedings.

The first step towards clearing up the character of the situation is to recognise that the ex-Premier has the dialectical though not the practical advantage—his characteristic mistake lies in thinking that when you have embarrassed your opponent's utterance you have fettered his action—and that it is much easier for Mr. Balfour to vindicate the consistency of his conduct than for Tariff Reformers to vindicate their own. Let us remember what the St. Valentine's letter contained. The first party meeting after a *débâcle* unparalleled in the history of English politics, immeasurably more disastrous than that of 1880, worse than that of 1832, was fixed to take place on the festival of the affections in the ball-room of Lansdowne House. If Mr. Balfour had not intimated that his attitude towards Tariff Reform would be changed, the party would have been disrupted as a matter of course. On February 13 the official Leader sent a communication to Mr. Chamberlain expressing the hope that substantial unity might be secured by the exchange of views which had taken place. That letter was interpreted as a pledge that Tariff Reform would henceforth be effectively included in the official policy of the Opposition and would occupy first place. It was only because that pledge was supposed to have been given that a split in the ranks was avoided. Let us see what Mr. Balfour said. He declared :

(1) "Fiscal reform is and must remain the first constructive work of the Unionist party.

(2) "The objects of such reform are to secure more equal terms of competition for British trade and closer commercial union with the Colonies.

(3) "The establishment of a moderate general tariff on

manufactured goods—not imposed for the purpose of raising prices or giving artificial protection against legitimate competition—and the imposition of a small duty on foreign corn are not in principle objectionable ; and

(4) "Should be adopted if shown to be necessary (*a*) for the attainment of the ends in view, or (*b*) for purposes of revenue."

To these propositions, enunciated for the benefit of Tariff Reformers, the ex-Premier joined some characteristic qualifications, which may be thus set out :

(5) Unionist members were to be at liberty to advocate a general tariff, but were not to be compelled to do so.

(6) And if a general tariff were ever to be imposed it must be of a distinctly countervailing rather than of a protectionist character.

As we can now see, the dialectics of the half-sheet of notepaper were not got rid of by the new formula ; they were only compressed. The question whether Mr. Balfour laid more stress in his own mind upon the leading propositions or the qualifications contained in his letter of February 13 was more important than it looked. It was, indeed, obvious that Mr. Balfour's views as there formulated did not amount to a definite acceptance of any part of Mr. Chamberlain's doctrines, but as obvious that the Birmingham programme might be officially adopted in the end without any inconsistency on the ex-Premier's part. In other words, the four sides of Mr. Balfour's position were full of loopholes, and the loopholes were all of the size of doorways. But Tariff Reformers were not prepared to force a mortal quarrel upon details if their main purpose of advancing opinion in favour of Tariff Reform were forwarded. They gathered from the declaration that "fiscal reform is and must remain the first constructive work of the Unionist party," that Mr. Balfour would henceforth assist in keeping that cause alive. No candid mind could have gathered any other impression from the Valentine. No one could have insisted at the time upon a more suspicious interpretation without being generally accused of impugning in a spirit of incorrigible faction the ex-Premier's good faith. Mr. Chamberlain's reply contained words in which he expressed with his usual clearness the point as it appeared to plain men. "In endeavouring *to give effect* to this policy," he wrote, "and in defending all Unionist principles, any services I can render will be entirely at your disposal." This was an assumption that Mr. Balfour meant to work for the idea of Fiscal Reform. And under that belief the meeting at Lansdowne House was unanimous, and disruption was avoided. If Mr. Balfour at that time intended to work for more equal

terms of competition for British trade and closer commercial union with the Colonies, he changed his mind. He has worked for neither of these objects. He has refrained from any mention of these objects. In the twelve critical months before the coming Colonial Conference—the most important meeting of its kind, in the opinion of all Fiscal Reformers, that has ever assembled—Mr. Balfour has ignored the Imperial question more consistently than in any previous year of his official life. So far from "endeavouring to give effect," in Mr. Chamberlain's words, to the policy of the St. Valentine's letter, Mr. Balfour has scrupulously refrained from any endeavours in that direction. The result has been what any man would expect. The official sections of the Unionist party and all the undecided people who shrink from calling their souls their own in the face of official disapproval, have modelled themselves upon Mr. Balfour's example. They have ignored his utterances upon Fiscal Reform, and imitated his method of treating it. They have, in a word, forgotten his letter and followed his leadership. Since the St. Valentine's letter that leadership has been more than ever a paralysing agent, and to apologise for that result by continuing to say that it cannot have been intended by its author is to make a more offensive attack upon Mr. Balfour's intelligence than his most unscrupulous enemy has yet attempted.

Every one realises what must be the ultimate effect upon Tariff Reform of this situation if it remains unaltered, but few people realise the bearing of the question upon the general prospects of the Unionist party. Mr. Balfour knows what happened in East Manchester, but he has apparently no adequate conception of what has taken place elsewhere. Under his leadership Unionists were led to the greatest disaster by far which has ever overwhelmed a party in English politics since the party system began. At the present moment the Opposition, at the close of the first session of a new Parliament, is in a weaker position in the House of Commons than any party has ever occupied. To return to power upon any respectable terms, we must win over two hundred seats. That is, we must capture considerably more than a third of the whole of the constituencies in Great Britain. That is what has never yet been done by any party at the first General Election following a defeat of anything like the same magnitude. It is sufficiently certain that if we proceed on present lines we shall not have the slightest chance at the next appeal to the country of reversing the result of the last dissolution. Imagine a leader of compelling genius, not only dexterous in Parliamentary debate, but capable of arousing unbounded enthusiasm in the country, combining Mr. Cham-

berlain's skill in organisation with a more than Gladstonian campaign-power, and leading a unanimous party to a continuous attack upon a Government—even then the task of winning two hundred seats would be colossal enough to make it doubtful whether the most extraordinary efforts could secure success at a first General Election. Mr. Balfour's personality and methods are altogether unlikely to secure that success at a first struggle, or a second, or a third ; and his leadership, as now exercised, will be at least as disastrous to Unionist principles at large, and to the Unionist party as an organisation, as to the institution known as the British Empire.

The ordinary comfortable assumption that what happened after 1832 and 1880 will happen again depends upon an inadequate consideration of the facts. The situation is beyond comparison with that which existed after the great Reform Bill or the Midlothian campaign. After 1832, said Lord Beaconsfield to Mr. W. H. Smith, "there was really no Tory party ; it was smashed ; there were about 170 of them against 400 of the others." It was almost a decade before Peel returned to power —are we prepared to wander in the wilderness until 1916 ?— and he then returned to break up the ranks behind him, to destroy the national idea for a generation, and to carry the principles he had been elected to resist. That, if looked into, is not a very comforting comparison for those who lay most stress upon it, for it means that the ruin of Toryism was completed by one interval of power following a decade of exclusion. But take the situation after 1880, which we are urged to consider when we are in need of encouragement. The Conservatives came back 243 strong. Numerically they were twice as strong for all working purposes as Unionists are today. Not only so—more than half the Irish members under Mr. Parnell's formidable command went at once into irreconcilable Opposition, and the Tory party of that day had to face even at the outset an effective Ministerial majority of no more than 70. The maximum majority against them even in 1832 had been a little more than 200. The extreme majority against Unionist principles now is very nearly 400. Only when we look these facts in the face shall we begin to realise where we are. A session has passed, and we have not advanced an inch towards an improvement in the prospects. At the end of the session of 1880 the Fourth Party was already a power, and its achievements cease to appear miraculous when we consider the conditions that embarrassed Mr. Gladstone's Government—the Bradlaugh case, the parallel effect of Parnellite tactics, and, above all, the opportunities afforded to the enterprise of an Opposition by a state of procedure which has now been swept

away. The position of the Unionist party is immeasurably more difficult than that of the Conservative Opposition after the far less ruinous defeat of 1880.

A revulsion of feeling against the present Government is unlikely to be created in favour of a party under the kind of leadership which Mr. Balfour is now offering to democracy. No one wishes to see the ex-Premier, with the old instincts and the old gang, installed in power at an early date, or indeed at any date. The country at large does not wish it. The vast majority of his own party does not wish it. Unrivalled as he is in the verbal dexterities of debate within the walls of the House of Commons, he remains devoid of popular power, and perhaps incapable of acquiring it. In his utterances since last St. Valentine's Day there has been not one accent of national leadership. While he ignores Tariff Reform and no longer advocates either Imperial union or competitive equality, he represents no great constructive purpose which he has been able to make intelligible to the nation. The very vice of his policy is that he continues to rely upon Parliamentary "tactics," and that he believes it possible to dispense with a strong constructive programme while the Unionist party remains in Opposition. He will find that the conditions are very different from those which existed under a predominantly middle-class franchise, and that it is no longer possible in any country to secure a popular majority for a negative. The present Government was not returned, as is sometimes said, merely as a national protest against the proceedings and personalities of the last. It was returned above all for the positive purposes of amending or repealing Mr. Balfour's Education Act and for carrying the Trade Disputes Bill. There was an indefinite but unmistakable and irresistible movement in favour of the general cause of social reform, which the last Unionist Government had forgotten during the larger part of its existence. Mr. Balfour's policy since the St. Valentine's letter is, indeed, only to be explained upon one of two assumptions—that his treatment of the Fiscal Reform movement is as deliberate as it is deadly ; or that he depends upon the members of the present administration to hang themselves, trusting the swing of the pendulum to carry the Unionist party back to power more certainly and speedily if the Opposition refrains on principle from advocating a constructive policy of his own.

Let us take the latter consideration first. The ordinary torpid politician dreads the slightest deviation from the official path. He is prepared to echo whatever his leader speaks, as the second member for Bristol said "Ditto to Mr. Burke,"

or to be expressively dumb when his leader is significantly silent. Taper and Tadpole urge that no effect can be given to the St. Valentine's letter until the Unionist party returns to power. In the interval why cannot we let it alone and persevere in the tactics of Huddersfield? We were at the bottom of the poll upon that occasion, in a three-cornered contest, but the policy might have a better chance in the average constituency. If nothing is said about Tariff Reform for a sufficient number of years people who are opposed to it will be induced to vote for a party remaining tacitly pledged to carry it out! This is the naïve theory of Mr. Balfour's psychology, and it assumes that "fool-trade" is supported exclusively by fool-politicians. It is only necessary to point out that the swing of the pendulum is a much-abused metaphor, and that the process it describes never has been so certain and regular as the metaphor suggests. During half a century after the great Reform Bill the Tory party was only twice in power, apart from short stop-gap seasons of office. It was "in" during that period for little more than ten years, and was "out" for nearly forty. In 1880 the Conservatives were returned 243 strong. Despite the efforts of the Fourth Party, and the appalling record of Mr. Gladstone's second administration, the Conservatives came back from the poll in 1885 only 250 strong. There was not much swinging of the pendulum there. Lord Beaconsfield was carried into office in 1874 not so much because of an increase in the Conservative vote, but chiefly because of the abstention from the polls of the extreme Nonconformists, whom Mr. Gladstone's education policy had offended. Mr. Balfour has prevented the present Government from passing a Bill which in its final form would have had a similar effect upon their Nonconformist supporters. There is no doubt that if Mr. Gladstone had not adopted Home Rule in 1886 the Tory party pure and simple would have seen proportionately even less of office in the last twenty years than they had seen in the previous fifty. The Unionist predominance was not created by the swing of the pendulum, but by the Liberal secession, headed by Mr. Chamberlain and the Duke of Devonshire, leading to the foundation of a new party and the disruption of an old one. That coalition did not pursue a negative policy. It supplemented its appeal to the masses upon the Irish question by a constructive programme the most advanced and daring ever applied to British questions by any party. The result was that from 1886 to 1906, for twenty years, the pendulum was held up in Great Britain. The impotence of the second Home Rule Government against the powerful Unionist Opposition of 1893–1895 and against the House of Lords was entirely owing to the

fact that Mr. Gladstone's last Ministry and Lord Rosebery's first and last Cabinet held office by Irish votes. They were impotent because England was decisively against them. If the present management of the Unionist party is to continue, there is not the least reason to expect within less than ten years any such swing of the pendulum as would enable the Opposition to win two hundred seats from the Radical and Labour parties and to form an administration.

Mr. Balfour's methods contemplate the suppression of Tariff Reform for five years or ten. That would mean the disappearance of the cause from the agenda of practical politics for a generation. In these circumstances no mandate for any specific measure of fiscal legislation could ever be secured from the constituencies, for the issue could never be effectively submitted. The St. Valentine's letter would remain a blank cheque, and it would be open to the next Unionist Premier to maintain that not one of Mr. Chamberlain's distinctive principles had been accepted. A general tariff must be the very foundation of any fiscal reform worth discussing; but Mr. Balfour has stipulated that no Unionist member shall be expected to advocate it, and his silence means nothing but that he is availing himself of the right he has claimed for others. A small duty on foreign corn was to be imposed if necessary to promote the union of the Empire. The ex-Premier's refusal to mention the subject during the last twelve months can only be interpreted by the average man as a tacit intimation that even a small duty on foreign corn is neither necessary nor desirable. While we are within a comparatively few weeks from the meeting of the Colonial Conference, the official leader of the Unionist party fails to breathe a word in favour of Imperial union, and Mr. Winston Churchill, by pronouncing a blessing upon the squalid bonds of preference when contracted between one Colony and another, did better service to the Imperial idea in a single speech than Mr. Balfour has rendered in a twelvemonth. That is the situation. The ex-Premier's utterances are ambiguous. It is his silence that is unmistakably intelligible. To the utmost of his power he is assisting Mr. Chamberlain's ideas to die out, and those who refuse to see what is happening are rejecting the evidence of their senses and will hesitate until they are lost. Mr. Balfour is not deceiving Tariff Reformers; he is allowing them to deceive themselves, and there will be no revival of the vitality of their cause until they treat his leadership as he treats their principles.

COMPATRIOT.

SOME THOUGHTS ON INDIAN DISCONTENT

"THERE is no idea more misleading than that embodied in the phrase 'the changeless East.' Age-worn Asia is no more exempt from the laws of change than the rest of the world." These wise words of the Indian correspondent of the *National Review* should be taken to heart by all who wish to understand the difficult problems connected with India, and, above all, that problem of problems which is perhaps the most difficult of all connected with the great dependency—the relations of the brown and white races.

It would enormously simplify the task of ruling India, not only justly, but with the contentment of the people, if Englishmen in general, and the individual who is the final arbiter of the destinies of the British Empire, viz., "the man in the street," in particular, took to heart and ever remembered some other words of the same correspondent.

Lord Curzon truly said, on the eve of the day on which he laid down the crushing burden of the office of Viceroy, that the one great fault of Englishmen in India is that we don't look sufficiently ahead. If we did, we should foresee that our patriarchal conception of our rule must ultimately be slowly modified in various respects. It is not enough to say that the ryat at the plough typifies India—that truism has too often led policy astray.

It is the odd 20 per cent. (one must bear in mind that this odd 20 per cent. reaches a total of over 50 millions of men) of alert, receptive, but often ill-balanced minds who have to be also considered.

I venture to say that before approaching the study of Indian problems—provided that we wish to arrive at conclusions intellectually just, and not merely cause the verbal overthrow of views repulsive to us personally—we should bear in mind the words of the correspondent already quoted, and abandon once for all the method of deducing political actions from abstract principles, and accept frankly the sound method of induction. Then, and only then, will we find results other than the bitter fruit of discontent. We must cross-

question history, not merely put leading questions to periods useful to our foregone conclusions. If, with such principles as our guides, we approach the present position of political affairs in India, and the general relations of the brown to the white race, what do we find ?

A sentimental loyalty to the Crown and the Flag, and a practical discontent—a discontent that though not disloyal has yet in it the germs of danger. I know that this will be denied, that I shall be told that my assertions do not prove the fact, and that my observations have been limited and faulty. We will, however, appeal to life, and we will go direct to its manifestations. I suppose it will be accepted that general experience goes to prove that the opinions of a people, especially if they are without representative institutions and government, are in the long run reflected by its Press. But even here we must follow the inductive method. It is quite conceivable that in a country of comparatively small size certain small corporations may make a "corner" of the newspapers, and air opinions that belong to a class by buying or commercially boycotting the journals of their opponents, and in this way represent for years views of a minority as those of the mass of the people. But has this been the case in India ? Far from it; the Indian vernacular Press is owned by numberless proprietors, and not by any means *entirely* by Bengalese or Brahmins, as some would have us assume ! Almost all are full of discontent, though in varying degrees. Had they bought out those that were ostentatiously started to end their mischief, we might then allow it to be assumed that the power of capital had silenced the voice of the millions. But such "loyal" papers do exist, only they are without healthy circulation, and nobody takes them at all seriously. Their general popularity ceases to exist the moment they become "loyal," and then they become the well-nursed but sickly children of some generous millionaire, prince, or small corporation. They know not the joys of good health enjoyed by their hardy cousins of the disaffected camp. If we leave the Press and go to the man for observation the results are similar. The difficulties are infinitely greater. To begin with, no individual can observe 300 millions of his fellow creatures; but even then if any one makes it his business to mix with the poorer classes and listens to them patiently he will come to the conclusion that most of what one reads in the vernacular Press is thought of and talked about by the public. Of course, here we must take the opinion of the observer on trust. However, such are my own conclusions, drawn from observations in Bengal, the Bombay Presidency, and the Punjab, and I venture to prophesy that if a few independent

Englishmen would come out and give to India for five or six years (one in each province) the same amount of thought and patient observation, that Mr. Bodley gave to France, they would come to conclusions similar to mine—viz., that the vernacular Press does represent the feelings of the masses. Of course, we have all often heard the assertions about the dumb millions not having any sympathy with the Press, and the discontent being in no way that of the masses. We must examine this assertion with care and patience. It is comforting, but is it like the opium-eater's paradise—an unwholesome dream, destined to end in a dreary headache, or is it like the North Sea breeze, an exhilarating reality?

To begin with, if these millions are *dumb*, how on earth did any one come to know that they were contented and happy? Dumbness does not mean the silent ecstasy of supreme joy; it means the inability of intelligible articulation. If, however, we look into the question more thoroughly, and reason from observations of actions, the only form of reasoning open to us, since "dumbness" prevents questioning, we shall soon find that these very dumb people are the backbone of the disaffected. To begin with, human nature being what it is, and the influences of childhood and early associations being so very powerful, surely if the dumb millions had such a wonderful amount of contentment a fair proportion of their numbers that had learnt the secret of speech would show some of their original preferences? Now we will turn to the reality. Almost all the most disaffected and discontented come from families and classes that are or have been "dumb." Amongst the articulate who come from the "talking" classes—the merchant, the lawyer, or the city broker—one often finds individuals who are satisfied. But when the early associates have been "dumb" the result is invariably extreme disaffection. A little observation of men will prove this. Surely if discontent was only the speciality of the articulate classes the result would have been the other way round? We will not discuss this point further. We will accept the evidence of the Press and of almost all non-official observers—English, foreign, or Indian. As for the insignificant, but noisy race of Indian optimists, generally well-born gentlemen, who are to be found in India in the anterooms of Government Houses and Residencies, who are ready to assure us that all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds, we will only hope that our rulers will remember that to indulge often in the sweet words of such men is as dangerous to clear views and thought as the constant use of poisonous *apéritifs* to digestion.

I will now examine the causes usually asserted as the causes

of discontent, and the remedies generally suggested, hoping that by the dispassionate examination of every suggested cause and remedy we may not only diagnose the disease rightly, but find a curative specific. Some loyal Indians hastily assert that the prevailing ferment is the result of Lord Curzon's seven years of active and energetic administration. They also are ready to assert that until Lord Curzon came out the average Indian did not think much about the government of India, and that the mass of the people had not been taught to think about any political ruler above the collector of his district, and that Lord Curzon so impressed the native mind with the importance of the government of India to his own well-being, and so drew attention to the fact that the government of India was—as far as internal affairs went—an autocratic despotism, that the Indian began to inquire for himself, and wonder why one man, the occupant of a distant palace, and not of his race or blood, nor his hereditary ruler, should have the power to so change—for better or worse—his affairs, and be able to make such changes in his personal mode of living as he willed. This explanation is clearly insufficient. No man in his senses will assert that the general discontent and ferment of to-day were never heard of in the latter nineties, and the dreams—silly day-dreams, no doubt, but still the dreams—of the masses, of certainly some provinces, of to-day were known in the last years of the last century. But it must be remembered that the germs of all that has come to life to-day existed then, and long before the first years of the twentieth century. Again, it must be remembered that the last years of Lord Curzon's rule have been years of extraordinary unrest in Asia. The Chinese boycott of American goods, the assurance of the continued integrity of China, the commencement of the Reform movement in that country, the success of Japan against Russia, and the certainty that the Far East will remain Asiatic, have deeply impressed the Indian mind. Lastly, and above all, the comparative success of the revolution in Russia, the collapse of autocracy and the granting of votes to the Tartar Muhammadans and the Jews, have turned the heads of other Asiatics, otherwise calm, wise, and sane people. All these events occurred during the last years of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, and those who look upon to-day's unrest as the result of the rule of one individual may well be advised to ponder on all these world-events, and be asked to say if they think it was within the range of possibility for a Viceroy of India, however absolute, to prevent any one of the above-mentioned occurrences. No one man could have done that, perhaps not even the Emperors Nicholas and William.

We must not, however, accept the theory that the present unrest is *due* to these external movements. No greater mistake could be made. Unless the soil of the country contained the germs of the malady of discontent, all such foreign movements would have only raised curiosity, but not that general sense of discontent that is to-day apparent. All historical examples indicate that though the outward signs of discontent may be due to external influences, the existence itself of discontent cannot possibly be due to foreign causes. To understand the question, "Why is the Indian of to-day discontented?" we must turn our gaze towards the internal movements of India and study the acts of the central Government. Perhaps the fearless application of the inductive method when considering the acts of the Government of India and the present state of civilisation in that country will show us the primary cause of the unrest that is to-day apparent to all, except the willingly blind. Is this primary cause to be found in the most quoted of the so-called "faults" of British rule in India?

Let us examine them and try to see if they are really such as to cause disaffection, and, if so, if they are remediable or in the very nature of the intimate political connection of a vast continent containing many races and religions with a distant island containing a more highly civilised and developed and thoroughly homogeneous race. We will examine some of the measures suggested by various Indian and European thinkers for changing the ferment and perhaps discontent of to-day into a healthy affection that shall, when united with the loyalty to the Throne which to-day undoubtedly exists, make of India as surely and truly a source of strength to the Empire as Scotland or Ulster.

One school of thinkers, of whom Mr. Hyndman and Mr. Naoroji are the extremest and best known representatives in England, and who are more or less followed by the leaders of the Congress Party in India and by some of the English politicians and thinkers who have taken an active and sympathetic interest in Indian affairs, maintain that British rule has greatly impoverished India and that the country is getting poorer every day. This is an enormous question, and volumes have been written on both sides. We must, however, remember that the grand arguments used by Mr. Hyndman and his friends are purely deductive, and that after assuming general laws—just as did the old schoolmen—they try and arrive at necessary conclusions about the growing poverty of India. We cannot for a moment accept such *a priori* reasoning nor its conclusions. The question, "Is India getting

poorer or richer?" must be studied *à posteriori;* we must take the general standard of living, the volume of trade, the habits of the people, and many other facts into consideration, then compare carefully the facts of to-day with the records of the past and the oral traditions of the people, and thus arrive at conclusions, not so clearly necessary as the *a priori* ones arrived at by Mr. Hyndman and the best known Congress leaders from assumed premisses, but infinitely truer and more resembling the actual facts. I venture to defy any one to prove on historical and economical facts that India is getting poorer. We have many grounds of comparison. There is the case of Upper Burma, where native rule disappeared only within our own times, and where comparisons with the past can be easily made.

According to the *a priori* methods of the poverty-of-India school, the Burmans must be daily getting poorer and poorer, the standard of life must be deteriorating, and the Burman's power of exchanging his commodities, rights and services must be falling off. All the so-called "drains" on India that are supposed to have bled India to famine have been now at work in Upper Burma for nearly twenty years. We therefore ought to see the beginning of the effects. The Burman ought to be spending a little less on his household and find some difference in his domestic economy. *A priori* reasoning from Mr. Hyndman's assumptions leads us necessarily in this case to the same conclusions bravely arrived at and constantly proclaimed *re* India. Now has that been the case in Burma? Not at all; on the contrary. All and every sign of greater wealth and of greater general prosperity is to be found in that province. Any individual who will give his time to the study of Upper Burman economic affairs will be surprised at the marvellous results of British rule in the material prosperity of the inhabitants. I venture to say that comparison of the facts of to-day as to the life of the people with the past in every province of India will prove that the *a priori* reasoners have been greatly at fault in their conclusions, and that the continent is in every way more prosperous than it ever was. If we compare the British Indians with the subjects of the native States, the result is in no way such as to support Mr. Hyndman's theories. It must also be remembered that under the present arrangement the British Indian subject pays for the greater part of the army that protects the subject of the native States as well as himself. Thus it would not be surprising if the British Indian was not as well off as his "protected" neighbours. No doubt certain classes, such as the agricultural labourers and the small farmers, have not

benefited as much by British rule as the traders, labourers, and the urban population generally. But, in comparison with their forefathers, I cannot conceive that any one (who is familiar with the social history of India, during the reign of the Moghuls for instance) will maintain that the agricultural classes have got poorer.

I cannot conceive an impartial student who knows about the facts of the past denying an actual and very material improvement. Personally, after years of study and perusal of various Persian books, reports, &c., of the Moghul period, I feel profoundly convinced of a general and progressive increase of prosperity in India even amongst the rural population. Nor am I alone in this conclusion ; the great majority of English officials in India, whose knowledge of the economic position of the masses is unrivalled, are of the same opinion. Many Indian publicists, some of whom, like the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, were the children and in their youth the contemporaries of people who had known Moghul rule, have often proclaimed that the standard of living and all the general signs of prosperity have increased. No doubt conclusions arrived at by the study of facts have not the prim neatness of those arrived at by *a priori* reasoning. But since when has political economy become a geometric science? Surely it belongs to the inductive sciences, and conclusions drawn, howsoever hesitatingly, and with as many exceptions as possible, from facts, are worth all the syllogisms of Mr. Hyndman and his friends? We cannot put down the discontent of to-day to the impoverishment of the people; this is, I think, undeniable.

However, we must not assume, as some officials and optimists of the Anti-Congress Party assume, that because the masses are slowly but surely getting richer there can be no real discontent.

This hasty assumption has led to a theory that I fear is a very real source of danger: certain European thinkers assume that as efficient administration will increase the prosperity of the Indian, and as material prosperity will increase contentment, all that the Government of India has to do is to improve the method of administration and develop the resources of the country, and then it has nothing more to worry about and can rest assured of love and fidelity. Such a one-sided, such a short-sighted view of human nature would be ludicrous were it not so dangerous. Surely such thinkers forget that men do not live by bread alone, and that emotions and sentiments play as important a part in life as material wants and necessities Nor will any number of gorgeous ceremonies like the Durbar at Delhi, *plus* any amount of quick-service trains and cheap

telegrams and good canals, satisfy the complicated desires and dreams of the Indian of to-day. All these things will appeal to one side, and one side only, of human nature. Not even a cynic, unless he be a fool, would suggest that sentiment can be altogether forgotten in a European country or altogether satisfied by magnificence. The sooner Englishmen learn that human nature in India does not consist entirely of abdomen and eyes, the better for all concerned; the sooner Englishmen realise that the very railways and canals and efficient administration that raise material needs and satisfy them directly by making wealth more general raise moral and sentimental needs indirectly which they are unable to satisfy, the better for all concerned. Is it wise in the long run to forget such sentiments, to pooh-pooh them as mere bunkum? Can any Government be considered permanent and safe as long as such sentiments remain unsatisfied? Does general wealth, the result of efficient administration, strengthen or weaken such sentiments? Far be it from me to run down efficient administration. It is one half of life certainly, but is it all life? Will a rich community require a greater or a lesser share in its government? History points to the fact that the very poorest and the most miserable have rarely rebelled, and that political discontent is much more likely to appear among those who have a competence but who do not possess the political and social advantages that they desire and their neighbours enjoy. The French Revolution was not made by the down-trodden peasants, the only people who bled under the old economic *régime;* the leaders of the revolutionary movement in France came from the middle classes, from the very classes that had gained most under the old *régime*, from the classes that supplied the *Financiers* and *Intendants*, who more than all the nobles and the Court benefited by the misery of the peasants. Every child knows what classes supported Cromwell and the Parliamentary party. Even to-day from what sources are recruited the leaders of anarchy in Europe? Are the most dangerous anarchists of Italy Sicilian or Neapolitan peasants nursed into hatred of society by misery and poverty? or do they not come from Milan, Ancona, and Turin, and the prosperous North? Are they the sons of labourers and the submerged tenth of industrial Italy? Many other examples could be quoted to prove that mere material prosperity, the result of efficient administration, will not stop discontent. Far from it. The more wealth there is, the more leisure will there be; the more leisure, the more time for that half-thinking, half-dreaming state that usually precedes revolution. Small grievances that

in the midst of grinding poverty and inefficient administration are borne and patiently attributed to the nature of things or to Divine wrath or justice, become unbearable in a society that has been used to efficiency and been made wealthy by it. Feelings of hate and revenge will in some hour when they are least expected and most dangerous break out from a materially prosperous but disaffected people. The wealthier such a population is, the more dangerous will it be if it ever rebels.

I fear that neither the Congress theory of increasing poverty as the cause of discontent, nor the official one of only efficient administration, *plus* slow and sure increase of wealth, as remedy, take in all the facts of India and human nature. They are alike wanting. The impoverishment theory is not true to the facts; the so-called remedy takes into consideration only half the facts, and deliberately forgets all the sentiments and all the aspirations that history and daily experience alike prove to be as equally needed by men as all the material comforts of life. In fact, the more successful the remedy, the greater will the disease be; the more efficient the administration, the lighter the taxes, the greater the wealth, the less will you find that readiness to accept being governed and ruled by mere commands from Viceroy or Executive Council that you found in the days of poverty and ignorance.

Let us now turn to other so-called faults of British rule, faults usually pointed out by some distinguished foreign visitors and by some non-Congress Indian thinkers. It is constantly asserted that Englishmen are unsympathetic in India, that Tommy Atkins quarrels with the lower classes, and that the occasional rows in railway carriages, hotels, &c., between Indians and Englishmen lead to ill-will. It is further insinuated by many foreign visitors that the absence of social intercourse between the brown and the white race accentuates political differences and makes grievances that otherwise would not be noticed appear of great importance. These two points we will deal with one after the other. Many officials assign a great deal of the discontent to the attacks made upon Indians by some Englishmen. Now what are the facts as they appear to the impartial student who compares them with similar incidents in other parts of the world? Do French and German and American private soldiers never, late at night, when returning to barracks, quarrel with some chance passer-by? Is it quite unknown in England that in garrison towns sometimes a soldier hits a civilian when both are influenced by drink? Were such attacks ever more numerous in India than in European and American countries? The 9th

Lancers incident, had it happened outside Lille or Breslau, would have undoubtedly been investigated by the police; but who would have dreamt of giving it any exceptional importance?

As to the second criticism of Englishmen in India so often made by foreign visitors and by some Indians, impartial consideration of the facts will show them as wanting in foundation and reasonableness as the first one we have been discussing. The foreign visitor who arrives, and day after day visits European houses and goes from city to city without meeting a single Indian gentleman, begins to assume that there are no natives whom he can meet on grounds of social equality; accidentally somewhere he meets an Indian gentleman or lady as well educated as himself, and at once he hastens to conclude that the English in India deliberately keep away from natives. He does not know that in India people are still living in compartments; there is less social intercourse between Mahomedan and Hindu or between Rajput and Parsi than between any of these races and the English in India. If there is aloofness, it is much more due to the Indian not unnaturally preferring his own section of the community to the others. As to the Indians who complain about not having enough intercourse with Englishmen, they are generally men who (probably for the most honourable reasons, such as breaking some caste rules) are not readily received by their own people, and thus wish to know the English, who, not being conversant with Indian customs, are shy to mix with them. Yet, even as things are, Englishmen, and Englishmen alone, receive and have friends amongst all classes and races. Where is the Hindu or Mahomedan who has so many devoted friends and admirers amongst all races as the late Sir J. Woodburn had in Calcutta, or Sir Lawrence Jenkins has in Bombay? Such men, respected and looked upon with affection by all races, are no doubt rare in India; but they are rare in every country. However, they prove that when the Hindu and Moslem and Parsi and Sikh and Rajput do find a common friend it is invariably a noble-hearted Englishman, and that there is none of that want of sympathy with Indians socially on which some people constantly insist.

According to others—for we have not come yet to the last of those suggested causes of the unrest of to-day—the explanation lies in this fact, that India is a conquered country, and, whatever her foreign Government may do, the very nature of that rule will make it unpopular. To see if this theory will explain the facts let us turn to the history of India. Was ever India conquered as Gaul or Britain were by Rome? Was

there ever such a place as India before various causes unified vast territories under the Crown of England? Were the Moghuls a national dynasty like the family of the Mikados in Japan? From the very first day when the East India Company began that career of conquest till to-day have we a single instance where Englishmen as mere conquerors attacked Indians? Throughout they were in alliance with the natives of the country—they were from the first welcomed by all who wanted peace and order in their land. Princes and peasants alike turned by instinct to the white race for help against the internal and external enemies who were then fighting over the remains of the Moghul Empire. More native troops fought for England in the dark days of the Mutiny than against her. To describe a confederation built on such lines as a conquered country is to forget the origin of British rule.

We have now come to the end of our hurried examination of various suggested causes of discontent and of some remedies, such as more efficient administration and slow growth of material prosperity. We have found them insufficient either to explain the facts or to prevent the mischief. Before venturing to suggest what I consider to be the cause, and a remedy for the unsatisfactory position of affairs in India, I must explain why it is necessary to change the system, and why its continuance will in the long run endanger British rule. The fact that the fighting races, such as Sikhs, Rajputs, Goorkhas, and Mahomedans, have not so far been affected by the form of discontent known in the older British provinces cannot be a source of comfort to us. We will begin by taking the Mahomedans, because they are probably the most compact and numerous body who have kept themselves aloof from political movement. There is danger of the Mahomedan attitude being misunderstood. It is not, as some people fondly imagine, mere opposition to concessions on the part of the British Government towards the Indians. It is a desire to have changes introduced different from those advocated by the Congress representatives. We will take two instances. Mahomedans are no more satisfied than Hindus with the present system by which the Government of India and the local Governments name their representatives to the various legislatures. But instead of wanting mere territorial representation, which they consider alike unsuited to the religious and racial differences and to the present state of moral civilisation, they require a special system of representation, which their spokesmen have already placed before the Government of India. Though they do not want the present official majority to be reduced, and the power of the Govern-

ment over legislation brought down to the mere veto of the Viceroy or Governor (an evil system which they firmly believe will leave all legislative power to the majority of elected members) ; they still desire to have larger legislative bodies. Again, they are anxious for a university of their own at Aligarh. Their leaders constantly assure them that the future of their faith and the revival of their artistic and literary powers depends upon it. This does not mean that they welcome the making of higher education more expensive. If the Mahomedan rank and file are once convinced that their aloofness from the agitation of to-day means that it will lead to the mere marking of time, and perhaps even reaction, I feel convinced that no amount of influence from the leaders and the elders will keep them from joining the Conservative section of the Congress Party. My reason for mentioning these things is merely to prove my contention that the attitude of the Mahomedans does not justify a mere negative position on the part of the Government, and that their particular and detailed objections to the representative system asked for by the Congress Presidents annually do not weaken the forces of discontent, for such are due to general causes and not to the details of any system.

As to the Sikhs, Rajputs, Goorkhas, it is only a matter of time before they think as Bengalese and Mahrattas, &c. The railways, posts, telegraphs, and canals that efficient administration introduces are influencing even these races. Their stolidity has so far kept them a great deal outside the political movement, but even that is giving way before the communications and schools of to-day. The Punjab is a case in point. It would be impossible to exaggerate the change that has come over the political feelings of its inhabitants within the last seven or eight years. Lahore is politically becoming a suburb of Calcutta. Nor can feelings be changed except by the removal of their radical cause. I fear those who get some comfort from the so-called opposition of these races to the discontented section of British Indians are, unless the discontent itself is removed, destined to a rude awakening.

The belief, not often expressed, but ever remembered by some of those thinkers who really guide the policy of England towards India, we are compelled to discuss and criticise here. Unfortunately want of space obliges me to do so hastily. It is thought that though the majority of natives be dissatisfied, and though the ranks of the discontented be increased by the addition of other classes and races, it does not really matter as long as England maintains a strong executive in the country, and is strong enough materially to compel obedience in India. It is shortly stated that the foundation of British rule

is the military and naval power of England, *plus* the energy of English Viceroys, civilians, &c., and the excellence of the local communications. One of the most thoughtful of the journals published in the English language (the *Times of India*) recently said, and rightly, that, whatever the amount of discontent in India, there was as little likelihood of physical danger to British rule as of India being buried under snow. It went on to give expression to the central idea which I am now trying to examine, and said that it was because the rulers knew their overwhelming strength that they did not often talk about it, and did not care seriously for the noisy demonstrations of the natives.*

This view of the matter is undoubtedly true. If we consider the immediate state of political affairs, it is no more than the stubborn fact. Though no thinker can ever forget the ethical and moral questions raised by reliance on force, we will in this paper try to show that even from a purely material view mere strength is insufficient to hold India permanently. Undoubtedly if we take a short view of the question, if we think in years and decades, force alone is ample to assure British supremacy. But if we take long views of things, if we look towards the future (as all loyal Indians do, who fervently wish to see British rule continue for ever), the conclusion is different.

Apart from the grim possibilities of foreign war, it should never be forgotten that the overwhelming strength of England is greatly due to the isolated position of India. That vast country is at present practically an island. Turkey and Persia (both feeble States) play the part of non-conductors on the west; on the north Afghanistan and Chinese Turkestan and Thibet, and on the east China herself, prevent that contact with living forces and movements which would revolutionise matters. Things cannot continue for ever in this ideal state. Three forces even now are at work, and any of them would be ample to cause great changes. Germany may well reach Baghdad with her Anatolian Railway. Though I cannot conceive of any danger to England from the Indian Mahomedans through the so-called Pan-Islamic movement, yet the effect produced on the Indian mind generally, and especially on the disaffected classes, by the presence of a Great Power so near would be enormous. A railway to Baghdad, even if it came no nearer, would necessarily make the Gulf a great

* I am writing this paper on board ship in the Yellow Sea, and thus am quite unable to verify any of my references to various articles, speeches, &c. However, I do not believe that I have misrepresented the meaning of the particular article in the *Times of India* to which I have referred.

centre of Indian commercial activity. The opportunities that such intercourse would offer to the great and vigorous Power that built that railway of intriguing with the discontented in India, should there be differences with England over Holland, South America, or some Mediterranean country, would be enough to unsettle the native mind and to require a vastly greater white garrison if England is to keep India by force alone.

Secondly, sooner or later, whatever the result of the present revolution, the Indian and Russian railways will somehow or other meet. Whatever be the state of Anglo-Russian relations, and whatever the form of the Russian Government, the power of the discontented party in India will be at once enormously increased, for the isolation that makes the Government of India resemble that of Rome in having no neighbours and being for its subjects the only possible Power would disappear.

Thirdly, we have the possible awakening and development of China. One need not be a believer in the Yellow Peril to imagine a China, assured of her continued national existence through her own strength, carrying on a great commerce and freely communicating with India through Szechuan Yunan or possibly even Thibet. That too would change the whole nature of that enormous superiority which is absolute to-day. Nor will it at all help England to build the connecting railways herself and to directly or indirectly own the intermediate States to meet Russia at Herat, Germany at Mosul or Aleppo, Japan and others on the Yang-Tse, if India is discontented and held by force alone. For such is the commercial activity of the Indian, and such his ability to underlive as well as overlive his Arab, Persian, and Afghan neighbours, that what is happening to-day in Burma and Baluchistan would come to pass; gradually the natives of such newly conquered States would become intellectually Indians, and would be, were India discontented, affected by the same poison. Were a railway carried through Afghanistan, in a few years the Afghans would be as much affected by what may come to be known as the Indian movement as the subjects of the Nizam and the Gaikowar. The only result of such extension of British power would be, were India discontented and held by force alone, that, instead of having three hundred millions of discontented Asiatic subjects, she would have three hundred and fifty or four hundred millions, and, instead of meeting her neighbours far away from their base, she would meet them on their base. Those who care not for the contentment of India's native population forget that the disintegration of such a polity is sure to happen the

moment it meets external forces. This impact may be felt through war or commercial competition and exchange or mere influence of ideas. Whatever the details, the foundations of a purely forcible Government will not stand the dissolving forces introduced by constant contact with external polities. There could be only one scientifically perfect method of permanently occupying India in spite of the permanent discontent of her races. Had she a temperate climate, and were her races wanting in natural vitality, her native population might vanish like some other weaker races under Anglo-Saxon dominion. In the case of India such a result is out of the question. With the exception of a few so-called aborigines, her people are free from those natural weaknesses that lead to racial death. We are now forced to the conclusion—though we could bring forward many other arguments in support of our contention—that, taking really long views, as thoughtful men should when discussing matters of such importance, it is necessary for England to possess the affection or at least to prevent the hostility of her Indian subjects if she wishes to rule the country permanently.

Nor is it by any means what I may be permitted to call a "hopeless case." Were one to select the most disaffected men in India to-day and approach them, ninety-nine out of each hundred would say frankly that they greatly preferred what has been by Mr. Gokhale described as the "Colonial Ideal" to one of separation as their national dream. The vast majority of the other 1 per cent., some of whom openly encourage anti-British ideals, will not deny that they would much prefer the Colonial ideal, but that, as they consider it hopeless, they are compelled to go in for the extremest of all possible views. This phenomenon in itself, this clinging of all to some dream of connection with England, shows that there is no really insuperable difficulty, if the matter were dispassionately considered, in bringing an end to the discontent. Race instinct is not the dividing line. And since it is possible for England to possess the affection of her Indian subjects, is it not worth her while at whatever cost—except, of course, honour and safety—to win that love to which she has so many splendid claims? The advantages would be enormous. Were the people of India as mentally satisfied and contented with British rule as they are emotionally loyal to the Throne of England, England alone of all the Great Powers could with safety be permanently free of conscription as understood on the Continent. Were India satisfied, England could safely devote more of her resources towards the improvement of the condition of her

working classes, and introduce with greater ease such social reforms as old-age pensions, &c., for which the majority of her people seem so anxious, for the princes and people of India would, moved by patriotic reasons, take a far more active and real interest in the military state of their country than they do at present. England would then possess in India a source of man-power which, *plus* her sea-power and wealth, would make her the only absolutely invulnerable State in the world—far more so even than the United States.

How can India be contented? Shall we accept the Congress programme at once? Before we can do so we must understand clearly what the pith of that programme is. We must take off the silver coatings and look at the actual pill these gentlemen offer us. Now the main recommendation of the Congress is this: The Government of India's legislative power and its financial authority—which in the long run means all her rights and strength—should be handed over, by perhaps gradual steps, to the people of the country, and the executive should be made mainly Indian. Will the security of British rule and the honour of England allow her to accept this programme? Leaving the question of security, I feel deeply convinced that it would be a great ethical wrong, unworthy of a Christian and humane nation, to give over the real power of the Government to the people of India.*

In putting forward my reasons for this belief I will arrive at what I firmly believe to be the real cause of discontent, and what can be in that case its only possible remedy. For if the real power was given over to the people's representatives how would they use it? Would they be satisfied to be led by a very few who are like Mr. Gokhale and many of the accomplished leaders in Bengal, not only intellectually distinguished, but free from all those social prejudices that are the real curse of India? No one who knows the average graduate will think

* I do not mean that an increase in the number of elected members in the various legislatures and the presence of Indians in the Executive Councils would be a dangerous or dishonourable concession. Were there a large official majority in each council, and the dangerous system of mere Viceregal veto not introduced, and were the elected members the representatives of races, religions, classes, interests, and not merely of territories, larger councils would probably be beneficial to the country. The presence of some Indians in the Viceregal Executive, and the Secretary of State's Council too, provided the men selected were not all of the same race, or section of society, or similar antecedents, would probably prevent the Government from acting tactlessly. However, no such guarded concessions will satisfy the Congress school of thinkers for long. The larger assemblies demanded by them are to be all-powerful chambers of the Western type.

so. Whatever the material or educational test of the franchise, the result would be, under the present state of social civilisation, that power would fall into the hands of individuals or communities who, while in many things abreast of the century, are in other things full of prejudices against the lower classes of their countrymen, unworthy of the days of the Tudors. It must not be forgotten that many of those who are demanding the highest political rights deny at this moment to their own dearest and nearest female relatives the simplest of human rights. If the elected legislators were really powerful, we can well anticipate the type of laws that would satisfy the "educated electors." In such a contingency the dissatisfaction of the masses and of the social reformers with English rule, the new "Parliament," and the new laws would be ever so much greater than to-day, and infinitely more justifiable. Are we, then, to put the blame on the people who are so full of prejudices, and address them: "Use the liberties you already possess—make them general, you shall then have more"? Such a cold and unsympathetic attitude would be alike unjust and unreasonable. These prejudices have existed so long that, without the indirect help of the Government, they may well take centuries to disappear. Dissatisfaction is not owing to the absence of political concessions made to the people, but to the fact that the public do not see themselves getting appreciably fitter, notwithstanding all the universities, schools, &c., for ever exercising reasonable political power. It must not be imagined that because the lower and middle classes of the towns and villages, the 20 per cent. that count most in India, do not talk of the Queen's proclamation, they have never heard of it or have forgotten it. Certainly the word proclamation is unknown to most of them. But there is a very distinct idea that when the late Queen-Empress assumed the government of India a distinct promise was made that no difference except "fitness" would exist between her Indian and English subjects, and that step by step everything would be done to raise the brown to the level of the white. The very schools and colleges that became general after 1858 the poor Indian vaguely associated with this policy of improving him. Now fifty years have passed; the schools have done wonders. Yet he knows that, whatever his intellectual powers, he is not very much nearer than before 1858 to the level of his white ruler morally. He is disen chanted, and the necessary result follows—discontentment.

He wants to know when the first earnest steps in raising him morally will be taken. The official answer is cold and distant. The business of the Government is merely to keep law and

order; it has no more to do with other improvements than with religion. Quite so. But the Indian qualifies the word business with the adjective direct. The direct business of all Governments is to keep law and order. But indirectly every Government (no Government more so than that of England herself, through the example of her Sovereign) encourages those who work amongst the people for the moral and social improvement of the masses. Even the Government of India as at present constituted does a little by the conferring of honours on philanthropists to encourage social reform. The question is one of degree. Does the Indian Government as at present constituted possess any individual or department that can efficiently help towards the betterment of the social condition of the people? Can a political Viceroy already crushed with the affairs of State take that constant interest in various movements for social reform that should be taken if such improvement is to be due to his influence? Has he the time to encourage or initiate such movements? Of all the reforms carried by successive Viceroys since 1877 probably none will appear to the historian of such real benefit to the people as the medical aid offered by what is known as the Lady Dufferin Fund. It would not be difficult to suggest at least a hundred similar social movements that, with the same encouragement and attention from similarly exalted quarters, would be as beneficial to India as what will be ever associated, through Lady Dufferin's activity, with Lord Dufferin's administration. Nor can reform movements, if they are to be efficient and include the many needs of the people, be left to the influence of a consort only. They require the guidance of the representative of the Crown, and his whole time and thought. The delicate nature of such work makes it impossible for a department or councillor to carry it out. It requires the prestige and the influence of the highest authority. However, these are not the only disadvantages. The example of a political Viceroy working night and day at political affairs and sparing odd moments only from his very short hours of recreation for helping social reform is catching. Naturally many of the best minds in India, many of the most selfless of her sons, whose real province of labour is the betterment of their own castes, unconsciously influenced by the example of the Viceroy, give up their time and thought to political matters. How impossible political reform is while social and racial prejudices continue is the cardinal fact of Indian life. Thus a deadlock arises. Both the English and Indians, who are busy inventing solutions for political problems, forget that no such can be

ffective under present social conditions. Even in England, vhich is a nation generations ahead of India, the influence of he Crown used for the benefit of the masses had and has as nuch to do with the general raising of the standard of civilisa- ion as all the laws passed by Parliament. The stupendous oluntary work done for improving the condition of the people n that country is essentially due to the example of the chief of the State. Again, England enjoys the great boon of having a head of the State who is above all political parties, and who njoys the loyalty of all. In India there is no individual who, being above political and sectional questions, can ever attract uch universal and unifying veneration. Of course, we have he Emperor. But he is not on the spot, and he is represented by one who is intimately associated with and primarily re- sponsible for political decisions, and who is, and will be, as ntelligence becomes more general, even more freely criticised. His acts and speeches may sometimes raise feelings that are not such as should be felt for the representative of a univer- sally beloved Sovereign. Nor can it be reasonably expected hat the present system can have any other result.

What is the remedy? To the writer's mind there is one nd one alone that can assure the natural, gradual, and healthy growth of political freedom in India and unite her for ever to England by sentiment, gratitude, and self-interest. That remedy was suggested by one who is not only one of the most impor- ant of India's ruling princes, but who enjoys the confidence nd the esteem of the Indian public to a remarkable degree— he Gaikowar of Baroda. His Highness, at the Bombay Social Reform Conference, after an exhaustive review of the state of civilisation in the country, rightly said that one remedy alone could put an end to the present state of affairs. That was to change the constitution of the Government of India—to abolish he political Viceroyalty and to institute a non-political Regency, with a descendant of the Sovereign as a permanent Prince Regent. I am compelled not to enter into the detailed exami- nation of the many political and other advantages of such a change of system alike to England and India, though I hope o resume the consideration of such on some future occasion. However, certain aspects of the question I am forced to nquire into, howsoever hastily, in order to show that here is nothing really impossible about it. The Imperial Titles Act was an instalment of a policy towards India that can be crowned only by some change such as advocated by the Gaikowar. The two principal criticisms of that proposal we are forced to consider. The first one shows the

slovenly thinking that is responsible for half the mischief in India. It was actually suggested that the Indian, being an Oriental, could not understand a non-political and irresponsible ruler, that such an authority would not be in keeping with the genius of Eastern races, and that he would constantly associate the Prince with the acts of his advisers. What wonderful wisdom! What knowledge of Oriental history! What was the actual position of an hereditary Hindu raja before the country was influenced by the Tartar or Turkish conquerors of Kashmir, and before the Mahomedan invasion, when new ideas (entirely new, and due to Islam) as to the position of the ruler were introduced into India? The raja, unless he happened to be a usurper or the immediate descendant of one, was the head of society, the representative of the Divine. In his name and by his grace the administration was carried on. But the officers of the State were responsible for political affairs, and they were criticised by the people. Nepaul is to-day an example of a perfect Hindu polity very little influenced by Islam. Her ruler holds exactly the position that is naturally given by the Hindu mind to the Divine representative, his Sovereign. The political authority is carried on by the Ministers. Again, Japan was for centuries, and would have been even now but for foreign influences, reigned over by irresponsible but unusually reverenced emperors. In Islamic States and countries, influenced by Moslem ideas, no doubt this custom is not general, but that is because Islamic tradition does not recognise monarchy at all, and all orthodox Moslem rulers are theoretically elected dictators for life only. To describe systems that prevailed usually in ancient Hindu States, and even now prevail in all the countries influenced by Buddhism, as un-Oriental merely shows the self-satisfied ignorance of such critics.

The second criticism was that the attacks of the native Press would then be directed against a member of the Royal Family. As for this, were a Prince sent out as Viceroy, and the office remained, as at present, a political and responsible one, no doubt the Prince Regent too would be freely criticised like Viceroys at present. But the whole point is that the office would be changed as well, and the Regent would be as little responsible for any act of his advisers as the King-Emperor. Under such an arrangement it is quite inconceivable that the Indian Press should make attacks on the representative of their Emperor. The political work done under the present system would be entrusted to a Prime Minister sent out

every five or six years from England, who would be the President of the Executive Council.

Amongst the many advantages of such a system would be the fact that the influence of the Civil Service Members of the Council would be considerably increased indirectly. Any one who knows the splendid work of that service, and their true, though not advertised, sympathy with India, would welcome this increase. Another great advantage would be that while the dangers of responsible Government would be avoided, the disadvantages of the autocratic rule of to-day, already out of date, would disappear ; for the Prime Minister, not having the prestige of being Viceroy, would be more thoroughly criticised by his Council than at present, and his hasty decisions would never appear before the public. Above all, the Government would have the advice, the knowledge, the experience of the Regent to guide them ; for, of course, as in all constitutional countries, the Ministry or Council would have, when submitting their measures, to explain clearly all their reasons to the Regent. Of course, the Regent must be a very near relative, son or grandson, of the Sovereign. Coming out to India at about the same age as a Civil Servant usually does, for some thirty years' Regency, the Prince can retire from office soon after he is fifty. Round the Regent slowly would gather all the most earnest men of India, chiefs and princes downwards. Political questions would receive the amount of interest and importance due to them, and not, as at present, practically monopolise Indian public life. The Regent, being free from political cares, would put himself at the head of all movements, social, literary, economic and artistic, that improved the relations of all sections of society, that destroyed racial and religious particularisms, that helped to amalgamate the parts into a healthy whole. Sympathy the Government of India lacks, because its Constitution prevents its members from having the time to take an active interest in the emotional life and social progress of the people. The Prince would soon get to be acquainted with the life of the people considered as a whole. The social reforms carried would, being due to the guidance of the Regent and the free choice of the people, be the best possible school for learning the secret of political freedom that India can ever possess. The Prince's interest in national life as a whole would elevate it by attracting to its service many of the best brains now wasted in the arid field of political controversy. Political changes so constantly prayed for would then come naturally, and be welcomed

alike by India and England, for they would be the result of mutual understanding.

One may say with as much certitude as such contingent judgments admit that under such a Regency India can be governed for eighty or ninety years *at least* without any political change in the real character of its government, and with benefit alike to her own people and to the Empire. Even then the political changes which came would be gradual, and would not in any way anticipate the moral ideas of the country, for voluntary social reforms would have preceded all others. And the government would be, in the meanwhile, not merely the exercise of authority by superior force, but the exercise of such rights by a Regent who would possess the love of all classes. England would regain, as one improvement after another assured the people of the benefits of her rule, that contentment which pessimism has now stolen from her. And the imagination of the people of India, once so powerfully impressed by the superior benefits of British rule, would again be, like the intellect of those races, impressed by the superior and disinterested political morality of her rulers.* Will Englishmen ever consider these questions impartially and act on their merits, or will the innate conservatism of the race prevent them from such bold political speculations? Will the great Liberal Party take the first steps towards preparing the Indian subjects of the King for taking their proper place in his Empire? Or will the party that is deeply interested in federation and union of the Empire remove the canker of discontent in India by giving that country a Government suited to her present state of development, and thus, by crowning the work of the two Conservative Governments of 1858 and 1876, strengthen the Empire? Let the Indian pray that it will be no party matter, but that England as a whole will take this most important of all her measures for raising, in the fulness of time, the greatest of her foster-children to the level of her own daughter nations.

AGA KHAN.

* When English rule was at first established it appealed to the imagination of the people through its two great principles—absolute religious toleration and equal justice. However, the people have now become so used to thes two things that they look on them as matters of course, and the lower classe especially have become incapable of conceiving of an intolerant or an unjust Government. Their very ignorance has helped to make them forget the state of affairs that prevailed in the eighteenth century and earlier.

THE UNIONIST LEADERSHIP

> Rari quippe boni ; numerus vix est totidem quot
> Thebarum portae vel divitis ostia Nili.—*Juvenal.*

THE chill torpor of disaster overlies the Unionist Party. Paralysis supervened on the crushing blow of January 1906. Its benumbing effects are to be found both in the country at large, where inaction is the result of despondency, and in the House of Commons, where many of its representatives bemoan a condition which exhibits such slight symptoms of convalescence. Although it does not behove us to be so lachrymose as a well-known member who dejectedly exclaims: "The party is dead!" yet even those, whose sanguine hopefulness is apt to outrun their judgments, must confess that our state inspires little confidence in the immediate future. Never, perhaps, since a disconsolate remnant gazed dumbly across at the omnipotent Pitt and Newcastle coalition has a minority been in such sorry case. And were Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman so well-advised as to make an early appeal to the electors on the ground of disagreement with the Lords, the Unionists would have but feeble prospects of retrieving their defeat; since the wave of feeling, which carried the Radicals to victory, composed, partly, of something more than mere satiety with the last administration, and, partly, of spurious passions engendered by misrepresentation, is by no means spent nor exhausted. In addition to this, the natural question, "But what have YOU to give us?" would be somewhat embarrassing, especially to that type of average candidate of whom we have had too much, and who has been too much for us. For the chief battle-cry being temporarily hushed in the absence of its originator, the party banner is without a distinctive motto. Urgent despatch is required in the formulation of a definite and a constructive policy, as opposed to one of mere negation. Otherwise the plight will be grotesquely similar to that of the Balliol undergraduate, who having been repeatedly summoned by Dr. Jowett for absence from chapel,

at length hit on the excuse of atheism: "Young man," said the Master, "if you don't find a God by to-morrow morning, you will have to go down!"

In a former article* an endeavour was made by the present writer to analyse the causes of the Unionist *débâcle*, which may be thus summarised: the lethargy of the party due to protracted power; the inefficiency and unrepresentative character of the Conservative Central Office; the general relaxation in every department of organisation; the incapacity of the majority of the candidates; the uncertain sound of the fiscal trumpet; and, most of all, the unsatisfactory leadership. That humble excursus provoked considerable irritation both on the part of those who, lacking individual opinion, always attach themselves to what they (sometimes mistakenly) consider a majority, and on the part of the reactionary Tantivies, who are sensible of a dull resentment at the upheaval in process, but who are neither possessed of the qualities which render dulness tolerable, nor the claims which make rancour excusable. It has been pointed out by some who ought to know better and others who cannot, that such "outspokenness" is most reprehensible; that a display of our weak points argues bad judgment (is it not worse judgment to suppose one's opponent a mole or a fool?); that the time is especially inopportune to sow dissension. And other strictures hardly less numerous than instructive. Certain noted adherents of Mr. Balfour, with a pious devotion worthy of a higher religion, threaten that should their idol be successfully attacked, he would straightway "sit below the gangway," insinuating that from that coign of impartial vantage he would snipe at his own party. Could even hero-worship accomplish a more precipitate descent? But men of prominence, however attained, willy-nilly have ever attracted a class who, proud of being myrmidons, will as cheerfully transfer their valuable adoration to any other orb that may be impelled to the meridian—a species of embryonic organism whose undeveloped vision is dazzled by light a whit stronger than that which Nature intended for their limitations. The truest service which all such can do to a movement of reform is to oppose it.

Menaces may be ignored; but the suggestion of disruption must be met, as it can be in a few words. When a Parliamentary Opposition is so minute, neither its unity nor its division can seriously affect its fortunes. In the former case it can win no victory in the Lobbies; in the latter it hazards no chance of material success. Had it even such a minimum of numerical

* In the *Fortnightly Review* of July 1906.

strength as with the aid of the Irish and Labour Parties to render a division adverse to the Government of the least likelihood, then perhaps motives of passing expediency might weigh with some of those who favour certain radical changes. But, its condition being what it is, the disagreeable truth must be boldly faced that it lies supine at the bottom of the ladder, and can fall no further. And before it can so much as begin to climb again, it must first obtain a firm foothold on the solid earth. Now, therefore, is the time for reconstruction. For the termination of the ascendency of a party is usually the beginning of its purification. Although the lot of the Conservatives in 1833 was scarcely happier, yet defects were honestly admitted; the craven idea of offending or alienating dullards was disregarded; a bold and drastic reformation was effected. True, Mr. Arthur Balfour is not Sir Robert Peel. None the less must that example be followed, and no heed paid to malingerers, to the motionless, to the retrogressives. The ground that is to bear a good crop must be cleared before it is sown.

Before proceeding to the discussion of Mr. Balfour the leader, it is well-nigh unnecessary to preface that nothing herein will in any wise be directed against Mr. Balfour the private individual. For his qualities in the latter capacity all praise would be superfluous. Scarcely, indeed, could greater recognition be accorded to those excellences of intellect and demeanour than is implied in saying that to their possession he owes almost entirely his prolonged tenure of the leadership. The conscientious criticism of a statesman needs no apology; and none should be expected. But never is it less required than where, as in the present instance, issues of vast moment to a great proportion of the electorate are involved—issues on which, it may well be, the future of the nation and of the whole empire depends. That, and no less than that, is at stake, when judgment is passed on Mr. Balfour's conduct of the leadership when in office, which is the sole guarantee of its quality should he again fill the same position. Moreover, it is an axiom that men who do not undertake places of high public responsibility without at the same time knowing and voluntarily accepting the liability to searching examination. Therefore, in spite of "the slings and arrows" of incensed partisans, this is no occasion for a hypersensitive reserve, or for yielding to false motives of delicacy. In an analysis of Mr. Balfour as a politician, the distinction must in fairness be conceded which Lord Rosebery presumes that Napoleon would have drawn: "Had he been asked, he would at once have discriminated between the public and the private

man. He would have said that statecraft, if it had a morality at all, had a morality of its own." We can leave it at that,—with this qualification of the last sentence, that even political morality should regulate its intentions and actions with a view to their ultimate consequences.

One of our foremost Colonial statesmen (whom to locate would be to identify) has said to the writer: "Mr. Balfour brought about the ruin of the Unionist Party at the elections. So long as he remains its leader, it will never regain office. He has killed enthusiasm. If he has any real regard for the interests and well-being of Unionism he will resign." How he achieved, or at any rate contributed to, the disastrous result of the General Election was by consistently placing the Party in untenable positions. First of all, as a tactician he should have gone to the country at least two years before, rather than have suffered his administration to gradually expire from atrophy. If, instead of presuming too long on a tenancy at will, he had at that time forced or invited an action of ejectment, he might possibly have retained possession. In the next place, to him his followers naturally looked for their cue on the initiation of the Tariff Reform policy. Yet plead, cajole, importune how they might, not a word of clear guidance could they elicit. Not more hopelessly tantalised were the priests of Baal in their appeals to that indifferent deity! ("The brook Kishon," by the way, conveys a warning moral to those who halt too long between two opinions.) At last a weary parturition brought forth—just one half-sheet of note-paper!

Nascitur ridiculus mus!

But none of the devout were possessed of an intelligence sophistical enough to interpret that programme in *précis*. We may well imagine the ironical satisfaction with which its philosopher-author contemplated that composition and the scratch-poll perplexity it produced among his bewildered admirers. No friend could induce, no foe compel the twentieth-century Sphinx to propound a solution. And an Œdipus is yet to seek. Again, the fatal speech at the Newcastle Conference made Mr. Balfour a dead letter in the North; and such he there remains. The same reasons operated to bring about the ignominious defeat at Manchester, which set back Unionism for a generation in what had been one of its chief strongholds; he refused to give straight answers to straight questions (conduct abhorred of northerners) and clung perversely to the inveterate habit of qualifying every statement. The tentative overtures to the Free Fooders which ensued called forth the dignified remonstrance, more in sorrow than in anger,

of Mr. Chamberlain in the letter of February 5. Nevertheless, in his speeches during the City election, the ex-Premier still sought safety in a studied indefiniteness, taking away from the fiscal policy with one hand what he half-heartedly gave with the other. Thereupon danger loomed from the rebellious Tariff Reformers; and accordingly, having regard to the Lansdowne House meeting, ushered in as it was by adroit intriguing and canvassing, the valentine of February 14 was published. In the history of party politics there are happily few examples of a more specious manifesto. Vague, indeterminate, elaborately guarded, it is susceptible of fully a dozen different meanings. More than any other action or utterance in his political career, this masterpiece of "hedging" displays the chief, and perhaps the only interest Mr. Balfour derives from politics, that which is yielded by the moves, the fence, the manœuvres, in short the finesse in what to one with such admirable powers of airy detachment may seem after all to be "only a game." In reading the Great Accord one is reminded of a passage in a letter to its hero from Lord Randolph Churchill in 1892: "Make one of those interesting and amicable speeches which you can do so well, not exactly saying that your mind is open, but that it is not entirely closed"! Essentially an obscurantist, he seems to have set himself to confuse a definite issue with a gallimaufrey of enigmas and casuistries. Surely some of the eighteenth-century character-writers were prophetic: "He is a sceptic, and dare hardly give credit to his senses, which he hath often arraigned of false intelligence;" and "His proffers are universal and general with exceptions against all particulars;" and again "Necessity drives him to every action, and what he cannot avoid, he will yet defer." Truly an elusive man:

Ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago.

A man's opinion is always more important than his argument; and when mystery makes the one incomprehensible, and incomprehensibility causes the other to be mysterious, there is probably an absence of co-ordination between the two. In this particular there is a curious similarity between the two ex-Prime Ministers. Neither can be persuaded to define his policy nor state his intentions, the disinclination being perhaps commensurate with the inability to do one or the other. It is uncertain, indeed, whether they have any bed-rock principles to support a concrete and practical policy, or whether their intentions could under any circumstances amount to any more decisive mental state than that which the schoolmen have termed velleity. Both are inherently dilettantes and *poseurs*,

the one simply for the pose itself, the other for that and the objects it covers. Hence neither can be a leader of men. The antithesis to both is Mr. Chamberlain. One of them (was it with conscious self-satire ?) recently wrote that it is the fashion of the age to choose mediocrities for Premiers. Certainly it is a day when inefficient men are put in the command of armies that otherwise would be efficient. He might have added that there is a plethora of Scotsmen in the political field, who with native shrewdness shut their ears to inconvenient criticism and march doggedly on to office, where they as doggedly remain.

The tendency of Mr. Balfour invariably to temporise, to select the line of least resistance, and to be opportunist would seem to point to the non-existence of any binding unity of purpose. It is an attribute of the cross-bench mind. Although as Irish Secretary he earned commendation, his direction of domestic and foreign affairs in recent years would lead us to refer the achievements of a former period to a latent vein of obstinacy rather than to a bold pertinacity. His predominant characteristics were specially evident in dealing with the outrage of the Russians on British shipping and their shameless violation of the Berlin Treaty. Disraeli would have sent the Mediterranean Fleet up the Dardanelles, and so have terminated matters then and there by that one bold act. Not so Mr. Balfour ; who, as usual, preferred dilatory, circuitous and unprofitable methods : and the stage bluster of the Southampton speech, followed as it was by procedure which directly negatived it, caused both himself and his country to appear timid and ridiculous in the eyes of all Europe. The future historian will probably be of opinion that Bismarck's summary description of the uncle would have applied more fitly to the nephew. On the other hand, Mr. Balfour might argue that indecision is sometimes a decisive kind of action, and enter a plea for active idleness. But it is possible to overtax a faith in contradictories. Circumstances may from time to time suit his temper ; but there is a limit to suiting one's temper always to circumstances. Furthermore, it is problematical whether, even when questions of importance involve grave divergences of opinion, Mr. Balfour entertains any real sentiment of either predilection or aversion. The attitude of those philosophers who identify the virtues with apathy, as did the ancient Cynics, is to hold in gentle contempt enthusiasms, strenuous action, and earnest convictions, as being the pitiable infirmities of a deluded humanity. Still, as they do exist, and the mean exigencies of public life must be considered, it is tactful to humour them now and then ; and thus we are treated on occasion to demonstrations of "artificially engendered passion," and of the whole

emotional gamut. But histrionic displays, where actuality is concerned, must sooner or later fail to convince. And so it is that the leader of a great party has reached that unhappy pass where he is surely ceasing to carry conviction and arouse enthusiasm. The frail "foundations of belief" are irretrievably shaken.

Another aspect of the subject must be shortly treated, and not without compunction and regret. The most prominent figure in the Empire determined, at whatever personal sacrifice, to devote the remaining years of a busy life passed in the public service, and all the resources of a brilliant and capacious intellect, only matched by his single-hearted integrity, to a magnificent conception, to the execution of a comprehensive imperial policy. This vast scheme, complex in detail but symmetrical in its entirety, of present benefit, if adopted, but far-reaching in its future advantages, at once attracted a large, if not the greater portion of the Unionist Party. Apart from its intrinsic utility, it came at a time when the party was feeling the faintness of inanition due to the want of a constructive policy. This, added to the long-known desire of many influential Liberal Unionists and of nearly all Colonial loyalists that its author should be Prime Minister, constituted a danger to Mr. Balfour's position. Here it is that one must ask how far Mr. Chamberlain has been actively helped by his professed allies since he took the field with his new policy; and whether, or not, a course of tacit hostility to that policy has been countenanced. The faults of an over-developed party system have never been more apparent than they are to-day, when the essential merits of great problems are subordinated to their use and abuse as party or anti-party cries, and when political energy is mostly absorbed in the technicalities of the play between Governments and Oppositions as well as in the cross-currents always at work within a party, however homogeneous. The earnest spectator cannot fail to be moved when he sees men, who are conscientious and above reproach in their private dealings, show themselves disingenuous and chameleon-like in a political light. It would seem that honesty must be subjected to policy, and policy need not coincide with a too exacting honesty. The means employed to cozen the movers of the two motions at the Conference of Delegates in July, which aimed at broadening the basis of the Central Office, exhibited the methods of a Kuklux Clan. There are some authorities, too, with special knowledge which cannot be neglected, who maintain that the terrific bombardment of the late Education Bill, so far as the noise was concerned, was partly designed as another *ruse* to divert popular attention from Tariff Reform,

which at all costs must be frustrated, surreptitiously put aside, suffocated, interred "unhouseled, disappointed, unaneled." Such a conception of politics would have been better suited to the *régime* of the mediæval Italian Republics. Be that as it may, Mr. Chamberlain's honesty and candour demand a like return, and most of all from those who purport to be his political friends.

No one will deny Mr. Balfour's skill in dialectics and debate, always conducted with that "personal charm and fascination which" "curiously deflect the course of great events." No one will deny his intellectual grace and his avoidance of offence. Yet all this strangely recalls the remark of Charles Tonwshend on the Rockingham Ministry: "'Tis mere lute-string, pretty summer wear. It will never do for the winter." And that is now the season of our discontent. In this crisis a more decisive policy is needed than that of fluctuating and protracted hesitation, than which nothing is more destructive to vigour of action; a more virile leader is required than one whose political personality is of the epicene gender. Mr. Balfour has proved that he can only lead when all is in his favour. He has shown that his chief distinction has consisted in having been hitherto on the side of the majority—a merit which has now disappeared. Not for a moment can the defence be admitted that his activity in the present Parliament has saved his reputation, or augurs the future success of the party either in the House or at the polls. Opposition entails no official responsibility. It is scarcely any test at all; since every Ministry, and certainly the last, has demonstrated in the cases of several of its members the fallacy of relying solely on that appearance of brilliancy which, when displayed during minority, is without official liability, and so without adequate proof of substantial worth. There is one light of the sun and another of the moon. Mr. Balfour has utterly lost the confidence of a large proportion of the party, who know full well that so long as he continues to be either its actual or nominal leader, so long will it continue to stick and stumble in the present morass. It is asked occasionally why he does not realise his position. Why, indeed! It is not for want of personal disclosure. But it is to be feared that, estimating the political Kriegspiel as he does, he will merely deem it consonant with the rules of that pastime to baulk hostility by passive and amused resistance. However, the entrenched position behind the Central Office is being weakened, and signs are not lacking that further redoubts will be carried by forces which are fast accumulating in numbers and strength. Compromise, as Lowell said, is a good umbrella but a poor roof. It must be excluded. For the welfare of a great party, nay more, imperial necessities

imperatively demand in dealing with this matter a spirit of blunt straightforwardness, a businesslike energy. Here is no room for the niceties of a fastidious reserve, nor for the claims of private friendship. Here is no room for those waverings, shifts, and half-measures which, as they have been the causes of our humiliation, so are they the just objects of rigorous denunciation.

The inhabitants of Athens were one day surprised to see an individual running through the streets with a torch in the full glare of the sunlight. Asked the reason of his extraordinary behaviour, Diogenes replied: "I am in search of a man!" Nor is the quest much more hopeful to-day. Scarcely throughout our history has there been such a singular dearth of men of conspicuous ability in public affairs. Omitting those who have retired, only five stand forth, Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Cromer, Lord Milner, the Primate (as posterity will acknowledge), and Lord Kitchener. And of the Conservatives in particular there has been no leader to whom the predicate of "great" can be truly applied since Lord Beaconsfield. Who, then, is to lead the Unionist party? Mr. Chamberlain has made known his resolution. It is most unfortunate. For the loud cry is for Mr. Chamberlain. And the fact that the bare idea of his being Premier acts on the Germans as did the name of Pitt on the French affords a peculiar testimony to his pre-eminent claims and commanding genius. It would be impertinent to enter into the reasons of his decision. We can only hope that, health permitting, he may yet discover as good reasons for altering it. Surely to him more than to any other those imperial needs must appeal, of which he has been the greatest and the most powerful exponent. It is impossible to imagine that, if physically able, he will not respond in the only way that can satisfy them. In case disappointment prove inevitable, then the search must be extended. It might be said that one of the faults of the party is that many of its lieutenants are not men, and some of its men are not lieutenants. The candidates for the honour can be divided into impossibles and possibles. Of the former there are many who, aware of what is going forward, fancy their chances in a field where there are so few favourites. Some of these are now making a tiny splash, the ripples of which are but faintly perceptible even within the small circumference of their reputations, whose bubbles were burst by office. Others, parading a magniloquence devoid of content, would have us credit them with a direct descent from Mercury instead of from Aeolus. Others, again, rest their hopes on a slavish partisanship, which it is the custom of the times to recompense

with preferment. But a mere partisan makes an intolerable politician, and an office-seeker a poor statesman. Space does not permit the discussion of the possible candidates, who will be dealt with when the occasion demands.

A Government is in power which is loosening the fabric of the constitution, which is rapidly sowing disaffection in the Colonies—a body, whose political religion savours rather of a slum schism than of an imperial creed, whose ideas would find an ample accommodation in Ascension Isle or Old Sarum. Certain seditious, ignorant, and irresponsible forces are also at work, which, taking advantage of the biliousness and pusillanimity of the administration, have thrust themselves into a prominence dangerous to the community and to the Empire. To combat these perils a strong and cohesive party is necessary, informed with the imperial spirit; an active, dauntless and inflexible leader must be found, and speedily found; a policy is required, whether it be a systematised imperialism or Tariff Reform, or a right combination of both, which shall be definite in conception and grounded on the fundamental and historic principles of the polity of England. Happily for this country there still pervades it that basic character which is the steadying power and ballast of the ship of state, a constitutional temper which has ever steadfastly withstood impulsive and revolutionary change. It is for the Unionist Party to concentrate in itself and to focus the aspirations of the better part of the nation, and to succour the political righteousness that still prevails. Nevertheless, before it can arise and gird itself for this great task, it must be relieved of a leadership whose incubus has depressed it to a depth of dull stupor by the sheer deadweight of inertia. At present its voice is of one crying in the wilderness. But the paths must be made straight before a further way is prepared. Let not vital energies be dissipated in side-issues and the details of internal organisation before they are directed to the execution of the main object on which all else will follow as of course.

What is here written is no Jeremiad. Nay, rather is it a call to arms and to renewed hopefulness. "There is a budding morrow in midnight;" and sackcloth and ashes should now be cast down the winds, lest they close our ears or blind our eyes to such faint hints and promises of dawn as even the prevailing gloom affords. For there are points of fatal weakness in the enemy's armour. And where a survey of these does not produce an injudicious confidence, it will stimulate to keener effort issuing in vigorous and concerted action.

W. G. HOWARD GRITTEN.

MONSIEUR CLEMENÇEAU

WHATEVER else may be thought of the present Prime Minister of France no one will dream of contesting that he is one of the most enigmatic and picturesque personalities of Europe. M. Georges Clemençeau has reached the height of his ambition at the age when most public men have completed their task. He has attained the apex of his fortune, moreover, after such vicissitudes as have fallen to the lot of few. His enemies —and no man has more—had fancied he had had his last fall some twelve years ago. But he has sprung lithely to his feet in trim and fighting attitude. He assumes the responsibility of office, as the virtual ruler of France, at a moment when the state of Europe and the internal conditions of his own country blend in a problem of such complexity as has rarely tested the talent of any French statesman. Every one is asking himself whether M. Clemençeau, who is fascinatingly and certainly French, is also a statesman, and consequently the "French statesman" able to cope with the difficulties besetting him. No superficial view of his past can provide the data requisite to give a positive answer to this question. For the French public, and for many foreign observers as well, M. Clemençeau was a man who had seemed for many years to take a diabolical satisfaction in being on the wrong side. The man whose bitter corrosive irony ate deep into so many reputations that little by little he had completely isolated himself in the French political world; the man who had combated the colonial expansion of France; the man whose American and British affiliations had finally resulted in the formation of the legend that exiled him from parliament on the ground of his being a traitor to his country; the man whose whole career had seemed to many the mere campaign of sterile criticism natural in a soul tormented by rancour against the friends who had excluded him from power; this man is now called upon to display the impartiality of a *chef de gouvernement* and a talent of constructive legislation that will drive from the memory of men all recollection of his "carping past;" he is

constrained to reopen the era of French colonial expansion and to face a situation in north-west Africa in comparison with which Tongking and Tunis were as child's-play ; he is finally, while maintaining the prestige of France at the point to which it was lifted by M. Delcassé, called upon also to stamp out the germs of civil war spread by the Vatican throughout France.

To do all this, to rise to an occasion so complex, one must be a statesman. The sole object of the present study is, in reviewing the public acts of M. Clemençeau during the Third Republic, to put the reader into a position in which he may judge for himself as to the statesmanlike qualifications of a man still regarded by many as possessing only a single talent, that of an opposition leader. I may say at once that the general result of this survey will be to show that M. Clemençeau has been maligned. In a famous speech, *apropos* of the interdiction of M. Sardou's play *Thermidor*, M. Clemençeau said of the French Revolution that it was "a block," an integral episode, "from which nothing could be detached, nothing struck out." M. Clemençeau's life is a "block." It all hangs together. It is consistent. Only to those ignorant of parts of it, or dazzled by the brilliancy of certain moments of it, is it enigmatic. He is not what he seemed to be during so many years when, kept out of office by his "friends," his *rôle* was artificially circumscribed within the limits of a mere critic. To the vast majority he seemed incapable of seminal action ; he was merely the destroyer, a political Apollyon, a dealer in negations, a pernicious meddler and a malicious master of parliamentary tactics using his experience and power only to work antipatriotic havoc. Is this the whole of the story ? Is it even anything like unto the truth ? Let us examine his life chronologically, in its place in the perspective of events during the Third Republic, in order to determine whether his legendary *rôle* of cabinet-killer, and his relentless opposition to the colonial policy of his country—for these are the points on which so many of his compatriots have condemned him—do not thereby assume an aspect creditable both to his political probity and his sagacity as a statesman.

As every one knows, M. Clemençeau, on leaving the university at the close of the empire, spent some months travelling in the United States, eventually settling at Stamford, Connecticut, as a professor. He returned from America with that philosophic detachment which protracted contact with a society so new and strange was bound to render characteristic of a man already initiated into the method of science by his studies in

medicine; whose university thesis, "On the Generation of Anatomical Elements," had shown him to be the continuer of the Encyclopædists; and who had published a translation of Stuart Mill's "Auguste Comte and Positivism." The native independence of his character bred in the Vendée, where men know how to fight, had been enforced by the example of the American spirit. His father and his soil had made him an individualist. America had re-tempered that individualism, so that henceforth he was to cherish a hatred of every form of social repression and an ardent love of real liberty. All his qualities of character were, he himself admits it, those of the men of the Vendée, instinct of independence, tenacity, liberty of criticism, and pugnacity. The Vendéens were, with their Breton cousins, the last guard of the Celts, of those ancestral Gauls who faced the legions of Rome and the hordes of Germany, the purest blood of Gaul who did not capitulate before Cæsar. Through his father, moreover, Georges Clemençeau dated from the men of '89, who could understand Washington, and whom Napoleon had not yet corrupted. The father bequeathed to the son the pure heritage of the Revolution, a right sense of liberty and the passion for individual freedom. These two ideas of real liberty and individualism have been watchwords of M. Clemençeau's career. He has sought to impose this liberty even upon his Chouan brothers of the Vendée who did not want it. Amid all the vicissitudes of his political life he has kept these principles intact, these ideas untarnished, whether it be to protest against state-intervention by centralisation and socialism, against the tyranny of the Red Sultan in Armenia, against the oppression, in economic war, of the working man by the employer, or against the pretension of Germany to stifle the liberties of Europe.

1870 broke. The Government of National Defence was proclaimed, and the young doctor was given a post of honour as Mayor of Montmartre. That quarter of Paris was a hotbed of revolution. M. Clemençeau became in an extraordinarily short space of time the sole master of the famous Butte. He organised lay schools, cared for the refugees that crowded the steep alleys of the mountain, armed the battalions, organised the nondescript world, showed himself worthy of the responsibility entrusted to him by his father's old friend, Etienne Arago, and, in a word, so discharged his task that 96,000 voters, not six months later, chose him to represent them at the National Assembly. This is an episode that cannot be too seriously scrutinised by those who would

understand M. Clemençeau. It is forgotten in Paris, but it is necessary for us to recall it, and to insist upon it. M. Clemençeau was just thirty when his popularity in a post where he had, for five months daily, a hundred chances of alienating the sympathy of his compatriots, singled him out as one of the deputies for Paris at the Bordeaux Parliament. He had won this distinction by his energy, his ability, and his good humour, against fearful odds. He had shown himself at a trying moment a man of intelligent and practical political initiative and authority, what the French call *un homme de gouvernement.* This experience and this success were an earnest of what might be expected from him if ever he was called to a wider field of action. And his cool-headedness and judgment during the Commune, when, acting simply as a man of political sense, animated by the interests of both parties, he sought to reconcile the two factions, revealed him for the first time in the *rôle* which has become proverbial, that namely of a man whose sentiment of justice and intelligence dictate to him acts of serene independence that pass for haughty or ironic individualism. Clemençeau on this occasion fell, as was to be expected, between two stools. The executive authority invented a new crime, that of seeking to reconcile the Commune with the army of Versailles. M. Clemençeau fled to the provinces to inform the new republican municipalities of what was going on in Paris. When, five years later, after having become President of the Paris Municipal Council, he was elected Deputy in the French Chamber, his first act was to deliver the famous speech on amnesty, in favour of the men condemned as members of the Commune. They who would know what French forensic eloquence was in the last quarter of the nineteenth century cannot do better than read that speech.

M. Clemençeau entered the Chamber in February 1876, on the eve of the crisis known in history as the "Seize Mai," that is to say at the hour when finally, the Republic, having definitively triumphed over the coalition seeking to wreck it, and in possession of a Constitution which was its consecration, although voted the previous year by but a majority of one—could turn its face towards the future, and begin a policy of reform worthy of the democracy. M. Clemençeau, upon taking his seat in the Republican Chamber at such a moment, found himself obliged to ask himself, with a searching of heart, what was his duty. The men in office, and the *personnel* who were candidates for power, were all members, as it were, of a political "close corporation," a sort of limited liability com-

pany, admission to which was purchased at the price of compromises odious to honest men of deep-rooted republican instincts. It was like a crew that had climbed aboard ship while the vessel was in port and the townspeople asleep. Exhausted by the ten years of struggle against the Conservatives, and now definitely masters of the ship of state, the officers and the crew seemed to have no other ideal of government than piloting the vessel into land-locked bays, and never daring to put out to sea. The ideal of republican progress they spurned. The one theory of government of the majority of these pharisaic Republicans seemed to be to mark time. The reorganisation of the army they began and effected ; and they began the creation of the system of public schools, as well as magnificently restored French credit. But social reform was the last thing of which they wished to hear. Gambetta fixed the formula and the method of work. He was all for temporisation, the undertaking of reforms piecemeal in series, and the realisation of Thiers' famous phrase : "The Republic will be reassuring or it will not be."

Such were the Opportunists. They governed in the name of the people but in the interests of the French upper middle class, throwing occasional sops to the hungry Cerberus of the democracy, but only when it became so restive as to seem on the point of breaking its chains. The Opportunists wished above all to reassure the Conservative forces of France. This was Republicanism, if you like, but it was not the Republicanism of the Revolution nor yet that of M. Clemençeau. The old order remained virtually unchanged. M. Clemençeau was too keen-sighted at the time not to see what every one sees now. Man of action, moreover, he who, from his childhood in his father's house, had so resolutely set his face towards the future, could not be expected to hesitate. Compromise was for him impossible. Two solutions remained open to him. He might, with the great mass of intelligent Frenchmen, shake off the dust of political life, and retire in disgust into his ivory tower. Or he could remain on the field of battle in the *rôle* of critic. He preferred the latter. Hence the tactics of his career as deputy. Years before in his medical thesis he had written : "To suppress questions is not to reply to them." Now, at the Palais Bourbon, and for fifteen years he fought, with an obstinacy that finally gave him the reputation we have noted, the theory that "to refuse, when in office, what one promised to do when one was in the opposition is the mark of a statesman." Yet that seemed to be the principle on which successive "Republican" governments were acting. The consequence M. Clemençeau foresaw, namely, the aliena-

tion from the Republic of the people's sympathy. His career as a radical chief was one long Cassandra-warning that the French State was on the wrong tack. He foresaw the rise of socialism and the two great crises of Panama and the Dreyfus case. He told his colleagues how the perils could be averted, namely, by reforming themselves, by making the Republic really an institution for Republican action. His tactics throughout this period, in which his assaults demolished so many Cabinets, are susceptible for me of only one plausible interpretation: for it is not plausible to suppose he was demolishing from mere perversity or childish self-will. All that we know of his training and his character militates against the hypothesis. His tactics seem to me, as I look back over the mediocre years of Opportunist government, to have been inspired by the sincere conviction in an observer of keen political sense, who was also a man of exceptional energy and intelligence, that if the Republic did not become the *res publica*, it was destined to be overturned by the influences of Reaction. It required gifted insight, in the days of the Gambettas, the Jules Ferrys, the Leon Says, to be sure of this. But already when the Boulangist crisis occurred, people began to say that, after all there was method in M. Clemençeau's madness; and now, after the great crisis of the Dreyfus affair, which seemed to be an experiment in the vivisection of France organised by the *Zeit-geist* for the delectation of the philosophers, the reasons for the systematic opposition of M. Clemençeau to successive Opportunist Cabinets become more than plausible; he seems to me to have been justified by events.

It remains to explain his anti-Colonial policy, the policy that exposed him to the salutary experience of public disfavour when he was ostracised by a democracy that had interpreted his acts as the proof of his venal complaisancy towards England. This anti-Colonial policy is a graver matter than his opportunist bull-baiting. It is graver, because, although he failed in it signally, it is not his fault if Indo-China, Tunis, West Africa, and Madagascar are not to-day part of the British Empire, or of the domain of Italy. He did all in his power to thwart one of the grandiose schemes of a real statesman, Jules Ferry, who had inaugurated a policy that has resulted in the endowment of France, in an incredibly short space of time, with a vast empire; that has placed her, thirty years after Sedan, back among the great Powers; that has, more than any other influence, served to destroy the hegemony of Germany. But for M. Clemençeau Egypt, too, might have been on the list of French possessions. Evidently in this matter of French colonial expansion his responsibility is grave. But the question for us is whether this

attitude, too, is explicable without impugning his political perspicacity. Was there plausible political method in his madness?

In the first place, if it be proved that he was wanting here in political sagacity, it is worth noting that he finds himself in this particular with Bismarck, who pooh-poohed the value of colonies for Germany, and as a result of whose improvidence Germany has lost steadily the place she long held in the counsels of Europe. At last, when it was too late, when the world was full, she woke to a sense of the way she had been elbowed into a corner, and legitimate doubts arose in her mind as to the political genius of her hero. But if Bismarck erred, by not looking far enough afield, it was not because he was without a plan. It was just because he had a diabolical one that worked superbly for a quarter of a century. It consisted in allowing France to expand to her heart's content—burst, if she eventually could, by the very tenuity of her concentric rings of colonisation; for thereby he thought to achieve certain results: he would, in the first place, weaken her force at home, and thus relieve his western frontier; secondly, he would absorb her in matters that would distract her attention from the memories of the "Terrible Year," and little by little bury in oblivion the impulses towards revenge; nay, thirdly, he would merit her gratitude and pave the way for an agreement in which, with treaties of commerce, Germany could once more begin her onward march towards the West, the old invasion that has never ceased since the days of Orgetorix and Ariovistus; and finally he would inevitably pit France against England, with whom she was bound to clash at a hundred points of the planet; he would renew and cultivate the old-time hostility between the two Powers whose *entente* would entail the fall of Germany. The plan was grandiose but practical, and what is more, it all but succeeded. For a quarter of a century England and France, like two birds in a cockpit, drew each other's blood for the coarse pleasure of the Teutons leaning over the fence; and, in the lulls between the rounds, the Gallic cock was swathed, cuddled, dressed by the German whose *hochs* had egged him on; France seemed on the eve of losing her honour in the arms of Germany, until, finally, under the last of the opportunist Ministers, M. Hanotaux, a veritable treaty of alliance was on the point of being signed that would have made her a protectorate of the German Empire.

Now, precisely as it is down in black on white—the uncontested historic fact to-day—that from Gambetta to Hanotaux the Opportunists played blindly the monkey game of pulling chestnuts for Germany from the ashes of their smouldering

hopes (thereby creating, on the one hand, that pervasive *malaise* which prepared the soil for "nationalism," and, on the other hand, at the same time, making only spasmodic and insincere efforts to legislate for the democracy, a supineness that has exposed the body politic to the ravages of "Socialism"), so is it down in black on white that M. Clemençeau was never for an instant the dupe of appearances; he, at all events, saw, from the start, the nature of the Teuton game, and while, at another time, and with less at stake, artist as he is, he might have enjoyed the spectacle, he now contemplated it with horror. The strolling minstrels of patriotism, the Déroulèdes and Millevoyes, not content with dancing round the statue of Alsace-Lorraine in the Place de la Concorde, chanted in chorus against "perfidious Albion." The anti-Semites, led by M. Drumont, never breathed the name of Germany, but held up to execration the name of England. The colonial policy of the Opportunists multiplied the occasions for those mutual pin-pricks all over the globe, which rejoiced the heart of Germany. At every moment of special stress between England and France, the Germans, who had adroitly altered their policy from heckling to blandishment, sought to woo France from the fixed idea of *la revanche*. Even the *pensons y mais parlons jamais* of Gambetta, anodine formula as it was, seemed less and less to be heeded by a spiritless people who had transferred all their hatred and rancour from the region of the Rhine to the banks of the Nile and the swamps of the Congo. Fashoda arrived. Then came the Boer War. Anti-British passion reached its paroxysm. There remained but one or two cool heads in public life in France. The most conspicuous of them was the man who had been ostracised from Parliament on the charge of being a traitor to his country, and who, from the day the Republic was proclaimed, had seen, with a vividness as creditable to his honour as a Frenchman as to his sagacity as a political thinker, that French national dignity and prestige precluded her from ever compromising with the conqueror of Metz and Strassburg; that her positive interests—all of them—required her to choose between Germany and England; that she was advancing, nevertheless, year by year steadily towards a naval war with the latter power; and that, in a word, her colonial policy seemed to exist solely to further the ends of a foreign policy that was hurrying her on, if not to material ruin, at all events to moral shame.

Strassburg or Cairo? There are people who venture to put the question. It appears that the bad patriots are they who stick to Strassburg. The truth is that we are foolishly paying the piper for the flirtation of England and Germany, who will one day be reconciled at our expense. When France shall have become resigned to her defeat by Germany she will have deserved the shame of her abdication.

These are words of M. Clemençeau, written amid the howls of delight that greeted in Paris the news of the British losses at Ladysmith. It is utterances such as these, strewn luxuriantly in the path of French politicians during all the time France was building up her colonial empire, and while the enmity between England and France was thickening, that gave rise to the legend as to M. Clemençeau's treason. But how could he know, how could any one divine, across a score of years of increasing hostility to England, that the very thing that seemed to be making irrevocably for war, would one day avert it and form the corner-stone of European peace? How could he know that in the fulness of time, miraculously, the scales would fall from the eyes of French and British statesmen, and that they would see what he himself had seen all along—the diabolic game of Germany? Germany herself so little anticipated this issue, so little supposed it conceivable, that it entered into none of her calculations; and it is precisely because of that blindness that for the last five years she has been stumbling on her way as one dazed. The very bottom has dropped out of her foreign policy. When the incredible French *Entente* with England occurred, with what joy and relief M. Clemençeau must have learned that even the most penetrating vision of the most clairvoyant statesman cannot be expected to discern all the data of a problem.

However this may be, one thing is certain. M. Clemençeau's passionate opposition to the pet items of the opportunist programme over a long period of years: the energy in particular with which he objected to the French occupation of Egypt; his American and British sympathies; his general air of independence, alienating all the republican protagonists in succession, and, on the other hand, infuriating the Boulangists and Chauvinists; all these causes, in the over-heated, at times mephitic, atmosphere of French politics were bound eventually to combine to such a result as finally befell M. Clemençeau, and as will be in the memory of all. Odious calumny englobed him during the Panama affair, in the discomfiture of a man who had been one of the shareholders of his paper, the *Aurore*, M. Cornelius Herz. A scandalous campaign of the *Pétit Journal* lost him his seat in the department of the Var. He was covered with obloquy, and his political career seemed ended.

The experience had been terrible, but for a temperament of such stuff as his such a blow is one of the special favours of the gods. As he told his friends later on, public disfavour could not tear from him what was best in him, namely, the probity of his thought. "It is good for a public man," he said, "to be able from time to time to get out of himself, in order to

pronounce in the depths of his consciousness both on himself and on those who haughtily condemn another's faults from the summit of their own." He had ceased to please the most capricious of masters, Public Opinion. The people had exiled him, as he put it, to his *terres*, as did the French kings the ministers who had ceased to please. But his *terres*, his lands, were :

> the infinite regions of free meditation beyond the pressure of groups and parties. It was liberty of thought and speech without concern for the lying conventions that for so many people pass muster as truth. Precious conquest that, when one reflects that the function, after all secondary, of public men is merely to translate into acts, more or less happily adapted to the general state of minds, those social verities that have been extracted by thinkers from the chaos of human movements.

What makes the peculiar interest of this utterance—which is characteristic of M. Clemençeau, and which I extract from one of his latest speeches—is that it reveals a type of public man so rare in France that I know not where to find a parallel. It shows a mind of scientific training, enriched by experience of the "real thing" in life as it is, who is exactly the opposite of those doctrinaire politicians and thinkers, called "Jacobins" in France, that seek to apply their ideals without suspecting the utter relativity of things. Here is a man who is aware that politics is a positive science, not the mouthing of sonorous platitudes. A minds like this eschews every form of demagoguism. Note the quality of the thought once again. He is speaking as Minister of the Interior with reference to the application of the Separation Law: "We shall maintain liberty. We shall know how to take into consideration the imperious demands of common liberty and of the temperaments, called ways of thinking, that are the consequence of age-long history, and that preserve even in the modern man a power, with which it is the art of the politician to enter into compromise." Although words like these, for any one with the slightest critical sense, bear on their surface the evidence of a sincerity that loathes the high-falutin formulas wont to fall from the lips of politicians, it may be useful to point out that they describe perfectly the attitude of M. Clemençeau as we have followed him throughout his career, while they apply exactly to his methods and policy since he has had the responsibility of power.

> For a man of sincerity, [he said the other day,] who forms part of a government, the time for criticism and pure idealism is past. The first duty of a Minister is to fix the limits of his action. He is face to face with contingencies. He should not cease to march ever towards an ideal ; but in order to realise the portions immediately applicable of his programme, he

finds himself obliged to make a compromise with the traditions, habits and ways created by the very *régime* that he has set himself to change.

Evidently it is a philosopher who is talking, a man who has meditated and reflected during the long but active years of his disgrace when he showed himself a great writer to whom nothing that interested human nature was foreign. But it is also a man of action, the man we have seen and accounted for, but the man as well who, with Zola, waged, in the Dreyfus affair, the most brilliant campaign of polemics in French literature since Pascal's *Provincial Letters*, and revealed himself a citizen as cool-headed as he was courageous at a moment when the whole French nation, the entire secular structure, trembled to its foundations. And it is this man who is now lifted to a pinnacle whence he dominates, as Prime Minister of France, the entire past that we have surveyed, and the dusky future which he himself is destined to open. How has he begun to put into practice the principles which, as we have seen, are his, and on which he has never varied?

He has had the signal good-fortune to have arrived in office at a peculiarly critical moment in the history of the Third Republic. To-day is one of those instants, one of those turning-points, that the French, borrowing from Bismarck, call a "psychological moment," by which they mean the end of a special phase and the beginning of another. The history of the Third Republic was first the battle waged against the Conservative Conspirators up to the voting of the Republican Constitution of 1875 and the triumph of the "Seize Mai." It was secondly the slow years of Republican organisation by the Opportunists whom Clemençeau felt forced to combat as being more republican in name than in spirit and in truth. It was thirdly the clash of the ideals of the opportunist middle class with those of the real democracy. This marked the advent of the so-called Socialists, who were really only Radical Republicans. Political life became sincerer. A more honest effort was made to carry through social reform. There was less talking in the air. An instrument of effective legislative action was formed, the machine of which foreigners have heard during the last seven years under the name of the *Bloc*. The first period reached from 1871 to 1877; the second from 1877 to 1885; the third from about 1886 or 1887 to 1905, the close of the Combes Ministry, thus traversing the decade of civil war known as the Dreyfus case, which interrupted the steady evolution of French society, but which was seen, when all was over, to have precipitated that advance and to have transformed the nation and the state.

M. Clemençeau is given office when the chief essential measures of his old programme of separation of church and state have been passed, and when the old opportunist *personnel* of parliament has dwindled to the apathetic handful known as the "progressists." At last, and for the first time in thirty-five years, the ground is cleared for Republican action. The future lies open for practical social reform. In presence of this situation M. Clemençeau is offered the responsibility of beginning to realise his old dream, namely the organisation of the democracy. Has he begun to meet this responsibility as a statesman? He was put to the test first as Minister of the Interior, when he was confronted with the menace of a general strike in Paris. The Conservative opposition had spread a veritable panic, families of wealth and social position literally fleeing from the capital. By prompt police action M. Clemençeau, the whilom dictator of Montmartre, made May 1, 1905, a parody of a London Sunday, and proved to the superstitious aristocrats that the Republic means liberty and order. He became Prime Minister. "Never," he exclaimed, "so long as I am in office will a church door be closed." And thereby he confounded the miserable calculations of the Vatican longing for an occasion to force its soldiers to pose as martyrs and to accuse of persecution the champions of liberty. He founded a Ministry which is the first homogeneous Cabinet France has had since 1871, an act, the characteristic independence of which may, however, turn out to be the ultimate cause of his fall, for he thereby ignored all the parliamentary groups so jealous of their power. To show that he means to begin the appropriation of society for the purposes of the democracy he excluded from his list all Republicans constitutionally afraid to honour their political signatures. He created a new instrument of social reform known as the "Ministry of Work and Social Providence," which he offered to a "Socialist." Thus, he who has lavished his criticism on so many public men in the past is now brought to book and put upon his mettle. No man knows what is the temper of the new Chamber of Deputies upon whom his fate depends. But I submit that no man, even among those to whom he remains a dread mystery, and who are working strenuously to compass his fall, doubts the sincerity, the energy, the practical sense of the present Prime Minister. He is not only an eminent man, he is also a remarkable man. It depends not entirely upon him to *prove* that he is also the great man that he is.

WILLIAM MORTON FULLERTON.

THOUGHT-TRANSFERENCE AND WHAT IT LEADS TO

THE performances of Mr. and Mrs. Zancig at the Alhambra have excited public interest to an extent which from one point of view is amusing, and from another fully justified. The newspaper controversies on the subject have been rather ludicrous because the faculty exhibited by the performance in question ought by this time to be recognised as a human qualification not so frequently encountered, let us say, as a fine ear for music, or a great delicacy of taste, but in varying degrees very familiar to all students of psychic phenomena. For any one, indeed, who is seriously engaged in studying those aspects of nature associated with its superficial manifestations, a great many other potentialities of human sense are no less familiar than that which renders possible what is commonly called "thought transference," or "telepathy" to use the term adopted by the Psychic Research Society. But at all events this process, the communication from one mind to another of definite impressions or states of consciousness, independently altogether of the usual channels of sense—has been investigated with especial care for many years by the well-known society just named, with the result that telepathy as a fact in nature has been firmly established on a scientific basis. The society has been extremely cautious in dealing with other phenomena held by more advanced occult students to be equally well established, but it has frankly prided itself on having set telepathy at all events upon a solid foundation. The development therefore of an animated newspaper correspondence as to whether certain apparently very competent exponents of the well-known faculty, are really exhibiting it or deceiving their audience by some trick, is absurdly foolish as far as it represents a mere stolid disbelief in the possibility that the Zancigs can be genuine. Correspondents might legitimately discuss the question whether the Zancigs come within the category of those who exhibit the phenomenon

of telepathy, just as in any given case it might be legitimate to doubt whether some apparently hypnotised person was really hypnotised or merely acting. The slowly developed understanding of the world at large has at last embraced the idea that hypnotism is possible, and no discussion connected with any given allegation on that subject would rest on the contention that the allegation, in its nature, was absurd. And yet people actually write letters to the papers to ridicule as "supernatural" the idea that telepathy may be the explanation of a performance which on the face of things seems necessarily assigned to that simple explanation.

With reference to this performance as to any other of this kind it might have been reasonable at first to suggest that it was due to the use of a signal code, though in view of the details, any one making this contention after having really seen what happens, would be showing himself rather ridiculously credulous as regards the possibility of code signalling. No one having had any experience in telepathic experiments could remain long in doubt as to the genuine character of the performance in question, while for my own part, my recognition of it as due to an extremely delicate sensitiveness of the appropriate kind in the case of the percipient, is not a matter of inference merely, but of knowledge; I was permitted at a private interview to try the experiment myself and without Mr. Zancig being cognisant of the figures I was using, telepathically projected certain impressions towards Mrs. Zancig which she picked up quite correctly.

Of course in connection with my study of those mysteries of nature hitherto called occult—although the term is happily becoming less and less appropriate every year—I have had the opportunity of making similar experiments with other sensitives, although thought-transference as a phenomenon is very soon left in the background by those who are scientifically investigating the body of faculties of which it is one of the least important manifestations. And that is why the public excitement shown in connection with the Alhambra performance might from one point of view be regarded as highly justifiable. If only people at large could understand that the appreciation of such a performance might be their introduction to a higher realm of knowledge ramifying in many directions —assuming that only now for the first time they have glimpsed the reality of superphysical phenomena—one can well understand how—if capable of drawing inferences—they might be thrilled with eager anticipation. Those who are still discussing, after all that has taken place, whether the Zancig performance

is genuine, need not any longer engage our attention. That kind of foolishness will doubtless be with us for many generations to come, just as, for a long while in the future, the lower races of mankind will continue to inhabit some parts of the world, awaiting the distant period when all human consciousness shall have attained the level of a more advanced civilisation. Nor is it much worth while to discuss "thought-transference" itself with the limited number of persons seriously engaged in occult research. The laboratories of the Royal Institution would not be available for continually proving that phosphorus will burn brightly in oxygen gas. But at the present age of the world when human intelligence is beginning to explore new fields of natural mystery, it is well worth while to show what the recognition of thought-transference as a human faculty may ultimately lead to.

The elementary faculty may be made use of in various ways. It is usual in experiments of this kind to speak of the person who projects the impression as the "agent," the sensitive who receives it as the "percipient." The agent may project definite conceptions in his own mind, words, figures, names of objects, and so on, or he may convey visual impressions, so that the percipient will draw on paper the diagram or sketch he is looking at. This is a very interesting development of the process, and has been elaborately studied under the auspices of the Society for Psychical Research. Also in my own experience I have been enabled to carry it out with a success that perhaps eclipses the results published in the society's proceedings. But, of course, it is only a step in a new direction for students who appreciate its significance. The next step enables the investigator to realise that the sensitive faculties of the percipient may be affected in a great many other ways than by the conscious projection of thought-images by another person.

Carrying on experiments in connection with this discovery, he will soon ascertain that sometimes, where the faculty of receiving impressions is feeble or non-existent in the normal state, it will be developed under mesmeric influence, and the mesmerised sensitive will be enabled, under direction, to become sensitive to a much wider range of influences than those emanating from the mesmerist; even to describe places towards which his attention may be directed, though they may be far away from the scene of the experiment. The records embodied in Dr. Gregory's old classic on this subject—his book entitled *Animal Magnetism*, published more than fifty years ago—will afford some examples of such phenomena, scarcely at that time belittled by being described as examples of thought-transference,

but grouped together as illustrations of clairvoyance. And this brings us to the recognition of the really important significance, for those who have not yet made a study of this subject, of the interesting manifestation that has lately attracted so much notice. It is a slight—and compared to other kinds a relatively feeble—manifestation of the faculty of clairvoyance, which, in its ultimate developments, is obviously (for those who comprehend its possible scope) destined to do far more for the expansion of human knowledge than has been accomplished by the use of the physical senses up to the current period of evolution.

Broadly defined, the term "clairvoyance" simply represents the capacity of human consciousness to be reached in other ways than by means of the physical senses. And those of us who are even moderately well acquainted with the fascinating character of the experiences to which that capacity may introduce us, will always be amazed at the manner in which its study has generally been neglected. Nearly all through the nineteenth century the subject has been available for study. The French mesmerist Deleuze, writing "Sur la faculté de prévision" in 1836, put forward facts enough to show that wonderful results might be attained along that line. La Harpe, Dr. Teste, and other French writers contributed their experiences, and Dr. Gregory, in our own language recorded his patient work, which for people who can appreciate the value of evidence is alone conclusive proof that the faculty of clairvoyance exists. Its range in Dr. Gregory's time was imperfectly comprehended, but as applied to the purpose of perceiving objects beyond the reach of the physical senses it was systematically studied. The methods adopted were conclusive as far as they went. The sensitives employed were able to read letters enclosed in opaque boxes, and Major Buckley, who collaborated with Gregory, used to experiment with nuts containing printed mottoes. "He causes some friends, who wish to see and test the fact, to purchase a number of these nuts in different shops, and to seal them up in a bag, from whence they are taken by the clairvoyant by chance, read, noted, and opened." These experiments, though multiplied by Major Buckley to what, looking back, we may think to have been almost wearisome excess, were soon expanded in a new direction. It was found that by directing the attention of sensitives employed to adjacent rooms, or even neighbouring buildings in which they had never been, it was possible to obtain from them accurate descriptions of the places thus recognised, and speculation at the time was ill prepared to explain these wonderful

results. Later exertions have, perhaps, enabled us to do this, but for the moment it is more important to trace the course of investigation than to anticipate developments of occult theory.

Although, as I have said, the kind of clairvoyance relating entirely to observation of things and places beyond the reach of ordinary vision, was better carried out when sensitives were under mesmeric influence, another line of investigation exhibited the faculty of clairvoyance operative under normal conditions. It has been found that in many cases sensitives handling objects which belong in their origin to distant places, will be enabled to describe these, even though not in any abnormal state of trance. This line of work has been associated with another term, "psychometry," although in truth all these varieties of psychic perception may be grouped under the comprehensive term of clairvoyance. Psychometric visions introduce us to a new departure in the investigation of the whole subject. Experience showed that the psychometrist would continually be able not merely to describe contemporary scenes with which the objects handled might be related, but also scenes having to do with past time, as associated with the origin of the objects handled, and thus we are introduced to an entirely new phase of clairvoyant possibility. Not merely by the psychometric method, but very often without any specific clue, a clairvoyant in the normal state is enabled to recover perception of bygone conditions in any place where he may be. Within my own knowledge, for instance, a clairvoyant has been enabled to describe the former arrangements of an old house which had undergone alteration, and thus by degrees we are introduced to the idea that somehow in nature there exists an imperishable record of scenes that have been enacted in the past. The clairvoyant faculty may recover touch with these records. Nor in such investigations, which may comprehensively be described as clairvoyance in time, does any limit impede the retrospect, and thus we are enabled to appreciate the magnificent possibilities associated with the exercise of psychic investigation applied to historical research.

If experiments had never dealt with any other than that earlier variety of clairvoyance relating merely to distant places, it would still have been intensely interesting, though it would not at once have manifestly involved the promise of knowledge inaccessible to other methods of inquiry. But the faculty of clairvoyance in time, opens out infinite possibilities, and has already, in connection with modern occult research, been

productive of results the magnitude of which must seem startling indeed to all but those who have approached them by degrees —realising step by step their trustworthy character. Modern occult research, availing itself of the resources just described, has been enabled to reconstruct great chapters of human history lying far in the background behind the earliest records of literature or archæology. For example, a prolonged series of investigations carried out during years of study, and by the co-operation of several adequately qualified clairvoyants, has put us at last in possession of detailed information concerning the long-lost continent of Atlantis, referred to in what at one time were regarded as classical tables—all but recognised now by geologists as land which must have existed once, although geographical change since then has metamorphosed the map of the world. Merely to epitomise the results of these investigations would expand these explanations to inconvenient length. But my purpose is merely to indicate the range and importance of that as yet imperfectly developed human power, the crude glimmerings of which are manifested in such exhibitions of thought-transference as those that have for the moment attracted public attention.

Nor must it be supposed that the resources of clairvoyance are limited, even by the power of applying them to historical research. From the period of the earliest experiments by the French mesmerists it was noticeable that clairvoyants would not infrequently describe appearances coming within their observation that were related to other states of existence, pointing to the presence around us of what, for ordinary senses, is an unseen world. In later years clairvoyance of this kind has been developed and studied to an extent which brings within the range of definite knowledge, for those who know how to guide their inquiry, innumerable facts relating to states of existence transcending those of physical incarnation. I hesitate to indicate the extent to which knowledge of this kind has accumulated on our hands. It is only by degrees that such knowledge comes within the range of credibility. Set forth in its entirety it constitutes an interpretation of human life, its origin and destinies, ranging immeasurably beyond the reach of mere intellectual speculation. Some conditions of future life, regarded at the best in the light of nineteenth-century beliefs as accessible merely to the blind groping of faith, can by the exercise of the higher clairvoyance be brought within the reach of definite observation. For those who have profited most completely by the progress of psychic research, regions of nature placidly regarded by most of our predecessors as apper-

taining to "the unknowable" have revealed their mysteries to the competent explorer, and it is easy to foresee, as a matter of future certainty, that when as much intelligent effort is directed towards the acquisition of superphysical knowledge as in the past century has been devoted to research relating exclusively to the physical plane, the clairvoyant faculty will be recognised as an instrument of research the resources of which are so far superior to those with which the science of the past has hitherto been content to work, that the future enlightenment to be acquired will be in a different order of magnitude from that which has rewarded the patient and admirable but limited investigations by which current scientific knowledge has been established on its present footing.

Even with the view of expanding its comprehension of the laws governing matter, the science of the future must employ the faculties of the higher clairvoyance. For these are not merely applicable, so to speak, to infinitudes of time, they are applicable to infinitudes of magnitude. The latest activities of laboratory research have been especially concerned with the study of the infinitely little. Radium emanations have introduced us to bodies so minute that imagination is paralysed in the attempt to realise their relationship to bodies of more manageable size. Indeed, by means of physical instruments alone, the electron can only be divined, so to speak, from observation of some of its activities. Clairvoyant research of the higher order, on the other hand, is baffled by no embarrassments in dealing with the infinitely little. Its range is as great in one direction as in the other. In dealing with time, no procession of centuries is too protracted to blur the imperishable records of nature's memory; in dealing with physical matter, no atom is so minute as to elude its microscopic insight. The so-called electron has indeed been the subject of clairvoyant research, and of essays embodying the results of that research, published more than ten years ago, anticipating and more than anticipating the illumination thrown on the subject since the discovery of radium. Another excursion into the domain of occult chemistry would be required to exemplify in detail the statement I have just ventured to make. But the literature of modern occultism is available, in justification of my statement, for all who care to dive more deeply into the intricacies of the subject.

For the world at large, altogether unacquainted with the results already achieved in this direction, will the interest now taken in the elementary phenomenon of thought-transference, be an avenue of approach to higher things, or will the present

excitement be destined to die out, like a fire of straw, as quickly as it has blazed up? Sooner or later, it is just as certain as the precession of the equinoxes, that the investigation of Nature's mysteries will be carried out by the application of clairvoyance to the problems which have to be dealt with, because no narrow-minded bigotry or prejudice can permanently impede the progress of intelligence. Of course the study of natural truth by the means indicated, must be preceded by the study of the faculty itself, and of the methods by which its exercise can be rendered trustworthy. Probably we shall have to pass through a period during which the general recognition of clairvoyance as a faculty will give rise to myriads of fraudulent pretensions. But these will not mislead the scientific world, once that is fairly embarked on the task of studying Nature by clairvoyant methods. Those only whose eager curiosity outruns their appropriate culture become the prey of the impostor. Even at our present humble stage of advancement, those of us who endeavour to be occult students find no great difficulty in distinguishing between the genuine clairvoyant and the fraudulent imitator. But in the ultimate future, as the real faculty is better understood, the false pretence will be the more readily unveiled. The changes that will thus be inaugurated are all bound to come. The world as represented, at all events, by advanced civilisation is ripe or ripening for them, and one never can tell what small accident may not give the impulse required to set them in motion. It will be rather a comic feature of our progress if a music-hall performance should be destined, by the irony of circumstance, to punctuate human evolution at an important turning-point in its history, but all chemists know how, when a solution is just ready to crystallise, a speck of dust may be enough to start the metamorphosis. One would rather the Royal Society had led the way, but if its action has been anticipated by the Alhambra, the result will be welcome whether it comes to us from Leicester Square or from Piccadilly.

A. P. Sinnett.

THE FAILURE OF GAMES

THE fair suburb of Fulham, almost within the precincts of the Palace, is shortly to be the battleground, or perhaps the laboratory, where two rival experiments are to be worked out. Of one experiment we already have had sufficient test. Every Saturday through the winter twenty-two gladiators, retained at considerable fees by the limited companies that exploit them, meet and play before large crowds a foul and quite un-English game. It is unnecessary to apologise for the Saxon adjective. "Foul," of course, is a technical word that no longer, since law and nomenclature came into the hands of professionals, carries any offensive implication. Any unintentional breach of the law is a "foul," hailed as such by the players, and not much distinguished from such deliberate and very foul "fouls" as I have heard cheered at Fulham. Football has long been a lusty game, "meet for laming the users thereof." A Berkshire historian has lately unearthed from a village register an example that even America could scarcely parallel. The death of John and Richard Gregorie was the cause of the entry, which reads thus: "These two men were killed by ould Gunter. Gunter's sonnes and ye Gregories fell by ye years at footeball. Ould Gunter drew his dagger and broke both their heads, and they died within a fortnight." But between the crisp savagery of Ould Gunter and the organised barbarity of professional football is all the difference that separated the race of Pheidippides from the Olympic games of Hellenic tribes.

In spite of similar and worse excesses in America—not yet a decadent nation—I must believe that any unprejudiced person who happened to visit this Fulham field on a Saturday afternoon in winter would take the spectacle as a symptom of rampant decadence. He would sigh with Horace for the nation "*longo satiata ludo.*" Every week a black-coated company of sedentary youth there assembles round a football game, raves over its progress and sulks over local defeats. For many of them this mood and occupation are new. Even three or four years ago this same youth hurried out of London on bicycles; and although some

perhaps acquired permanent kinks in the back from stooping over the handles and some prepared the way for aneurisms by excessive scorching, at any rate they kept alive in themselves some sense of animal vigour and touched natural interests. But the boom of the cycle was short-lived. Personal exercise in this class is out of fashion. Those who now watch the football on Saturday afternoons read of it on Sunday mornings. Their intellect is as completely caught by the statistics of the game, the fortunes of the League, as any young player of chess when he first joins a club. The difference is that football has no room for thought in it, though it perhaps develops in its vicarious votaries that great quality of German chess-players, the gift of Sitzfleisch. The game has become gladiatorial. Foul play, if successful, is cheered. Unsuccess, however accidental, is hissed; and should the home gladiators have a series of defeats, the inhabitants desert the Coliseum. The shares of the limited company known as the So-and-so Football Club collapse, and can only be raised by the importation—at further capital outlay—of aliens, probably Scotsmen. Drastic laws to regulate expenses have been passed and avail somewhat; but the financial basis remains, the pastime is dead and the end is degeneration.

All over England those who have to do with education feel that these shows, of which Fulham happens to be one of the worst, are of evil influence. But they continue—and it is by no means certain that they are wrong—to encourage with much energy the inoculation of children with the bacillus of ball games. A famous schoolmaster—who from time to time thinks it his duty to probe the thoughts of his pupils by Socratean if not confessional methods—told me once that the cardinal sin, so far as he could discover, was a mood of mental impotence, growing more persistent by indulgence, during which a boy's thoughts were filled with vague and yet oppressive imaginings of ideal goals and strokes, and under this obsession his will collapsed. Often those who play the games least are most obsessed. A gentle little scholar of fifteen knew by heart the breaks of all the great billiard players, and could give you offhand the points and positions of the leading League clubs. There are masters little if at all better. They do not wish to be absorbed either in athletics or athletic annals, but we all have a tendency to slip down stream, and everywhere in England, the country villages excepted, the most vigorous section of the youth of the community, like sailors in a sea current, find that the whole element in which they exist is so steadily moving gamewards that for want of a standing object

or contrary movement to reckon by, they are wholly unconscious of the deadly extent of their leeway. They talk games and read games, and watch games, and play games till the world becomes a place dichotomised into work-time—that is to say, grammar-grinding at dead or unessential things, and play-time—that is to say, ball kicking or beating in one of its many shapes.

That life should be organic, that action should be national, that learning or pastimes should be real, is not suggested in any form to any of them. How many people who have played everything there was to be played between the ages of ten and twenty-three, wish that they had never played any of them! I have known in my experience of one boy only who refused to play cricket for his house, and he is now, having just left Oxford, on the way to intellectual eminence, and of finer physical health and efficiency for all his abstention from games than most of his contemporaries. In America the finished athlete is often a pampered, specialised being as little fit for citizen service as the poor sweated factory hand, whose one accomplishment, she said, was packing files!

The slough into which in its final issue this absorption leads is seen weekly at Fulham. But hard by is contemplated a contrary spectacle. There the young idea is to be taught to shoot—at goal, be it understood, for the word is now technical and generally used in this sense—under the kind and expensive patronage of the L.C.C. For the Code of the Board of Education now provides that "suitable organised games," such as cricket and football for boys and appropriate games for girls, may be played during the hours set aside for afternoon attendance, counting "within proper limits" as a part of the school routine. Hitherto, it is pointed out in a prefatory memorandum to the Code, participation in organised games has been made possible for elementary school children only by the voluntary efforts of the teacher outside school hours, and "the sacrifice of their spare time has been rewarded by an improvement in the health and the *esprit de corps* of their scholars, so marked as to afford every hope that *a national advance in these respects will follow the inclusion of organised games in the school curriculum.*" The Education Committee considers that the moral and physical value of games is becoming so generally admitted that the Council should give authority for their experimental introduction into the schools, and authorise the expenditure of a considerable sum. Fulham, where between 500 and 600 scholars could be enabled to play one afternoon in each week, was suggested as the most appropriate site.

"Great is juxtaposition": and this proximity of the proposed playing-field to the neighbour football-ground makes it proper to inquire whether the one is to be the nursery of the other. Will the future youth of the elementary school be the embryo of the pro. and of the vicarious clerkly athlete? Platitudes are not always wrong, though the users thereof usually are. The tags that worthy and self-satisfied doctors have iterated for a generation or two on the playing genius of the Anglo-Saxon race touch a truth, though no such a beast as an Anglo-Saxon is extant, and the nation is severely handicapped by its playfulness. It is generally granted in the army that those regiments are most efficient where the games are best played. I know even football professionals whom I would select with perfect confidence for any tight place. An Oxford tutor, of unusual intellectual grasp and a total distaste for athletics, has shown me records that prove to his satisfaction the marked superiority of athletes in the schools. Lord Alverstone has "breasted the worsted" in his profession, partly because years ago he first called out this beautiful idiom at Lillie Bridge. I have always admired the athlete, and believe he reaches through athletics to a more manly view of life than most of his equals. Yet we are a long way off proof that it is safe, nationally and morally, to cram children with games by official mandate.

We want young talent as well as older talent to drive the machine of the nation. Mr. Benson seems to hope that he can breed Irvings in place of Hampdens on the village green; but the Hampden is the more valuable type. The Education Office desires to train up suburban Deerfoots or Samsons; we rather want suburban Pitts or Wellingtons. Health, of course, comes first, and gaiety is a fine influence much neglected and more powerful than even Froebel held, but patriotism is quite good hygiene if properly expressed, and games are not the only pastimes. I have no desire to see the end of games at any schools. If I had I should not have the courage to say so, for the subject is one on which the British people will not permit two opinions. Women begin to share the intolerant enthusiasm of men. Hockey, cricket, and of all games la crosse, are officially supported at the new girls' public schools that have sprung up, and their effects are acknowledged to be happy.

Games, then, are to be accepted, whether we think them acceptable or no; and my proposal is not to abolish them, but rather to treat them as Lord Rosebery would treat the House of Lords. In studying the dominant growth of Rugby football in New Zealand, under an organisation infinitely more capable and complete than any political government, it was inevitable

to lament the waste or half-use of so powerful a machine. The Union there is unchallenged lord over every club. It has indeed created the clubs, one to each district, and refused existence to others ; it has logically subdivided each club into teams, of which each is controlled by precise and unquestioned regulations It has established training gymnasia and taught special exercises. Might not such an union, with its willing and obedient army, go a step further in autocracy, and demand of its members and its clubs a subsidiary, yet a greater, service ? In New Zealand everything is possible ; some things are still possible in England ; and New Britain may supply hints for redressing the balance in Old England. The Board of Education talks of games increasing the *esprit de corps*. That is just what games in their latest development fail to do ; but the word corps, restricted to its English use, has a hint in it. Games miss the best attribute of the military corps, or, in its higher development, of the naval spirit ; and the loss must be made good. Wherever there exists a central body having affiliated clubs—and I have mentioned New Zealand because the whole country there, as nowhere else, is "spoked" to one hub—it should be possible to extend the autocracy to affairs outside the special game ; to lay down, for example, rules of training with the same strictness as they enforce rules of conduct on the field and social behaviour off it. Boys at school are not allowed certain privileges till they can pass a swimming test. Why not on this principle compel all members of leagues to pass some elementary test in soldierly behaviour, as a qualification for the higher honours of the game ? What we most want in England is *military drill, with more of the nimble spirit of a game or sport*, and *games with more of the disciplined rigour of drill*. I can imagine nobody more likely to turn out a smart and businesslike corps than the Kent County Cricket Club, or the Devonshire Rugby team, nor is there any other means so well calculated to give teams in the professional League some hint that proficiency in football does not fulfil the whole duty of local patriotism. Preston North End might grow as proud of, say, their cycling corps' dash as of their proficiency in the short passing game.

"Much may be done with a Scotsman if he be caught young," said Dr. Johnson. These old sinners of the League may be past mending, though the limited companies might be bullied into better things by the threat of taxation against all clubs not qualifying in a cadet's drill and a shooting test. But I would urge this combination of the spirits of drill and games, not so much on the League as on the organisers of the less notorious playing-field of Fulham. During the last term at Clifton,

physical drill and rifle-shooting were made compulsory on the whole school, and as in the proposal of the Code, hours were deducted from the time usually spent in the form room. The prime motive, urged by assembled headmasters and stimulated by Lord Roberts, was the extension of military training for the sake of the nation; but this great ideal is likely to find a more insidious obstacle than schoolmasters suspect in the present spirit of games. To reform the perverted hero-worship of athletic fashion—"this is the labour, this the work." Knowing how completely boys are possessed by this artificial zest, I see no great prospect in added drill, unless through it the psychology of the game-player be influenced. The simplest and most effectual means to this end is to make the game club the unit of the corps. I believe that in this way, both at school and later, games may be insensibly stripped of their selfishness and aimlessness; and members of school elevens and fifteens tempted to feel that they were also members of national battalions, and the school a unit of the Empire. Games at present are too narrowly competitive. Mr. Thompson Seton, chiefly known to the public for his life-histories of animals, has had unparalleled success with clubs for boys from the slums of New York, by inventing and practising a system of athletics—with an Indian camp fire and totem pole as nucleus—in which the reaching of a standard is substituted for the "Star" system of victory in a race. Something of the same sort—substituting perhaps Robin Hood for the Indian—might well be done in England; but the principal effect of his system—which is elaborate and ingenious in detail—might be attained by destroying the specialistic principle in games, through which one or two get undue reputation for a rather useless proficiency in one line. A boy specialist is a horrible idea, and a team, as well as an individual, should be able to do many things well before it takes precedence—to shoot well, to swim well, to drill smartly, no less than to win house matches at a game. If, further, as Mr. Thompson Seton has done, you could make success at certain accomplishments of wood and field lore a part of the general scheme, so much the better; but it would be difficult in England.

A small beginning such as Clifton has made is much. But speaking as a foolish zealot of games of all sorts, I am convinced that games as now played, and according to the line of present development, are much duller and less satisfactory than they might be, that they do many boys irreparable harm, that the general spirit they engender is the contradictory of a national spirit. *The soldier is the man who should play games*

(though one of those games might well be one of Seton's scouting and marching games); *the athlete is the man who should play at being soldier*. It is a poor accomplishment to run a quarter mile in 49 seconds, if you cannot handle a gun or a group of men—to be "as fine-looking as a Greek god [or athlete] and as stupid as a pond carp." It is a confession of vice for a nation's youth to spend their hours looking at other men, who are paid for the job, engaged in kicking goals, or as an ornate reporter recently wrote, suiting manner to matter, in "landing windy ones in the fishing-tackle." It is a horrible thought for any one who is sufficient patriot to enjoy English, that this sort of language is thought fine writing nowadays, and perfectly understood by the great mass of the youth of England—and their speech bewrayeth them.

W. Beach Thomas.

AMERICAN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, *January* 1907.

PERHAPS the chief interest of President Roosevelt's memorable message at the opening of Congress last month was the admission made by no less an authority than the President of the United States that the Constitution of the United States is no longer a perfect instrument, and must be amended to make it conform to modern requirements. Many writers, American, English, and foreign, have repeatedly expressed their profound admiration for the genius of the men who framed the American Constitution, and have pointed to it as the one example of man's handiwork that would endure unchanged for all ages. For many years it was regarded almost as impious to question that judgment, or to point out that the American Constitution, like all things made by man, was fallible, and that unless it could keep pace with the growth of new ideas and modern conditions it would prove a detriment rather than a benefit to the American people. But times alter, and so do men. A nation outgrows its Constitution and its laws ; that is, if it would progress, and not remain stagnant, as men outgrow the ideas and clothes of their youth. The United States has come to that point. It is an extraordinary thing that twice in the course of his message President Roosevelt should suggest the necessity of amendments to the Constitution, and on a third occasion, while he does not specifically admit that a constitutional amendment is necessary to give the Federal Government the power which he asks for, it is only in that way it can be obtained.

The American Constitution as now existent has shown a weakness, perhaps it is not extreme to call it a vital defect, in dealing with two questions of the highest importance affecting the welfare of an independent and progressive nation. One is the proper relation of the American people with foreign nations : the other is the question of taxation. It has frequently been pointed out in this Review that the dual Federal and State authority perpetually leads to conflict between the Federal and foreign Governments in the interpretation of treaties, or the

privileges and rights of foreign subjects temporarily domiciled in the United States. The only authority recognised by a foreign Government in dealing with the United States is, of course, the Federal Government represented by its properly constituted agents, the President and the Secretary of State. A foreign Government negotiates a treaty with the United States, that is, with the Secretary of State with the approval of the President, and if that treaty is ratified by the Senate—although it does not necessarily follow that the Senate will approve of the work of the President and the Secretary of State ; in fact, it frequently happens that the Senate rejects the treaty as negotiated, or sees fit so to amend it that the other Government declines to accept it—that treaty is not an absolutely binding contract on the United States, but is subject to certain limitations. The power of the United States, that is, of the Federal Government, is a power strictly limited and defined by the Constitution, and those powers that are not delegated to the Federal Government are powers reserved to the States. That is a very important matter and should be clearly understood by persons who discuss the power of the Federal Government and treaty privileges. A concrete example of this is the present controversy between the Japanese and American Governments over the rights supposed to have been guaranteed by treaty to the children of Japanese parents who attend the public schools, or, as they would be called in England, Board schools, of California. The Federal Government exercises neither power, control, nor supervision over the educational system of any State. That is one of the reserved rights of the State inherent in State sovereignty with which neither branch of the Federal Government, Congress, the legislative branch, nor the President, the executive branch, has any right of interference. Every State may make its own laws and regulations affecting the education of the children of its own citizens or those of aliens, and so long as those laws do not discriminate against any particular class of citizens they are legal and constitutional. Thus, in the Southern States, to prevent the association of white and coloured children, there have been established separate schools for the two races, the education in both being the same. The validity of the separate school laws of the Southern States has been passed upon by the court of last resort, the Supreme Court of the United States, and has been sustained, that court having decided that it was a proper exercise of the municipal authority to determine the manner and method in which its citizens should be educated, and that so long as the children of negroes were given the same opportunities as the children of white parents to acquire an

education, there was no discrimination foreign to the spirit of the Constitution of the United States. In the city of Washington, the seat of the Federal Government, the children of whites and blacks are segregated in the schools, and if a Jamaican negro took up his residence in this city and considered it more advantageous for his child to attend a "white school" instead of the school designated for the children of coloured parents, that privilege would be denied him, and the British Government could not maintain that there had been a violation of the treaty rights.

In the negotiation of treaties few foreign Governments understand this extremely complicated and intricate system of government, by which the authority of the United States extends over the entire country, and yet is impotent in particular places. So far as Japan is concerned, the State of California, in an international sense, is non-existent, as neither Japan nor any other foreign Government has any official intercourse with the Government of that State, and may not, without the permission of the Federal Government, enter into even unofficial relations with the Governor or other State officials. Yet when it comes to a question in which Japan is involved, she is, in substance, told by the Federal Government that it is a matter, unfortunately, in which the Federal Government cannot interfere, and the Federal Government is so uncertain of its own ground that the only remedy it can offer is for Japan to take the case into the courts and obtain a judicial determination.

It is not, however, a new question in the United States. It has happened so often in varying forms that it has more than once strained the relations between this and foreign Governments. At the present time, for instance, British subjects have claims pending nominally against the United States, but in reality against different States, for the failure of the responsible State officials properly to enforce the law, or to give that protection which an alien permitted to reside in a country under treaty rights has a right to expect. Satisfaction has been denied because the State authorities refuse to admit their liability, and there is no power residing in the Federal Government by which it can compel a State Government to meet its obligations. There is only one method, so far as I know, the employment of force, that is the army, and that, of course, would mean civil war. Aliens have been murdered by mobs in more than one State, and when representations were made by the Governments affected to the Federal Government, the Federal Government was forced to reply that it could not in

any way see justice done because the State was sovereign so far as its domestic affairs were concerned, and the authority of the United States stopped at the border line. Recognising this, the President in his message said :

> One of the great embarrassments attending the performance of our international obligations is the fact that the statutes of the United States are entirely inadequate. They fail to give the national Government sufficiently ample power through United States courts and by the use of the army and navy to protect aliens in the rights secured to them under solemn treaties which are the law of the land. I therefore earnestly recommend that the criminal and civil statutes of the United States be so amended and added to as to enable the President, acting for the United States Government, which is responsible in our international relations, to enforce the rights of aliens under treaties. . . . There should be, however, no particle of doubt as to the power of the national Government completely to perform and enforce its own obligations to other nations.

This recommendation of the President, however, is not likely to be carried into effect at the present session of Congress. The old doctrine of State rights is still a very virile doctrine in the United States. The States are jealous of their prerogatives, and will not willingly yield any of their authority in what they regard as purely domestic affairs to the national Government. It is unfortunately true that the American Constitution is in a measure archaic.

In matters purely domestic progress is equally handicapped by the limitation of the Constitution, and a great many men now frankly admit that the greed of monopoly cannot be restrained, and wealth cannot be made properly to bear its share of the burden of taxation until the Constitution has been amended. The President in his message recommended the imposition of inheritance and income taxes, following out in that respect the system now existing in England. As a temporary expedient and as one of the so-called "war" powers granted to Congress by the Constitution, the courts have sustained the validity of both inheritance and income taxes, but as a permanent measure of creating revenue, the courts have decided against its validity. This Mr. Roosevelt recognised and calls attention in his message to the fact that when in 1894 an income tax was passed by Congress, the Supreme Court held it to be unconstitutional, which from that day to this has precluded any further attempt to tax incomes for the benefit of the Federal treasury, and he adds :

> The difficulty of amending the Constitution is so great that only real necessity can justify a resort thereto. Every effort should be made in dealing

with this subject as with the subject of the proper control by the national government of the use of corporate wealth in interstate business, to advise egislation which without such action shall attain the desired end, but if this fails there will ultimately be no alternative but a constitutional amendment.

Another domestic question of almost equal importance is that governing the married relation. At present each one of the forty-five States has its own code of laws and a man or woman who may be legally married or divorced in one State in another State is neither legally married nor legally divorced, thus making their children illegitimate and entailing endless confusion in the disposition of property.

I am well aware [the President says], how difficult it is to pass a constitutional amendment. Nevertheless, in my judgment the whole question of marriage and divorce should be relegated to the authority of the National Congress. At present the wide difference in the laws of the different States on this subject results in scandals and abuses, and surely there is nothing so vitally essential to the welfare of the nation, nothing around which the nation should so bend itself to throw every safeguard, as the home life of the average citizen.

But in this as in the other recommendations made by the President, Congress will not at this time do anything. The inertia of tradition must be overcome before an established system can be broken down and replaced by a new one. The American system of government is foundationed on the rights of the States, and those rights the States will not surrender until they are forced to by the weight of public opinion. Public opinion is not yet strong enough to bring about reform.

From another point of view, the President's message was intensely interesting as demonstrating anew the long step that the United States has taken along the road of so-called "radicalism." It was so extremely "radical," measured by what was considered radical only a few years ago, that it is astounding and proves that the American people, despite that inertia of tradition to which I have previously referred, are fast breaking the shackles of custom that restricted the free exercise of power, and made a democratic form of government an aristocratic obligarchy. Had a President even ten years ago made the recommendations that Mr. Roosevelt did, not only would his sanity have been questioned, but he would have been denounced as a traitor to his party, and the country irrespective of party would have felt that its most sacred institutions were in danger. Income tax, inheritance tax, the attack on the rights of the States, the suggestion that they be deprived of jurisdiction over marriage and divorce and all

matters arising under treaty stipulations, the proposed enlargement of the powers of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, by which the railways are still further brought under Federal control—all these things and many others may be discussed now without creating a panic or impugning the good faith or sanity of a President, but only a few years ago that would have been impossible. It is an interesting question what has brought about this change in the American people. Some of the President's admirers say that he has done it, that he has led and the people have simply followed; that he was wise enough and courageous enough to understand the perilous condition of the Republican party, and applied the heroic remedy and put new life into the party. Democrats tell you that Mr. Roosevelt has simply adopted their ideas and made them his own, and that they and not his Republican associates are really entitled to the credit. Personally I do not believe that to any one man or any one cause can be attributed this change. It is true, and the history of the world proves the truth of the assertion, that *one* man leads, but he only leads successfully when there are a thousand or a million other men to follow him. Mr. Roosevelt, in my opinion, is no more responsible for the present temper of the American people than John Hampden by his refusal to pay ship-money was responsible for a king going to the block. Little by little the American people have come to a realisation of the wrongs that were committed in the name of law. They have protested against them until finally they were ready for revolt. In that state, inveighing against inequality and injustice, seeking reform and the proper obedience of wealth to law, bitterly resenting special privileges, they revolted against the aristocracy of wealth in the same way that the people of other nations in other times have more ferociously revolted against a privileged class. If Mr. Roosevelt has been able to effect certain reforms it must not be forgotten that Mr. Bryan at a time when Mr. Roosevelt was practically unknown made the first attack on the arrogance of wealth and the criminality of greed, and suffered the fate of all reformers who are too radical for their time. Now the times have simply caught up with Mr. Bryan. The radicalism of Mr. Bryan of 1896 is conservatism compared with the radicalism of 1906. Thus far has the United States advanced in a decade.

In this connection a recent article in the Washington *Times* is interesting. "Where shall be found an issue on which the two political parties may divide in the next Presidential campaign?" the *Times* asked. "Has the President left anything for

the Democrats? They must stand for something if they would have an excuse for asking power. What has been left to them?" These questions, the *Times* says, many practical politicians asked themselves on reading the President's message.

> President Roosevelt [the *Times* continues] has made good Republicanism of much that was once derided as Populism. That Populism swept the Democratic party from its moorings of safety and sanity in 1896 and made McKinley President. Then came Roosevelt, and the radicalism that had been taking on respectability as it climbed up the ladder from Populism to Democracy, now took another step and climbed into the high places of Republicanism.

The *Times* notes, and the comparison is extremely interesting, how the President has taken and made his own all those policies that were once so extremely radical that their mere mention was sufficient to destroy a great political party. After calling attention to railroad control, income and inheritance taxes, and so forth, the *Times* adds,

> He [the President] has favoured and secured employer's liability legislation, which Mr. Bryan demanded; he demands effective eight hour legislation which Mr. Bryan saw first; he wants the injunction power of courts limited, which Mr. Bryan made one of the cardinal points of his faith in 1896 and 1900. Both want reform in political methods by securing the publicity of campaign expenditures. Both are for fair treatment to the Colonies. Mr. Roosevelt has not got it, and the same interests that have prevented success in his case would have done so if Mr. Bryan had been President. The list is long. It has not been half suggested. The politicians have been figuring it out, and as they contemplate it they return to the inquiry whether Roosevelt will leave anything worth while on which the parties may divide in 1908.

There is only one issue at the present time which the Democrats can claim as their own, which the Republicans carefully avoid, and that is the tariff. Revision of the tariff is one of those things to which the Democratic party is committed, but which the Republicans refuse to take up. The President is understood to be willing to agree to a revision of the tariff if he can secure the consent of the Republican leaders in Congress, and it would not surprise any one if the President, seeing that the drift of the country is towards tariff reform, should force that issue upon the Republican party. If he should, the Democrats would be deprived of their last campaign argument, and there would then be really no difference between the two parties. The people would be asked to choose between moderate Radicalism, as represented by Mr. Roosevelt, and the extreme "Socialism" and Radicalism of Mr. Hearst, or men who think as he does. The Democratic party at the present

time is simply a party of negation, a party of opportunism, a party drifting on the sea of politics without compass or oars, hoping a favourable current may carry it into the pleasant harbour of office. It may eventually bring up in port, but only because tide and wind are in its favour, and not by any effort on its part.

At the risk of being accused of disturbing good relations—and the effort of this writer for a good many years has been directed on both sides of the Atlantic towards bringing about a clearer comprehension of the temperamental differences of Americans and English, and it is only by understanding those differences that lasting relations, founded on good will and knowledge, can exist—it seems necessary, and may perhaps serve a valuable purpose in the future, to point out that great harm has been done to British prestige by the discussion in the English Press over the successor to Sir Mortimer Durand as Ambassador at this capital.

In the past the Americans complained of the supercilious indifference with which they were treated by Englishmen, but now superciliousness has been replaced by fulsomeness, and I am not sure but what the latter is not more harmful for lasting good relations than the former. The Americans naturally resent any attempt at bullying, but they are satirically contemptuous of gush.

What they respect perhaps more than anything else is strength. Not the swaggering strength of the bully, but the strength of the strong nation equally poised, which, conscious of its own strength, does not need to display it or to conceal it behind too many compliments. It is perfectly proper that the importance of the Washington Embassy should be recognised, because in many respects it is one of the most important posts to which a British envoy can be appointed, and, important as it is now, it is destined to be even more so in the near future, but at the same time the confession "of a fear that it may be difficult for them [the English] to rise to the new situation," to use the language of an influential American newspaper, helps neither England nor the United States in their intercourse. The majority of American papers—those, at least, that discuss serious questions in a serious way—express surprise that so much attention was given to the matter by the English Press. "The gravity of this discussion," the New York *Times* observes, "is only equalled by that of the agitation as to whether the German Ambassador or the British now has the readier access to the ear of the President and the greater influence on the

policy of the United States in consequence." In the same vein comments the Springfield *Republican*, which says that "the question of an Ambassador seems ridiculously over-estimated by the London newspapers which are agitating the question of the successor to Sir Mortimer Durand as the head of the British Embassy in Washington." This paper points out that while an Ambassador can make himself very useful and do much to prevent incidents embarrassing to international relations, he cannot possibly have the influence which has been ascribed to him. Even if he maintains exceptional personal relations with the President and the Secretary of State "he still is confronted by ninety senators divided into opposing parties, and also by eighty millions of people who make public sentiment. No Ambassador can give enough dinners or make enough speeches to get much of a grip upon the American combination of President, Senate and nation, although he may be an exceptional adept in the social amenities and highly felicitous in his public utterances." Quoting again from the New York *Times*, that paper truly says that the real policy of the United States "cannot very greatly be affected by an Ambassador, because the President himself is but an auxiliary and subordinate part in determining that policy."

The new Ambassador will find his task much easier if the impression is removed that he is the one man in the British Empire capable of filling the position, and if he is not heralded as coming here to do certain things which, on the face of them, are absurd. And again, he will find it less embarrassing in his official relations and easier to bring about that good understanding which we are all so anxious to cultivate, if the fact that he is specially appointed to the President is somewhat less emphasised. The American people, and I mean not only the country at large, but many men in public life who shape national policy, resent the idea that an Ambassador is accredited to the President rather than to them, and they prefer that he shall be, as one writer has phrased it, "not the British Ambassador at Washington, but the Ambassador of Great Britain to the United States of America."

In a recent utterance before the Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress in Kansas City, Secretary Root made a notable speech, in the course of which he enunciated anew the official view of the Monroe Doctrine. I think it is the first time that an American statesman has given to England any share of the credit of the Monroe Doctrine. Mr. Root said: "The clear-eyed, judicious diplomacy of Richard Rush, the American

Minister at the Court of St. James, effected a complete understanding with Great Britain for concurrent action in opposition to the designs of the Holy Alliance, already contemplating the partition of the southern continent among the Great Powers of continental Europe." That declaration was not the chance expression of the opinion or the feeling of the moment. "It crystallised the sentiment for human liberty and human rights which has saved American idealism from the demoralisation of narrow selfishness and has given to American democracy its true world power in the virile potency of a great example." The particular circumstances which led to the declaration no longer exist, Mr. Root admitted, but, he significantly observed:

> Other occasions for the application of the principle have arisen since; it needs no prophetic vision to see that other occasions for its application may arise hereafter. The principle declared by Monroe is as wise an expression of sound political judgment to-day, as truthful a representation of the sentiments and instincts of the American people to-day, as living in its force as an effective rule of conduct whenever occasion shall arise, as it was on the 2nd of December, 1823.

That, and not the interpretation recently sought to be given by Professor Burgess in Berlin, is the view most commonly held in the United States. It was recently pointed out in a leading American magazine that had the Monroe Doctrine not been in existence and applied to Mexico in the sixties, Mexico would now be a colony of France. "There are few American critics of the Monroe Doctrine to-day," this writer continues, "who regret that their views in regard to the treatment of the empire of Maximilian forty years ago did not prevail. They all agree now that Mexico is properly a part of the sphere of influence of the United States. The place to relax the Monroe Doctrine, if any, is further south."

But how much further south? this writer asks. He points out that if the Monroe Doctrine is to be abandoned anywhere it cannot be in Mexico, Central America, or the northern part of South America. The question whether the partition of Brazil is a matter of indifference to the United States he answers in the negative. In the next fifty years, he says, whether the Central and South American Republics remain politically independent or not, they will be in business sense entirely American. When that time comes and the United States has to seek new and enlarged markets for the disposal of its surplus products it will find it much more to its advantage to have Brazil open to American enterprise than if its three million square miles are cut up and partitioned among the

European Powers. "Brazil is the richest field for commercial development remaining upon this earth. Under a friendly Republic it will remain open to American enterprise. Divided among garrisoned European Colonies they will be closed to us until we open them with the sword." More and more it is recognised in the United States that the Monroe Doctrine has lost its political force, but is now valuable for the protection of American commerce. As the United States extends its commerce it adheres with greater tenacity to the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, which has put a ring around the American sphere of influence—the Western Hemisphere.

Public attention for the moment shunts from the sublime to the ridiculous. In December Mr. Roosevelt appeared before the public in the *rôle* of a statesman, discussing in his message great constitutional and international questions and those affecting the welfare and higher development of the people of the United States. Nothing he loves so much as to sermonise and moralise, and no man occupies such a conspicuous pulpit as the President of the United States, when from it he delivers his exhortation to Congress at the opening of the session, and all the world waits to hear what he has to say.

But Mr. Roosevelt is a many-sided man, and he touches the great and the little with startling suddenness. All the country has laughed over the correspondence carried on between the President and "My dear Maria," the wife of Mr. Bellamy Storer, the former American Ambassador to Vienna; and even the President's best friends have regretted the undignified attitude in which he is placed by a correspondence that would have done credit to a boarding-school girl in her first term. It is not necessary to analyse the correspondence. Mr. Roosevelt says Mr. Storer exceeded his authority, and Mrs. Storer disobeyed him when they attempted to have Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul raised to the Cardinalate. The Storers assert that they simply acted in compliance with the President's instructions, who was anxious to see Archbishop Ireland receive the red hat as a reward for his past political services. This assertion of the Storers is confirmed by a letter which Mr. Storer declares was written to Mrs. Storer immediately on Archbishop Ireland's return from a visit to President Roosevelt at Oyster Bay. The Archbishop wrote to Mrs. Storer that the President had said to him that while he told Mr. Storer that he would not write a letter to the Pope asking for the red hat for Archbishop Ireland, he, the President, also said to Mr. Storer that he could go to Rome "and

say *viva voce* to the Pope how much I wish you to be Cardinal, and how grateful I personally would be to him for giving you that honour." Inasmuch as the President has not denied having made that statement to Archbishop Ireland, and as Archbishop Ireland has not seen fit to challenge the accuracy of this alleged citation from his letter to Mrs. Storer, the conclusion reached by the discriminating public, is that when Mr. Roosevelt vehemently denounced Mr. Storer as a liar, he was suffering from one of those lapses of memory which has before overtaken him when engaged in a similar controversy.

The Albany *Argus* has added to the gaiety of nations by classifying the different kinds of "liars" encountered by the President. Thus Judge Parker, Mr. Roosevelt's rival for the Presidency, was "an atrocious liar"; Mr. Whitney, candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, was "a deliberate liar"; Ex-Senator Chandler was "a deliberate and unqualified liar"; Mr. Bowen, who at that time was American Minister to Venezuela, was "a disingenuous liar"; Mr. Wallace, the former chief engineer of the Panama Canal, was "an utter liar"; Mr. Shields, a prominent man, not a politician, was "an inventive liar," and Mr. Storer was "a peculiarly perfidious liar." A prophet of old said that "all men are liars," but he was too hasty in his generalisation. Mr. Roosevelt, while believing that many of his fellow countrymen are liars, has found time carefully to classify them.

A. Maurice Low.

FRENCH BOOKS FOR OUR DAUGHTERS

Now that it has become an essential part of education to learn a foreign language, many opportunities are offered to would-be students, especially where French is concerned. Elementary French is taught in every secondary school, in every Polytechnic centre, classes for French conversation are held in small towns, and even in remote country districts, and it would seem that every Englishman or Englishwoman ought to have at least a superficial knowledge of the language.

However, this is very far from being the case. Middle-aged people generally declare that they have forgotten every word of the French they learnt at school, and students who are attending "conversation" classes seem to acquire but a very limited vocabulary.

In both cases, the habit of reading French books for pleasure would remedy the evil. Men and women, who have little or no opportunity of keeping up the French which they learnt at school, would preserve and increase their knowledge of it; students who learn conversational French would extend the scope of their subjects of conversation; to those who are still learning by the much-maligned grammatical system, the dry rules would suddenly become invested with life and interest when their application became visible in the pages of a fascinating novel.

And there is no doubt that French novels are fascinating, not only because they are written in the most beautiful of living languages, wielded with the utmost skill and charm by even second-rate French writers, but also because they are, as a rule, artistic and harmonious in their composition. The average French novel is constructed with due regard to proportion, no secondary episode or character being allowed to detract from the importance of the culminating parts. This sense of proportion is frequently lacking in English productions: books which contain too much matter, gowns adorned with too many

kinds of trimming, and dishes flavoured with several conflicting condiments are familiar to us all.

Unfortunately, that very beauty of form has won for certain French novels a place in literature which is regrettable from the point of view of purity and morality; and a certain section of the English public has welcomed them, not on account of their beauty, but of their bold realism. Recent English writers have tried to please the public by imitating this realism, but it is only in a very few instances that they have succeeded in imparting into their work the French artistic grace and lightness of touch. Many English people are quite ignorant of the fact that great numbers of French books are absolutely pure and clean, and fit to be placed in the hands of young girls. The present article is intended to help parents who do not know what French books to procure for their daughters and even for themselves. It is merely a catalogue, a very incomplete one, but which may, nevertheless, prove useful. I have divided it into two parts: the second part is a list of books which children and students of different ages can read in order to become familiar with the language. It is by no means a comprehensive list, being, in a great measure, restricted to books with which I happen to be personally acquainted, and no doubt many important omissions could be pointed out. Some of these books are merely amusing and harmless, but very useful in affording practice of the language; others, of greater literary value, give some insight into the life of the French middle class, and are likely to promote a better understanding of the French character.

This list is arranged under three different headings:

(1) Books suitable for Children under Twelve.
(2) Books suitable for Young People and Children over Twelve.
(3) Novels, which grown-up People, as well as young Girls, can Enjoy.

The first part comprises classical works of French Literature with which every student of French should become acquainted. Their beauty is such that, were French a dead language, it would be worth learning in order to read those works. I have appended to this first list the titles of a few books educationally valuable for the sake of the subject with which they deal, such as historical memoirs, travels, and works on popular science which are particularly excellent in French.

Part I

STANDARD CLASSICAL LITERATURE.

Essais, extraits par Jeanroy	Montaigne
Le Cid, Horace, Polyeucte, Cinna, tragédies	Corneille
Le Menteur, comédie	"
Andromaque, Britannicus, Iphigénie, tragédies	Racine
Les Plaideurs, comédie	"
Le Misanthrope	Molière
L'Avare	"
Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme	"
Les Femmes Savantes	"
Lettres, choisies par Sainte-Beuve	Mme. de Sévigné
Fables	La Fontaine
(H. Taine's "La Fontaine et ses Fables" should be read at the same time.)	
Pensées	Pascal
Provinciales	"
Discours sur la Méthode	Descartes
Contes de Fées	Ch. Perrault
Lettres, choisies par Brunet	Voltaire
Lettres, choisies par Eugène Haas	Mlle. de Lespinasse
Lettres, choisies par Eugène Haas	Mme. du Deffant
Paul et Virginie	Bernardin de Saint-Pierre
De l'Allemagne	Mme. de Staël
Méditations Poétiques	Lamartine
Feuilles d'Automne	Victor Hugo
Chants du Crépuscule	"
Contemplations	"
Quatre-vingt treize	"
L'Art d'être Grand-père	"
Odes et Ballades	"
Le Livre des Enfants et des Mères	"
Pages choisies, par P. Sieven	A. de Musset
Pages choisies, par Lanson	Flaubert
Les Erinnyes	Leconte de Lisle
Stances et Poèmes	Sully Prudhomme
Les Trophées	J. M. de Heredia
Les Humbles, Contes	François Coppée
Mireille	Mistral
La Chanson de l'Enfant	J. Aicard

"Chrestomathie Française," by A. Vinet, is a useful selection of extracts from French poets, in three volumes:

Tome I.	Littérature de l'Enfance
Tome II.	Littérature de l'Adolescence
Tome III.	Littérature de la Jeunesse

The following works of literary criticism are extremely interesting and instructive:

Histoire de la Littérature Française	Nisard
Histoire de la Littérature Française	Lanson
Études Littéraires	E. Faguet
Sainte-Beuve, Causeries du Lundi.	Extraits par Lanson
Histoire Littéraire de la Suisse Française	P. Godet
Esquisses Contemporaines	G. Frommel
Soixante ans de Souvenirs	E. Legouvé

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS, &c.

Mémoires de Madame de Motteville
" " Mademoiselle de Montpensier
" " Madame de Genlis
" " Madame Vigée-Lebrun
" " Madame d'Abrantès
" " Madame Roland
" " Madame Campan
" " Madame Elisabeth
" " Madame d'Armaillé
Edités par Madame Carette

Mémoires du général baron Marbot
Les Grands Chroniqueurs . . . . . Mme. Guizot de Witt
Jeanne d'Arc . . . . . Wallon
Mémoires de Madame de La Rochejacquelein
Les Femmes dans l'Histoire . . . . Arvède Barine
Mémoires de Madame de Lafayette
La Grande Mademoiselle . . . . . Vte. d'Haussonville
Histoire d'un Paysan . . . . . Erckmann-Chatrian
Origines de la France Contemporaine . . H. Taine

ARTS

Histoire de l'Habitation humaine . . . Viollet Le Duc
La Cité Antique . . . . . Fustel de Coulanges
Léonard de Vinci . . . . . G. Séailles
La Peinture . . . . . Jules Breton
Les Maîtres d'Autrefois . . . . . Fromentin
La Philosophie dans l'Art . . . . . H. Taine

POPULAR SCIENCE

La Vie d'un Savant, par un Ignorant . . R. Vallery Radot
Astronomie Populaire . . . . . Flammarion
Histoire d'une Bouchée de Pain . . . J. Macé
Les Races Humaines . . . . . L. Figuier
La Château des Merveilles . . . . De Noussane
Entre Frères et Sœurs . . . . . Lucien Biart

L'Insecte and *l'Oiseau*, Michelet's charming books of practical Science, might come under this heading.

ETHICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL AND EDUCATIONAL WORKS

Du Vrai, du Beau, du Bien . . . . . V. Cousin
Histoire Morale des Femmes . . . . Legouvé
Nos Filles et nos Fils . . . . . "
Une Élève de Seize Ans . . . . . "
Le Livre d'un Père . . . . . V. de Laprade
La Bonne Souffrance . . . . . F. Coppée
L'Éducation des Femmes par les Femmes . O. Gréard
Le Sens de la Vie . . . . . E. Rod
La Vie Simple . . . . . Ch. Wagner
Jeunesse . . . . . " "
Auprès du Foyer . . . . . " "
Lettres à Françoise . . . . . Marcel Prévost

TRAVELS

La Grèce Contemporaine . . . . . E. About
Le Désert . . . . . P. Loti
La Galilée . . . . . "
Voyages du Marquis de Beauvoir
Sensations d'Italie . . . . . P. Bourget
Notes sur l'Angleterre . . . . Taine

Part II

Books for Children under 12

Most of the books in this group and the following were written by Roman Catholic writers, and have a strong religious tendency, which would not be acceptable in many English households. It is difficult to recommend French Protestant children's books, as most French Protestant children read translations of English and American books. However, books by Mme. de Pressensé are distinctly Protestant in tone ; the works of Hector Malot, Jean Macé, Stahl, Girardin, Jules Verne, André Laurie, &c., may be termed undenominational.

Mlle. Gouraud, Mlle. Fleuriot, and Madame de Ségur obviously intended their stories to be read by Roman Catholic children ; the two former generally preserve a high moral tone. The writings of Madame de Ségur do not always meet with the approval of critical parents ; they often are extravagant and farcical, and only a few of her stories are in the least probable. But there is no doubt that no one ever succeeded better in amusing children, who, as a rule, read her books over and over again. This is probably due to the fact that her characters are full of life, though much exaggerated, and that impossible incidents do not trouble a child's mind.

The first book in this list is very religious, and would prove edifying to a Roman Catholic child.

La Journal de Marguerite	
La petite Duchesse	Z. Fleuriot
Monsieur Nostradamus	,,
Réséda	,,
Un Enfant gâté	,,
Cadette	,,
Rayon de Soleil	,,
Grand-Cœur	,,
Mandarine	,,
Le Clan des Têtes-Chaudes	,,
Au Galadoc	,,
Le Petit Chef de Famille	,,
Le Jeune Chef de Famille (sequel)	,,
Cadox	,,
Mes Héritages	,,
Les Pieds d' Argile	,,
Tranquille et Tourbillon	,,
Bigarrette	,,
Bouche-en-Cœur	,,
Les deux Enfants de Saint-Domingue	Mlle. J. Gouraud
Petite et Grande	,,
Lettres de Deux Poupées	,,
Chez Grand-mère	,,
Ces pauvres Petits	,,
L'Enfant du Guide	,,
La petite Maîtresse de Maison	,,
Le Vieux Château	,,

Giboulée	Mme Chéron de la Bruyère
Merle Blanc	" "
Le Château de Roc-Salé	" "
Les Enfants du Bois Fleury	" "
Plaisirs et Aventures	" "
Les Enfants du Capitaine	" "
Les Vacances à Trouville	" "
Histoire de Mlle. Grinchue	Mlle. M. Laurent
Le Fils de l'Amiral	"
La petite Jeanne	Mlle. Z. Carrau
L'ours de Neige	Mme. Colomb
Les Deux Mères	" "
Le Violoneux de la Sapinière	" "
La Fille de Carilès	" "
Chloris et Jeanneton	" "
L'héritière de Vauclain	" "
Les Etapes de Madeleine	" "
Feu de Paille	" "
Franchise	" "
Par dessus la Haie	Mme. de Stolz
La Maison Roulante	"
Histoire d'une Poule Noire	"
Mon Ami Jean	F. Deschamps
Mon Amie Georgette	"
Jean qui Grogne et Jean qui Rit	Mme. de Ségur
La Sœur de Gribouille	" "
Les Malheurs de Sophie	" "
Les Petites Filles Modèles (sequel)	" "
Les Vacances (sequel)	" "
L'Auberge de l'Ange Gardien	" "
Le Général Dourakine (Sequel)	" "
Les Enfants des Tuileries	Mme. de Pitray
Trois Mois sous la Neige	Porchat
Contes du Petit Château	Jean Macé
Théâtre du Petit Château (plays)	"
Histoire de Bayard, par le Loyal Serviteur	
Maroussia	P. J. Stahl
Histoire d'un Ane et de deux jeunes filles	"
Le Chemin Glissant	"
Romain Kalbris	Hector Malot
Sans famille	"
Quand j'étais Petit Garçon	Girardin
Casse-noisette	Alexandre Dumas
Le Chien de Brisquet	"
Trésor des Fèves et Fleur des Pois	Ch. Nodier
Contes Bleus (fairy tales)	Laboulaye
Nouveaux Contes Bleus	"
Par Monts et par Vaux	Mme. Guizot de Witt
Vieux Amis	" "
Sur la Plage	" "
En pleins Champs	" "
Bois-Gentil	Mme. E. de Pressensé
Brunette et Blondinette	" "
Le Clos Toustain	" "
Frères et Sœurs	" "
Jacques et Jacqueline	" "
Le Journal de Thérèse	" "
Une joyeuse Nichée	" "
La Maison Blanche	" "
Petite Mère	" "
Rosa	" "
Seulette	" "
Historiettes pour les Petits	E. M. Cretin

The following are a few pretty picture-books for the nursery :

Alphabet de Mlle. Lili	Froehlich
Le Journée de Mlle. Lili	,,
La Vocation de Jujules	,,
Les Trois Chiens de Mlle. Lili	,,
Les sept ans de Mlle. Lili	,,
Mlle. Lili et ses Amis	,,
Chiens et Chats	Lambert
Vingt Fables de Lafontaine	,,
Les Exploits de Fanchette	Froment
La Journée du petit Jean	P. Robert
Ninette	,,

PERIODICALS

Saint Nicolas	(Delagrave, publisher)
Mon Journal	Hachette
Journal de la Jeunesse	,,

BOOKS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE AND CHILDREN OVER 12

Several of the following works are by authors who figured in the first group with books written for younger children. There is not a very great distinction between the two classes of their works ; these are only a little more advanced. The works of Jules Verne (of which I have only quoted a few of the best), André Laurie, Raynal, Assollant, P. Perrault, are stories of adventure very much appreciated by school-boys. Captain Mayne Reid's books, much too long and too crude in the English originals, have been turned into fascinating juvenile literature by the translators of the Librairie Hetzel. The three volumes about the Napoleonic wars by the Capitaine Danrit are great favourites, and Mme. de Witt's historical romances are delightful.

This group also includes a few masterpieces by Sandeau, Toppfer, A. Daudet, Th. Bentzon, A. Dumas, X. de Maistre, and others. Gabriel Franay writes sentimental stories for girls in their teens. Mme. Bersier and Mlle. Hollard write for Protestant girls, whilst the very Catholic *Journal de Marguerite* is followed by its sequel, *Marguerite à 20 ans.*

Après la Pluie, le Beau Temps	Mme. de Ségur
Diloy le Chemineau	,, ,,
François le Bossu	,, ,,
Violence et Bonté	Mme. de Stolz
Blanche et Noire	,, ,,
Les Mésaventures de Mlle. Thérèse	,, ,,
Le Trésor de Nanette	,, ,,
Le Manoir d'Yolan	Mlle. de Martignat
Les Vacances d'Elisabeth	,, ,,
Une vaillante Enfant	,, ,,
Alberte	Mlle. Z. Fleuriot
Tombée du Nid	,, ,,

Bengale	Mlle. Z. Fleuriot
Raoul Audry (sequel to "Le Jeune Chef de famille")	" "
L' Héritier de Kerguiou	" "
Miss Idéal	" "
Armell Tranec	" "
Alix	" "
Sous le Joug	" "
Gildas l'Intraitable	" "
Désertion	" "
Les bons Rosaec	" "
La Rustaude	" "
Yvonne de Koatmorvan	" "
Sans nom	" "
Sans beauté	" "
Ces pauvres vieux	" "
La Toute Petite	Girardin
Les Braves Gens (1870)	"
Le Neveu de l'oncle Claude	"
Second Violon	"
Les Enfants du Capitaine Grant	Jules Verne
L'Ile Mystérieuse	" "
20,000 Lieues sous les Mers	" "
Michel Strogoff	" "
Le Pays des Fourrures	" "
Le Tour du Monde en 80 jours	" "
L'Épave du Cynthia	Jules Verne and A. Laurie
Axel Ebersen	André Laurie
L'Oncle de Chicago	"
Les Naufragés des Iles Auckland	H. Raynal
Aventures du Capitaine Corcoran	A. Assollant
Montluc le Rouge	"
Voyages Involontaires	Lucien Biart
L'Héritage de Jean	P. Perrault
Pour l'Honneur	"
La Sœur Perdue	Captain Mayne-Reid
Les deux Filles du Squatter	" "
Jean Tapin	Capitaine Danrit
Les Filleuls de Napoléon	" "
Petit Marsouin	" "
Scènes Historiques (3 vols.)	Mme. Guizot de Witt
Alsaciens et Alsaciennes	" "
Normands et Normandes	" "
Un Patriote	" "
Notre Dame du Guesclin	" "
Vieilles Histoires de la Patrie	" "
L'Héritage du Fakir	Eudoxie Dupuis
Les Héritiers de Montmercy	" "
Le Page de Napoléon	" "
Au Temps de Guillaume Tell	" "
Miss Porc-Epic	" "
L'Épée du Donjon	Mme. Chéron de la Bruyère
La Roche aux Mouettes	Jules Sandean
La Maison de Penarvan	" "
La petite Fée de Village	" "
Nouvelles Genevoises	Toppfer
Histoire d'un Enfant	A. Daudet
Contes Choisis	"
La Bouillie de la Comtesse Berthe	A. Dumas
Histoire d'un trop bon Chien	de Chervillie
Bijou	Th. Bentzon
Pierre Casse-cou	" "
La Rose Blanche	"

Geneviève Delmas	Th. Bentron
Yette	" "
Le Lépreux de la Cité d'Aoste	Xavier de Maistre
Mademoiselle Huguette	Gabriel Franay
Le Château des Airelles	" "
Comme dans un Conte	" "
Micheline	Madame Bersier
Pauvre Garçon	Henriette Hollard
Tout droit	Jeanne Schultz
Marguerite à 20 ans	
Grand-Maman	Ch. Deslys
Le Chalet des Sapins	Prosper Chazel
Les Petits Boussargues	F. Deschamps
Les Coups de Tête d'Yvonne	"
Le Bonheur de Michel	G. du Planty
La Dette de Ben-Aissa	Mlle. Maréchal
Le Petite Chanteuse	Berr de Turique
Un Château où l'on s'amuse	Gennevraye
Marchand d'Allumettes	"
Le Vieux Ramasseur de Pierres	Aimé Giron
Le Parrain de Cendrillon	L. Uhlbach
Epis et Bleuets	E. Legouvé
Le Petit Gosse	W. Busnach
Histoire de mon Oncle et de ma Tante	A. Dequet
Le Livre de Maurice	Silva

Novels.

This group naturally appeals to a much larger public than the two preceding, and has been much more difficult to compile. Very fastidious readers may object to some of the works it includes, while others may be surprised that I have not mentioned *Les trois Mousquetaires*, and two or three of Gyp's books; it is impossible to meet every different ideal of what constitutes purity and morality in a book. An attempt has been made to represent most of the best-known French writers, but it is well to caution those who are easily shocked against certain passages in *Pêcheur d'Islande*, *la Petit Chose*, and especially *le Rêve*, though Zola imagined that he had succeeded in writing a book for young ladies.

The examples given of Balzac, George Sand, Edmond About, and Octave Feuillet are among the best works of these authors, as also those of René Bazin, a very successful young writer, and Anatole France. The brothers Rosny and the two Margueritte have produced a few novels "pour les jeunes filles," Ludovic Halévy, with his widely read *Abbé Constantin*, set a fashion which was followed with success by Jean de la Brète and Jeanne Schultz. Mérimée's *Colomba* is a literary classic, like Saintine's *Picciola*. *Un Saint*, by Paul Bourget, is a beautiful picture of a country priest, a subject which has made the literary fame of Ferdinand Fabre. Alfred de Vigny's *Cinq*

Mars, a model of French prose, is a very attractive historical romance. The two works by Erckmann-Chatrian, quoted here, are their masterpieces ; other books by the same writers are apt to be a little dull. Pierre Maël writes charming stories of the Breton coast, and Henry Gréville, M. Maryan, and J. Girardin have written many delightful books for young readers ; *Dosia*, *Sonia*, and *les Koumiassine* are interesting pictures of Russian society.

Mrs. Craven's *Récit d'une Sœur*, much appreciated in Catholic circles, is pathetically written. *Une Famille pendant la Guerre* contains authentic records of the Franco-Prussian war.

Mme. T. Combe's and Mme. Gagnetin's books are intended for Protestant family readings, and so is Mme. de Pressensé's *Geneviève*, though very puritanical mothers sometimes object to the latter.

Ursule Mirouet	Balzac
Eugénie Grandet	"
La Petite Fadette	George Sand
La Mare au Diable	" "
François le Champy	" "
La Roman d'un Jeune Homme Pauvre	Octave Feuillet
Sibylle	" "
La Roi des Montagnes	E. About
La Roman d'un Brave Homme	"
Stéphanette	René Bazin
Une Tache d'Encre	" "
Les Oberlé	" "
La Terre qui meurt	" "
La Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard	A. France
Le Livre de mon Ami	"
Les Fiançailles d'Yvonne	J. H. Rosny
Les Retours du Coeur	"
Le Jardin du Roi	P. & V. Margueritte
Poum	" "
Pêcheur d'Islande	Pierre Loti
Mon Frère Yves	" "
Le Livre de la Pitié et de la Mort	" "
Le Roman d'un Enfant	" "
Césette	E. Pouvillon
Contes Choisis pour la Jeunesse	G. de Maupassant
Le Rêve	Emile Zola
La Maison des deux Barbeaux	André Theuriet
Raymonde	" "
Lettres de mon Moulin	A. Daudet
Le Petit Chose	"
Tartarin de Tarascon	"
La Tulipe Noire	A. Dumas
Lettres à Françoise	Marcel Prévost
L'Accordeur Aveugle	" "
Nini la Fauvette	Ernest Daudet
Madeleine	Jules Sandeau
Mademoiselle de la Seiglière	" "
L'Abbé Constantin	Ludovic Halévy
Mon Oncle et mon Curé	Jean de la Brète
Badinage	" "

La Neuvaine de Colette	Jeanne Schultz
La Famille Hamelin	" "
Jean de Kerdren	" "
Colomba	Prosper Mérimée
Picciola	Saintine
Un Saint	Paul Bourget
Monique	" "
Julien Savignac	F. Fabre
Xavière	"
Mademoiselle de Malavieille	"
Cinq-Mars	Alfred de Vigny
L'Ami Fritz	Erckmann-Chatrian
Madame Thérèse	" "
Seulette	Pierre Maël
Cendrillonnette	" "
Petit Ange	" "
Fille de Rois	" "
Dosia	Henry Gréville
Petite Princesse	" "
Les Koumiassine	" "
Sonia	" "
Aurette	" "
Le Mari d'Aurette	" "
Annunziata	M. Maryan
Ce que peut l'Argent	"
La Cousine Esther	"
Les Tuteurs de Mirée	"
Une Dette d'Honneur	"
Mon Cousin Guy	Henri Ardel
Renée Orlis	"
Au Retour	"
Récit d'une Sœur	Mme. Craven
Une Famille pendant la Guerre	Boissonnas
Le Locataire des Demoiselles Rocher	J. Girardin
Les Epreuves d'Etienne	"
La Famille Gaudry	"
Courage et Dévouement	Ch. Deslys
Bons Cœurs et Braves Gens	Maxime du Camp
Lettres du Régiment	Louis d'Or
Au Drapeau	Maurice Loir
Le Dévouement de Claudine	J. Kergall
Nicole à Marie	Bergeret
La Madone de Guido Reni	Bénédict
Heur et Malheur	Madame Dervoin
La Petite Concierge	Madame V. Monniot
La Fée des Grèves	Paul Féval
Les Quatre Peurs du Général	P. J. Stahl
La Fille du Braconnier	A. Malandri
Le Violon de Faïence	
A Quelque Chose Malheur est Bon	E. Raymond
L'Ennemie	Jean Fid
Ma Mie Jacqueline	Mathilde Alanic
La Lune Rousse	Champol
Amour de Jeune Fille	Mme. Caro
Aimer c'est Vaincre	"
Les Fiancés du Spitzberg	Xavier Marmier
Le Beau Fernand	Mme. de Bovet
Bibelot	May-Armand Blanc
La Maison des Roses	" "
Le Supplice d'une Mère	A. Dourliac
Liette	"
Un Peu, Beaucoup, Passionnément	Mme. Lescot
Fêlure d'Ame	"

Au Lis d'Argent	F. Deschamps
La Mariage du Fils Grandsire	M. Poradowska
Geneviève	Mme. de Pressensé
Cœurs lassés	Mme. T. Combe
En plein Air	,, ,,
L'Étincelle	,, ,,
Œuvre d'Amour	,, ,,
Fiancés	,, ,,
Feuille de Trèfle	,, ,,
Petites Gens	,, ,,
Le Sentier qui monte	,, ,,
Elle ou Point d'Autre	Mme. T. Gagnetin
Pour elle	,, ,,
Une Trouvaille	,, ,,

Within the last few years several periodicals have been produced which are intended for family reading, and which can be trusted not to contain anything objectionable; among others, I may mention *Lectures pour Tous* and *La Vie Heureuse*, both published by Messrs. Hachette et Cie. Enjoyment in reading them is somewhat marred by the excessive number of advertisements which surround the text and illustrations.

No doubt many readers will notice some important omissions from the above lists, and I can only repeat that this does not claim to be a comprehensive catalogue, but merely a few titles, put together at the request of many inquirers.

H. C. Devonshire.

RUSSIA ON THE EVE OF THE ELECTIONS

(By Our Special Commissioner)

One of the earliest schoolmen, Hrabanus Maurus, if I remember aright, composed a treatise upon Nothing and Darkness—*de Nihilo et Tenebris*—in which he naïvely observes: "Nonentity is such a sorry, inane, shapeless condition that it is impossible to shed tears enough at the thought of such a wretched state." Now to the close observer, all Russian life seems at the present moment to be tending to that nothingness and gloom, although outsiders stationed at remote coigns of vantage may see, or think they see, bright points in the darkness.

Russia is about to undergo a new and fateful ordeal. The nation is on the eve of one of those momentous crises which mark the systole and diastole of the movement, now revolutionary now reactionary, to which the war with Japan gave a powerful, perhaps a decisive, impetus. In February the elections take place under conditions which it is no exaggeration to term grotesque. In March the deputies will assemble in the Tavrida Palace either to make laws or to break them, and within a few days or weeks of the opening of the second Duma the fate of the present Constitution, with the existence of which that of the Duma itself is bound up, will be definitely decided. All may be well if the new legislative assembly accepts the part assigned to it by the fundamental laws, discusses the hundred bills which the present Cabinet has been laboriously framing for the last six months and endeavours to improve in this way the condition of the peasantry, the workmen, the Jews, the Poles, the Lithuanians, and of all the other aggrieved elements of the population. That presupposes a quiet, sane, persevering kind of labour like most of the helpful work done in this world, but as it is dissociated from far-resonant events, and cannot give the forefeeling of historic triumphs, it is powerless to keep alive the fervour of ambitious

or emotional natures. And what demagogues need is a very different kind of activity. In Russia especially they are desirous of pulling down ancient systems of Government, rooting up old faiths, demolishing historic institutions, and making a clean sweep of the past before building or even agreeing as to what they will build on the ruins. Which of the two courses the Russians will strike out is not yet quite certain, but if the fate of the first Duma should overtake the second, it is quite on the cards that the Government may adopt the revolutionary idea in a modified form, destroy many relics of the past, and build up new institutions better adapted to the present wants and changed temperament of the awakening nation.

The conflicting conditions—revolutionary terror and Governmental repression—under which the elections are about to take place are unwonted. It may well be questioned whether any European Government would allow them to continue. For they are incompatible with even that moderate degree of political liberty which is indispensable to a free choice. In many provinces of Russia the laws which guarantee such personal freedom as hitherto existed, have been suspended in order the better to check assassination, pillage, and incendiarism. In those districts a newspaper may be confiscated and even suspended indefinitely simply because the General Governor thinks it is, or may become, harmful. Any individual there may be arrested and sent out of the province for a similar reason. Murderers and persons guilty of an attempt to kill may be tried by military field-tribunals which acquit or condemn them within forty-eight hours, and the sole penalty which such a court may inflict is death.* In a word there is, there can be, no guarantee that in any of those provinces a man who agitates for party purposes will go unpunished. And without agitation, without interesting the electors in the issues, there is no real election.

It may be that the Government is right in suspending the operation of the ordinary laws and subjecting the inhabitants of vast districts to exceptional legislation. Possibly order cannot be restored at any lesser sacrifice of personal liberties. Certainly there is something to be said for this view, more perhaps than foreigners can realise. But only one of two contradictory things should be attempted simultaneously and martial law excludes freedom of elections. The authorities ought to have decided which of the two was more necessary. If it be more important to the nation that such imperfect order as at present reigns should

* From this sentence there lies an appeal, but the conditions on which it may be made are not regulated by law.

be maintained than that a Duma should be speedily got together, then the elections ought to be put off *sine die*, and if the assembly of the second parliament be an urgent necessity, the Russian equivalent of martial law ought to be abolished.

In Russia itself the weight of evidence and the consensus of opinion is decidedly against the continuance of repressive legislation. For this there are various grounds of which the most convincing is the fact that they repress little or nothing. Murders are committed in broad daylight almost always without let or hindrance. The victims are designated and occasionally warned in advance. Precautions of a kind are also taken by the menaced party. But there is little hope of escape. General Ignatieff was warned that if he should visit Tver as member of the Zemstvo he would be assassinated. He told a friend of mine that he would go without fear because he attached no importance to the warning. General Launitz, the Prefect of St. Petersburg, was warned that if he visited the new hospital church he would be murdered. He paid some attention to the intimation, for on the fatal morning he took a specially tender farewell of all the members of his family and blessed his children with unwonted fervour when leaving home. General Pavloff resided in a Government house which was under special supervision, and as he had been condemned to death by the revolutionists he never exposed himself to danger, never walked in the streets and took exercise daily in a back garden between nine and ten o'clock every morning. Yet he too was killed with the utmost ease. For so long as there are fanatics willing to sacrifice their lives in order to deprive a fellow citizen of his, there are no repressive laws that will hinder every attempt to do the deed of blood. Moreover penal measures to be effective should be uniform and universal, the same crime should be visited with the same penalty in whatever part of the Empire it may be perpetrated. But in Russia neither condition holds good of the exceptional measures in question. For the ordinary laws are in vigour in one province while the extraordinary rules obtain in the adjoining provinces. In Simbirsk, for instance, there is freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of the press, and a man who commits a political murder there is judged by the ordinary tribunals, and is not condemned to death. But in all the neighbouring provinces coercive methods prevail. Why this difference ? Nobody, not even the head of the Government, can give a satisfactory answer.

A real governor, a true statesman, would make very short work of that series of incongruities. If the end be really desired, the means should be really effectual. A ruler of men should himself

be a business man at least to the extent of adjusting means to ends. But in no case of importance has the Cabinet seized the situation, devised measures to meet its needs and then insisted on the employment of those measures with all the influence it wielded. In no one case. The first time it failed was when dealing with the agrarian question. Then the Prime Minister advised the Crown to make a present of certain appanage lands to needy farmers, and he laid stress on the gratuitousness of the transfer. But the Crown rightly or wrongly refused to accept the Premier's advice, and M. Stolypin remained at his post. The second time was when the Cabinet had acquired the conviction that the Jews must be enfranchised, or at any rate, emancipated from some of the most galling restrictions that hamper them to-day. It may well be that the Cabinet was mistaken in advising far-reaching measures of relief and that a statesman would have postponed reform until the Duma met. But that is another question which is irrelevant to the point. The facts are that the Prime Minister had a Jewish Reform Bill drafted; that it was discussed, approved, and that he pleaded warmly that it should be ratified and enacted in the same way that the peasants' Reform Bill had been sanctioned and promulgated. He expected great results from this innovation and feared baleful consequences if it were rejected. Yet it was rejected, and he continued at his post. On the third occasion the Premier and many of his colleagues let it be known that they consider the present electoral law illogical and pernicious. And in this view unbiassed students will unanimously concur. Yet neither he nor they venture boldly to look the facts in the face, draw the practical conclusions from them and alter the electoral law, lest "the weaker brethren should be scandalised." In lieu of that, he caused the Senate to interpret the various clauses on the present electoral law and to interpret tens of thousands of electors out of the lists of voters. The Cabinet seriously damaged its reputation by this underhand action. And the net gain? So far as one can judge, it is *nil*.

For the elections bid fair to go against whatever political group may hold the maxims and principles with which the Government has identified itself. I do not say against the Government itself because that is self-evident. It would be impossible to find ten Russian deputies whatever their real views who would openly confess that they supported the Government. As things now are, every Cabinet will be opposed by the whole Duma including the Conservative and Reactionary groups. The only practical question is whether the intensity of that opposition will hinder the deputies from working together for the good of

the country and enacting helpful laws. If not, the position is saved, and Russia will revive rapidly. If the feeling of hatred against the Cabinet or against the *régime* is greater than the sense of duty towards the nation, there will be no work done by the Duma, the Cabinet will have lost the best part of a year and a splendid opportunity for reforming the electoral law which may not again return. And it looks as though the latter of these contingencies were the most likely. To prophesy, however, would be rash in revolutionary Russia when many surprises are still in store even for the best informed. But if things as they are in January may serve as indications of what they will be in March, the forecast we are warranted in making is that the second Duma will end like the first. The Radical press in Russia looks confidently forward to that culmination and is calling on the nation to organise and rise in arms after the dissolution.

The ground on which this forefeeling—it is hardly more than a forefeeling—reposes are not so much the temper of the parties as the temperament of the people. Russians—say their own sober countrymen—are not ripe for self-government. That of course is not their fault, it is their misfortune, and their rulers are greatly to blame for bringing it upon them. But there is no reason why they should not fit themselves for the task as other nations have done. The process, however, requires time, and during that time the country will in all probability be given over either to civil war—to crimes that will truly stagger humanity —or else it will be governed without a Duma and under a constitution which will differ considerably from that which exists on paper to-day. To-day there are many parties but no patriots. All the political groups—Reactionary, Conservative, Moderate, Liberal, Radical, Revolutionary—want to use the nation, not to serve it. They have broken with tradition and appear to have no sense of the past, no presentiment of the future. Their moral purpose, too, strikes one as shadowy. The English revolution was, to a considerable extent, religious, the French upheaval was ethico-social, but the Russian is nondescript and ends by easy gradations in highway robbery, murder, and madness. The Duma democrats, for example, may be likened to priming-wire leading to the revolutionary explosives; the reactionary League of "Genuine Russian People" would bring back and perpetuate not the few good points of the autocracy but most of its vices.

With however open and unbiassed a mind we may set about the study of the Russian revolution, we shall find it hard to come upon a stimulus for enthusiasm, or food for sympathy among the

active forces on either side. This particular endeavour may, indeed, be noble or that desperate attempt may be reprehensible, and the open-eyed historian, accessible to all data, will say so. But he will not allow his sympathy for liberty, for tolerance, for brotherhood and enlightenment, to bind him to the fact that inhuman crimes deserve reprobation, even when committed in the name of those political and social ideals. Doubtless history will not be more exacting when dealing with the Russian movement than with the English or French Revolution. And large allowances must be made for excesses perpetrated in the white heat of passion. Crimes against the person and property are so to say the shadow of revolutions. They must be taken as a necessary evil arising from uncontrolled—and perhaps uncontrollable—impulse, from everpowering emotion, from an enfeebled moral sense. But none the less they are labelled crimes by all normal people, and no great party seriously propagates them as part of a system. In Russia unhappily it is otherwise. These deeds of blood and cruelty are praised, the perpetrators extolled as heroes, and the spectators, especially the youth of the nation, exhorted to imitate the generous example. And abroad many applaud unwittingly.

For in England, France, and America the revolution is delineated as a simple movement with a given direction, definite aims, and the usual methods of political warfare, whereas, in truth, it is the sum of many movements which pursue conflicting aims, and employ methods that range from fervent prayer to bomb-throwing. Again, the words used to denote the parties, their methods, their strivings and dealings are polarised by long use in countries where the things connoted are wholly different. And for that reason these terms are misleading. Thus "Liberalism," "Socialism," "Conservatism," the "Labour party," the "Democratic party," "political offences," do not mean in contemporary Russia what they connote in England or America. Most German Socialists, for example, would shrink from approving murder as a means of political warfare. American Democrats would withhold the title of heroes from the assassins of Presidents Lincoln, Garfield, and McKinley. English Conservatives, even in the days when there was much to preserve, would have scorned the notion of conspiring to repeal the Act of Settlement, and shrink from threatening their antagonists with sudden death on some dark night from a bullet or a dagger. Well, in Russia the political groups do what the English parties that bear the same name would leave undone, while they refrain from doing what the latter reckon it their businesss to do.

Take the Duma as an illustration, and note how the Russian regards it. The extreme Socialist and Revolutionary parties make use of it as a hotbed of sedition, a revolutionary centre from which the agitation against the Government can be effectually and cheaply carried on—partly at the expense of the Crown. Less extreme Radicals follow the lead of the Jacobins. The members of the centre either remain passive, join the majority, or offer such a feeble opposition that complete surrender would be preferable. The first Duma refused to work unless the Cabinet resigned, and the Constitution was altered so as to compel the Tsar to take his Ministers from the majority in the Legislative Assembly. In other words, it vindicated for itself the functions of a Constituent Assembly. The Government naturally refused to yield, and the result was the dissolution. The second Duma will probably make the same demand in a modified shape, and ask that full powers be accorded to the Parliament, making that a condition of legislative work. That is the war-cry at the elections, and all Liberal parties are repeating it. The Tsar gave them a share of the legislative power which he theretofore wielded alone. He reserved for himself the right of initiative, but undertook that without the assent of the Duma that initiative should be barren. He may, therefore, dissolve the Duma as often as he likes, but he cannot legislate without its co-operation. And national life is impossible unless the people's representatives and the sovereign hit upon some *modus vivendi et operandi*. It may be the powers granted to the Duma are inadequate, and that a larger share is necessary. But as yet there has been no tangible proof of this, and the deputies refused ostensibly to give any. If they had set to work to redress grievances, to inaugurate reforms, to change the condition of the nation for the better by extracting all the good possible from the institutions that exist or can be created, there would very soon have been a marked change in the direction of greater freedom for the people and fuller rights for the nation's representatives. By its very nature a limited monarchy is always moving towards a democratic goal. Moreover, the Emperor never drew an arbitrary line between what he would and what he would not grant. His standard was, he stated, the welfare of the nation. Consequently, if the nation could show experimentally that its welfare would be promoted materially by a larger measure of liberty, there is little doubt that it would be readily accorded. But unless the Chamber of Deputies proceeds to real business and discharges some part of its primary duties, there is little hope of a compromise. A Duma to be used only as a revolutionary centre for carrying on

subversive agitation at the expense of the Crown is an anomaly which the Government declares it will not brook.

There is a vast amount of good work waiting to be done, which it was in the power of the first Duma to accomplish effectually, and which Russian patriots of any and every party ought, one would think, to set above the interests of a personal nature or a political clique. Thus, before deciding whether the nation's welfare would be best promoted by a limited monarchical form of Government, a Democratic Republic, or some third state system differing from either, it would seem incumbent on Russian deputies to see that the further existence of their nation as a great Power was properly guaranteed, and the various elements of the population enabled to contribute suitably to its greatness. The ravages of the war should have been repaired. The system of the finances should and could have been examined, modified, improved. The economic basis upon which the finances are grounded needed widening and strengthening, a fairer distribution of the burdens of taxation, of which the unfortunate peasants bear far more than their share, was an urgent, an imperative need. Yet the men who were wasting days and weeks in eloquent outbursts of oratory, bewailing the desolate condition of the peasants, could not be prevailed upon to sit down and address themselves to the task of bettering the peasants' lot. The working men, whose just demands had in some cases been satisfied by the employers, were in many districts still in need of remedial legislation, while in other cases the employers, who were closing their works, dismissing their operatives and quitting the country, required some inducement in the form of a fair return on their capital to remain. Then there was the question of education which had been talked about, written about, struggled for ever since the beginning of the nineteenth century and was still awaiting a solution. The Russian people are, perhaps, the least civilised, the least instructed, the most benighted and rude amongst the great communities of the world. "Russia," says the contemporary Russian writer, M. Menshikoff, "is the poorest and most ignorant of countries. Mighty masses of the people are on a level of barbarism, which is scarcely higher than that of the epoch of the Vandals." * Elementary and technical schools would do something for them, and the need of inaugurating them was pressing. The reform of the clergy might also contribute to their moral amelioration. Then there was a navy to be created, an army to be organised, drilled, wrought into an instrument of offence and defence ; there were Russia's relations towards her neighbours, rivals, and her ex-

* *Novoye Vremya*, December 1, 1906.

enemy to be shaped, the character of which would depend upon the soundness of the internal organism. There was also the reform of the law courts, the simplification of the administration of justice, the decentralisation of the work of governing, the grant of certain rights to the Polish, Lithuanian, Jewish, and other non-Russian elements of the people, who amount in all to some 30 per cent. of the population. But to none of these things would the deputies set their hands. They wanted the rights of a Constituent Assembly, and refused to legislate until they received them. Meanwhile, they filled the echoes of the Tavrida Palace with Philoctetes' complaints, which were less endurable than those of the famous Greek archer, because they had the remedy in their own hands. They dished up speeches that had won for Robespierre the plaudits of the Jacobins, or for Danton the passionate approval of the Cordeliers.*

If the second Russian parliament begins like the first, it will also end like the first, only much more quickly, say the friends of the Government. Opposition pure and simple on the part of the Deputies will be answered by the dissolution of the Duma. And then ? Then it may reasonably be assumed that before proceeding to elections a third time the Crown will meditate on the most appropriate form to be given to representative government. For although it might be possible to effect the restoration of the autocracy and to govern the empire for a time in the old way, neither the present Premier nor the present Tsar would venture to make that experiment. The truth is that Autocracy in Russia is as dead as was the Great Pan to the Greeks after Thamus the sailor had proclaimed the fact. The only form in which absolutism could now be revived in Russia is that of an idol of the army. Representative institutions have become indispensable to the people and there is a touch of delicate irony in the circumstance that it is the advisers of the ex-autocrat who are endeavouring to engraft them on the nation while the champions of popular liberty are doing their best to keep them from taking root. Undoubtedly if the second Duma prove an abortion, certain problems will be raised which would otherwise be considered solved. Thus while the principle of representative institutions would not be called in question, it might well be doubted whether the Duma as at present constituted is worth

* One Deputy in particular delivered a good speech in the Duma, and received the credit of it from all his hearers but one. That one was a well-known Professer, who not only recognised in it a celebrated speech of Robespierre's, but also remarked to the orator that an effective passage of it had been omitted.

perpetuating. A new electoral law would in any case be promulgated which would not be based as is the present one upon the assumption that the wisest legislators are the benighted peasants whose mental and moral state is so little better than that of barbarians. It is not impossible, although less probable, that the council of the Empire may be made the nucleus of the new chamber. Another contingency is a representative body taken from the Zemstvos in the country, and the municipalities in the towns. But as the prophets were mistaken who predicted that the bier of the first Duma would be the cradle of liberty, so will those others prove wrong who hold that the dissolution of the second parliament will lead to the revival of autocracy.

But there are many honest patriotic men who ask themselves anxiously whether any mere form of Government can infuse into the people that elixir of moral life without which there is no issue out of Russia's present difficulties and no salvation in the future. Whether the country is a Republic or a Monarchy will not constitute an answer to that question. No political framework will make up for the essential defects of the picture. And one of the most dangerous ills from which Russia now suffers might be termed heart-eating rust which destroys energy and weakens moral purpose. Russia is not yet a real political organism, and the question to be answered practically is, can she become one? At present she is but an automaton like Vaucanson's flute-player, the parts of which are kept together artificially. If therefore to-morrow or next year the chief of the State were to die or disappear there would be utter chaos. In Great Britain on the contrary even if the entire machinery of Government were swallowed up by an earthquake, confusion would not ensue because the people would create another just as naturally as the lobster renews its broken shell. But to the chronic incapacity under which the Tsar's subjects appear to labour must be added an acute attack of temporary insanity.

An epidemic of madness is raging in northern Russia to-day on a psychic soil prepared by alcoholism, syphilis, and degeneracy. Its manifestations include a state of fanaticism, a degree of self-abnegation and a power of morbid emotion unexampled since the epoch of the Flagellants. Young men are not merely ready to die in a cause of which they have no clear conception, but they are as eager for death as were those misguided early Christians who besought the Roman judges to include them among those marked out for martyrdom. But the Christian candidates for martyrdom were at least buoyed up by their faith in the unseen. In Russia there is no such faith to give a nerve to purpose or warmth to principle. Human life in Russia has

fallen in value because it is no longer attached to anything more substantial than interests that change and pass away. It has no connection with the invisible, the immortal. The faith that was the link between the two worlds is gone, and that consciousness of mutual responsibility which constitutes such an important element of human dignity has likewise faded. In lieu of ideas, therefore, men pursue interests and operate with passions. Hence murder is an everyday occurrence since the word assassin has become synonymous with hero. Eminent men who have served their country and their Tsar to the best of their lights as well as obscure policemen, soldiers, watchmen, whose sense of duty is in truth a redeeming feature in this saturnalia of blood and crime, pass one by one across the bloodstained boards of the theatre to vanish suddenly in the gloom of eternity. Why? *Cui bono?*

The most amazing and most disheartening trait in this panorama of emotional fanaticism and steady unflinching courage is that we can nowhere find that any great principle has sway over local, professional, and personal interests.

One of the greatest dangers which the foreign historian of Russia has to guard against is exaggeration, and it is almost impossible to generalise without unduly magnifying one aspect of things and belittling another. But no amount of evidence that could be got together between this and the Day of Judgment would suffice to make good a sweeping indictment against a whole people. Therefore we may take it that the subjects of the Tsar, or the more active elements among them, are passing through an acute psychic malady which will be ultimately cured, and we cannot but regret that it is precisely they who have most influence on the course of things political, social, and ethical. Whether the coming generation will be an improvement is very questionable, for it lacks even that slender leaven of instruction, education, and moral training which the men of to-day possess. And it is to the train of thought aroused by these and a series of kindred facts that the pessimism of contemporary Russian thinkers is attributable.

The leaders of the "emancipation" movement are young men whose ardours and sympathies are as generous as were those of Blake, Coleridge, and Camille Desmoulins during the French Revolution. But their aims are materialistic, their methods homicidal, and their maxims subversive of all ethics, social and religious. In the name of humanity they perpetrate, and order others to perpetrate, inhuman crimes. They denounce science in the name of enlightenment, hinder the growth of representative institutions in the interests of liberty, and make human life

cheaper than that of the horse or the sheep, in the name of the "sacredness of the person." Brought up on such spiritual pabulum as this, the men of the coming generation will form a class—almost a species—apart. Owing to strikes, to revolts, to chemical obstruction,* to boycotts, there has been no systematic education in Russia for over two years. It has been one continuous revolt of school-children against their masters and the latter have been worsted.

The Universities led the revolt. They asked for self-government, and asked in vain for generations. At last they attained their object, and now they are using their privileges in order to render the Universities nurseries of political disaffection, headquarters of socialism and anarchism. Science is eliminated. Some high schools have been used as storehouses by bombists. In no other country has such an abnormal phenomenon been witnessed, nowhere else would it be tolerated. Neither the professional body nor the Tsar's Government possesses as much moral courage as the average pale-faced English Methodist weaver, who links knowledge to duty by resolute action. The first move in the autonomous university was made by the students, and their aim was to become the masters of the institution, having first ousted the Professors. They announced that the right of closing and opening the Universities belongs to them, and to them only, and that if in order to celebrate a political anniversary, to mark their disapproval of the Government or to punish a professor, they should close the institution for a day, a month, a year, that decree shall be respected. They claimed that the prerogative of the Professors' Council should be transferred to their council. For they have their own council, their own chancellery, and their own reels of red tape as befits future bureaucrats, and they impose a tax on every student to pay for the stationery. A professor who is suspected of belonging to a non-Liberal party is boycotted, ordered to resign and not allowed to lecture any more. In Kieff the Rector appeared at one of their meetings and asked to say a word to the students, but they curtly told him he must write his name on the list and await his turn. In the School of Forestry in St. Petersburg they summoned the Director to their Bar. As their council had no legal existence he declined to come. They replied they would force him. They accordingly resolved not to separate all night, refused to allow any student to leave the institute, and had cheap

* One kind of punishment which is frequently applied in boys' and girls' schools is the generation of foul and noxious gases in the class-room. I ought to say that it is employed only by pupils to punish their teachers and hinder the lessons.

provisions, chiefly apples, brought in. In the early hours of the morning, the Director ate humble pie and appeared before them contrite and submissive.

Professor Albitsky, who was suspected of secretly holding monarchist principles, was ordered by the students to resign. He naturally refused, for professors by law are irremovable. But the students insisted. They hissed him, they jostled him, finally they ordered him out of the lecture-room, and when somebody asked what would happen if he refused to go, the answer came: "We shall throw him out on a wheelbarrow." And what is done in Universities is parodied in grammar-schools, where tiny mites revolt against their elders, and order their teachers to quit the school. At present there seems little hope of reform anywhere. Pruning may result in some good. The Universities are condemned without appeal; they have lost their *raison d'être*. Possibly the Government will at last recognise the fact, accept it, and draw the necessary consequences from it, abolishing those mediæval European institutions once for all, and founding professional and technical schools instead, where instruction shall be given and politics excluded. Unless some such step be taken soon, the hope of Russia will be nipped in the bud. Indeed, it may already be too late.

It is the youth, too, who carry on the journalistic work in the Empire, and the manner in which it is done gives us a measure of the gulf that divides the Western European from the Russian Asiatic. The best democratic organ in Russia is the *Retch*, for it is edited with relative moderation. Yet a few days ago the editors of that journal deliberately accused two men by their names and Christian names of having respectively planned and executed the murder of the Radical Jewish deputy Herzenstein last summer. In England, in Germany, in the United States there is probably not one daily paper that would lend itself to such an unqualifiable act even were the proofs unanswerable. The indictment was clear, complete, emphatic. Other newspapers reproduced the accusation, some protesting against it, others applauding. The accused men wrote indignant letters. Then came in the same journal (*Retch*) the statement, not an apology, that names were wrongly given as the result of "a vexatious misprint"; that the two accused men were not criminals, but two others whose names were somewhat different! And whether these last are more guilty than the first, or have had anything whatever to do with the crime, has not been made probable by the allegation of a single fact.

Other Radical organs edited with verve and talent exhibit such a total lack of the moral sense that one cannot but take a

gloomy view of Russia's future until one has shaken off the terrible impression they give. One of them is known as *Young Life* and the gist of its teaching is the glorification of murder and other crimes. One can understand without approving men resembling a certain Servian Minister who three years ago defended with vigour and fanatical passion the murder of the King and Queen of Servia. He pleaded very exceptional circumstances. One may even make allowances for the morbid mental condition of those fanatical revolutionists who claim that systematic political assassination as a means to a desirable end is permissible. One can find some excuse for the aberrations of those people so long as they show signs that they have not lost all traces of a moral sense. But when they glory in the shedding of innocent blood, when they chuckle over the sufferings of their victims, when they execute a sort of wild Indian dance around the mutilated corpses of the men who died bravely at their posts, and when they publish ribald jokes on the heads and legs of the victims blown off their trunks for the delectation of the half-educated men and women, the sober reader has some grounds for misgivings. The organ of the coming generation of Russians, *Young Life*, makes a practice of such articles as that. In one, it especially paints a ghastly picture entitled *Merry Devils* * of the descent into hell of the city prefect of St. Petersburg, of General Ignatieff, of General Pavloff and of several other high officials who were murdered of late by the revolutionists. The vulgarity, the fierce delight, the monstrously inhuman tone of the article are unfortunately symptomatic and evilboding.

These are a few of the signs of the times—incapacity on both sides to utilise a victory or profit by a good opportunity, the lack of moral courage and of consistency on the part of the Government, the lack of measure and of moral purpose on the part of the revolutionists who degrade the Duma, the press, and the educational establishments of the country by employing them as instruments of lawlessness, as centres of violence and crime. And it is these characteristics rather than statistical data that make one despair of seeing tranquillity restored by the second Duma, or peaceful development furthered by the present Cabinet. Less unlikely is further bloodshed and even civil war. In all this the bulk of the much enduring people is truly to be pitied. They may well exclaim with the eminent Frenchman: "We never know whose sins it is we are suffering for." On the other hand, there may also be some truth in the adage: "Chaque nation a es revolutionnaires qu'elle mérite."

* *Young Life*, January 15, 1907.

TEMPERANCE REFORM

A REPLY TO SIR THOMAS WHITTAKER.

THE comprehensive article in the last issue of the *National Review*, in which Sir Thomas Whittaker lays down the lines of legislation dealing with Temperance in the immediate future, makes it desirable that some one within the Licensed Trade should state a few facts which certainly ought not to be left out of account in any just and impartial consideration of the subject. My connection with the Trade has now lasted forty-four years, and during that time, though a great number of subversive proposals have been made to deal with this question, many of them by Sir Thomas Whittaker himself, such a judicial spirit has not hitherto been wanting in Parliament. I am, therefore, confident that what I have to say will be duly weighed. I confine myself now to essential points and the issues of the greatest magnitude.

The first thing that strikes me in reading his intelligent anticipation of events about to occur, is the extremely small space which he devotes to proposals of reform, which I may describe as the "old-fashioned reforms"—the hardy annuals with which we have been familiar for many years.

Local veto of all licences within the area is treated with considerable hesitation. After citing the experience of America, &c., the writer admits that in England "the conditions are less favourable." The shortening of hours is dealt with in a few lines, and Sunday Closing in two, while the reconstitution of the licensing authority occupies half a page. A much longer space is then devoted to the advocacy of a system under which the authority should have the option of granting all the licences in their area to "a select body of gentlemen," who would draw a profit limited to 4 per cent., the remainder being paid over to the State. I will deal with this presently, but in the meanwhile I am led to some sort of a rough estimate of the comparative importance which the writer attaches to his various proposals by the fact that he devotes about half his article to a fiscal

proposal, which is strictly speaking not a temperance measure at all, *i.e.*, it is a measure for the relief of taxation at the expense of one trade. The suggestion is, that the whole capital value of existing licences shall be destroyed, or to quote: "All assumed rights, privileges, or interests in or with regard to licences which have grown up, must cease." This is to be done, as he has explained elsewhere, by "practically taxing the value of the security out of existence." The "full monopoly value," which has been defined to mean the difference in the value of the premises licensed and unlicensed, is to be charged to any future licensees. This is a new proposal, and it will be noticed with astonishment that Sir Thomas says "the minority of the Royal Commission, including Lord Peel, suggested that a seven years' time notice should be given, that at the end of that time the State *should resume full possession of its licences* and all compensation cease." I cannot find this in the executive proposals of the Minority Report. The sentence dealing with this question will be found on page 289 of the Final Report. It is as follows:

> At the end of the period of seven or five years the licensing authorities would have power to reduce the number of licences below the statutory maximum *without any compensation being given*, and the field would be clear for any legislation, experimental or otherwise, that Parliament might be disposed to enact.

The italics are mine. If after a given date the surviving licences are to belong to the State these words have no meaning. When all the values have been taken by the State and the value to the licensee has been taxed out of existence there remains nothing to compensate.

Now the licence values of England and Wales are worth an enormous sum.* Is it conceivable that responsible Royal Commissioners would have omitted a direct mention of their intention, if it existed in their minds, to propose the transfer of the whole of this value to the State?

Having been a member of the Royal Commissioner myself I have a vivid recollection of what took place. The majority and the minority separated on Lord Peel's executive proposals in Part V., mainly on the question of the amount of compensation to be allotted to a suppressed licence. If the socialistic proposal that the State should assume all the licences, and farm them out for its own benefit, had been contained in these recom-

* I have shown elsewhere, see *Daily News*, October 8, 1906, that these values probably amount to 150 millions, and I do not think that estimate has been seriously challenged.

mendations, is it conceivable that the Majority Report would have omitted all reference to what would have been by far the most important suggestion contained in the whole volume? As is customary among Royal Commissioners, frequent friendly conversations took place between them, and it is impossible to believe that such an interpretation could be hidden away in the Minority Report and intended by those who signed it without its being known to all. The clear interpretation of that Report, then as now, was that the licences surviving the process of reduction would remain in the hands of those who had purchased them. This is important from our point of view, because the question has been put to candidates on thousands of platforms, as well as all over the kingdom to individuals: "Do you accept the proposals of Lord Peel's Minority Report?" Unquestionably these proposals have received a momentous development at the hands of Sir Thomas Whittaker.

Let us examine by reference to an example how these proposals will work out. I will take the Licensing Division of Beacontree in Essex, in which I reside, as a microcosm, and of which the main facts are familiar to me. I will confine myself to what are technically called "on-licences." There are 132 full licences and 84 beerhouses; the population is close on 400,000. It will be seen that the proportion of licences to population in this district is considerably less than Lord Peel's own maximum. This is due, of course, to the very rapid growth of population. Thus no further reduction is likely to take place, so that these licences are paying the compensation levy without getting any advantage from the suppression of their competitors.

I will deal first with the 84 beerhouses. The great majority of these were granted previous to 1869. Now Parliament had conferred on these *ante*-1869 beerhouses *a statutory right to renewal.* Sir Thomas Whittaker makes no allusion to this antecedent right. It was merged in the right of renewal, or compensation after suppression contained in the Act of 1904. Thus Parliament granted them an equivalent right. He proposes to abolish this equivalent right without restoring their previous statutory right, as to which a distinguished member of the United Kingdom Alliance, the late Mr. Samuel Pope, K.C., in giving evidence before the Royal Commission, when asked whether there was a distinct legal right to the renewal of these licences subject to the statutory conditions (Q. 14,027), replied, "They have got a statutory right, and if you deprive a man of a statutory right, I quite agree you ought to pay him for it."

I will now turn to the fully-licensed houses. The licensees whose profits are not excessive have to make a living, so it would take many years for them to get back what they have invested in their houses. Some are very old-established houses, and have existed at least since the first half of last century. Their value has continually increased, as villages became towns and towns cities. They have also constantly changed hands at their market value. It is not the case, as Sir Thomas asserts, that the owners of these premises "have had an undue advantage at the cost of the public," because the present owners have paid full value. They are only the last of a long series who have had their day and disappeared. Of the older licences nobody can even trace the original grantees. Others have been granted in recent years for a substantial consideration which I will presently explain. I am ready to admit that the public ought to have received the value of the licences when they were originally granted; but it is quite another thing to put these licences on the same footing as a new licence granted under the Act of 1904, in which the receiver understands that the full value will be taken from the outset.

I have taken considerable pains to get at the value of these full licences. It is exceedingly high, having regard to the circumstances which I have mentioned. Taking a fair average sample and calculating from that, I cannot place their total value, apart from the premises, at less than £1,500,000. It is not necessary, however, to arrive at an exact estimate as the whole value, whatever it is, is to be reduced to *nil* by a certain date.

As I have shown on a former occasion, the huge capital sum invested in licences cannot possibly be wiped out, or even materially reduced, in any period which has been mentioned for a time limit. I have further shown, by reference to what I believe to be the average profit of London brewers, that supposing the shareholders took nothing during this period, and that the whole profit were allotted to a sinking fund, they would still be left at the conclusion burdened with a vast debt in the form of debentures. But while brewers and their debenture holders are undoubtedly the largest owners of licensed property, there are many publicans who have invested their means in licences, and a multitude of other individuals, whether as owners of reversions or mortgagees, are similarly interested.

I will now carry the inquiry into the position of licensed victuallers. Let me examine a few concrete cases within my knowledge as living in the Beacontree Division. A is the tenant of a house which has been in his family for three generations,

The present representative has a stake in it of several thousand pounds, the savings of many years. Incidentally it may be mentioned that when he applied to make a necessary alteration for the public convenience he was required by the justices to purchase and surrender another licence. Here is another case. B is a widow. She is unencumbered by loans or mortgages. Whatever the house may be worth it is her own, and the source of her living. I can well recall members of her family in the house when I was a child, more than half a century ago.

Then to take a different example. A licence required for a new district was granted in 1897 for the surrender of four licences, *the whole of which were purchased for this purpose* for £6131 18*s.* 9*d.*, and about £6000 was spent in land and in buildings erected on plans passed by the justices. These surrenders are the substantial considerations of which I spoke above. C, the tenant put £5000 of his own money in, the balance and the cost of the building being borrowed. What chance would A, B, or C have, within any time limit proposed, of clearing out, even supposing that no allowance should be made for the cost of keeping themselves and their families ?

Now assuming that the State has become possessed at the end of a certain period of all this property : Sir T. Whittaker devotes a long argument to showing that the Licensing Justices should hand over the whole of this profit-making concern to a body of gentlemen described as a disinterested company. Will this be an improvement from the point of view of management ? Many have faith in the management principle. Others believe that the best guarantee of good order is that the licensee should have a substantial interest in his licence which he is liable to lose by an error of judgment as well as misconduct. I express no opinion, but can it be said that by the light of recent experience the managers of disinterested trusts are necessarily exempt from the weakness or failure of judgment to which all are prone in a difficult position ? I do not suggest that this system should be condemned because its managers are fallible, but should not the same charity be extended to the publican who has invested his money and takes a profit ? However that may be, can it for a moment be contended that the large amount of capital which has been invested by the owners of these licensed premises can be justly sequestrated by the State, and that, for the existing licence-holders, there should be substituted untried men under the supervision of philanthropists without experience.

The author of the article declaims against all those who make a profit out of liquor, but he cannot abolish profit unless the

liquor is to be sold at cost price or under. We may be coming to that, as the Executive Government, which is to be the future owner of the means of distribution, may be subject to pressure from the numerous body who consume liquor and do not pay taxes. In the meanwhile there will be profit for somebody. It is a fair question to ask why this profit which is the subject of so much prejudice when made by the brewer or publican should become innocent when shared by every taxpayer, and be described as a self-denying ordinance of 4 per cent. in the case of the favoured companies of individuals.

There is a further point. What would be the effect of a short-time limit on the conduct of licensed houses? Those interested are to be doomed by the fiat of Parliament to the loss of their capital at the end of so many years. They will be suspended over a gulf into which they will be plunged at the end of the period. The licensee will have little to lose by neglect of the usual precautions. On the other hand, it is only human nature if he endeavours to make the utmost use of the time at his disposal, and recover what fragments he may from the ruin, by any means. I look forward with the utmost apprehension to the developments which will ensue upon a general sentence of abolition to take effect on a certain date. Indeed one is tempted to ask whether it would not be more merciful and better statesmanship to make some equitable arrangement which would come into operation immediately.

Supposing the licences in a given district are not handed over to disinterested management but are put up to the highest bidder, it must be remembered that those who invested their money will be precluded by that remaining debt or burden from competing on equal terms with those new comers who are not thus handicapped. It seems to me that the practical effect of the measure will be to place those who have experience outside the circle of possible competitors.

I now turn to general considerations, and I especially desire to meet the charge of "reckless speculation." This touches me nearly, because not only my own money but that of others to whom I am responsible has been thus invested. It is also important to Sir Thomas Whittaker, because he cites it as a justification for the enormous transfer of capital value which he proposes. If the expectation of renewal was like the toss of a coin or the turn of a card, I stand convicted. If, on the other hand, I can show that the expectation of customary renewal was universal, that it was a long-standing practice, and that it was incidentally recognised by Statute, I stand acquitted of the

fault; and, in addition, I shall have shown that the proposals before me constitute a breach of the implied recognition and guarantee of the State.

He rests his argument on two main contentions. (1) A licence is for a year only, hence, any investment which regarded it as likely to endure longer was an unwarrantable speculation. (2) A licence is a privilege granted by the State; it has been conferred too cheaply. It has hence acquired a special value to the owner. This value the State is entitled to seize.

Let us examine these arguments which, be it noted, are framed so that the Trade shall always be the victim. The first says: The Trade has made a bad investment . . . it must lose its money. The second declares: The State has made a bad bargain . . . it must get its money back.

Is it true to say that the purchase of licensed premises at a price which assumed that a licence would continue year after year was very "risky and imprudent," was "a speculation and indeed a gamble"? It is said you cannot indict a nation. Sir Thomas Whittaker finds no difficulty in indicting the whole business community as fools in their estimate of the market value of a licence. Prudent men, including many trustees, at any rate invested money in these securities at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and reasonably believed that the continuous character of licences had been recognised by every Government and by the licensing authorities throughout the kingdom for many generations.

Perhaps it may not be without interest to try the issue by a comparison. Will Sir Thomas Whittaker assert that Life Insurance is a wild and speculative gamble, that it is based on no intelligible system? I fancy that on the contrary he would say that it is almost an exact science. Doubtless this is the correct view. Yet the whole edifice of Life Insurance rests upon a calculation of expectations. A licence, says Sir Thomas Whittaker, issues for one year only, you had no right to assume it would longer continue. But life is not secure for a year, a day, or an hour. The probabilities in lives differ, so they do in licences. Be it life or licence, the clean, the well conducted and well arranged has the advantage. The illustration may serve to show the legitimate character of financial estimates based on a reasonable expectation founded on past experience and prevailing conditions.

Has the expectation of renewal in default of misconduct been reasonable? Let us look at the figures of refusals of publicans' licences, *i.e.*, full licences, subject to the widest discretion of the justices. The number of these licences refused in England and

Wales on the sole ground of being "not required" in the years intervening * between the decision in *Sharp* v. *Wakefield* and the Act of 1904 averaged 32 a year. This makes the refusals equivalent to about 0.05 per cent. of the total number of these licences.

I need not go at any great length over well-known ground to prove on what wide-rooted foundations the established belief in the practical continuity of a licence in default of misconduct is based. Since, however, Sir Thomas Whittaker contends that the values paid for existing licences on the strength of such practical continuity can fairly be annihilated by the State on the plea that the licence was for one year only, the past action of the State in regard to this subject is interesting. So far from treating the licence as affording no legitimate ground for an expectation of renewal, the State for the purpose of the death duties has deliberately valued licensed property on the footing of the licence being an enduring possession. In the Inland Revenue memorandum of May 14, 1890, it is expressly stated "that in each case it is assumed that the licence will continue to be renewed," as "without a licence there would be no good-will," which is chargeable to duty. Moreover, the courts have not failed to protect interests in remainder and reversion in licensed property on the assumption that the premises will have value as licensed premises after the lapse of many years. Again, when licensed premises are taken in order to carry out a public improvement under the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, all persons interested in the condemned premises are fully compensated, the money coming from the rates. Then I may take one illustration from practice under the Licensing Acts. When it was proposed to build, say, an hotel, a provisional licence was asked for before commencing the expensive building operations. How is it possible to couple the provisional grant, together with its implied admission that large sums of money might reasonably be expended, with the idea of a licence likely to last one year only ?

Finally—and however much Sir Thomas Whittaker may dislike its provisions, an Act of Parliament is an Act of the Legislature of the State—we have the Act of 1904 which by providing compensation for licences, recognised the claim of well-conducted houses to security. Sir Thomas Whittaker admits the position under the Act of 1904. It has altered the whole situation, he says, for the worse. The latter construction is a matter of opinion. I believe the Act has not unfairly interpreted the public view of the situation when it was framed, in that it pro-

* *Sharp* v. *Wakefield* was decided in 1891 and the Act of 1904 came into force in 1905. There are no figures for 1899, 1900, and 1902.

vides for the reduction of redundant licences, and at the same time mitigates the hardship by establishing a system of mutual insurance.

Let us look at the position prior to its passing. Justices of nearly 300 licensing divisions pronounced in favour of compensation in a memorial to the then Home Secretary. A conference of men of all parties, largely composed of justices with experience in licensing matters, presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury, was held on March 23, 1903. Two resolutions* were carried unanimously. They ran as follows:

That, in order to facilitate a considerable reduction of licences, where such reduction seems desirable, this conference is of opinion that provision should be made for compensation of interests in licensed property dispossessed otherwise than for misconduct, from a fund raised from the trade in exciseable liquors.

That, in the opinion of this conference, it is desirable that among other reforms the *ante*-1869 beerhouses should be placed on the same footing in all respects as the other licensed houses.

Now the Act of 1904 has conformed to this. It provides compensation for licences suppressed as redundant from a fund furnished by the Trade. It may be said that Sir Thomas Whittaker and some other temperance reformers who were present and concurred in the resolution either did not agree with the measure of compensation settled by the Act or desired a time limit. But one object, and essentially the one which actuated the justices in wanting legislation, was to get rid of the element of hardship in reducing licences, and unless the compensation to be given was settled on the basis of market value the inequality of treatment remained. The justices as a whole felt themselves hampered by the unequal treatment and inherent inequity involved in suppressing existing licences without having the power to deal fairly by those interested in the premises.

This is well shown by the terms of the Memorial to the Home Secretary to which I have already referred, which described as follows the difficulties in the way:

The justices have no power to award compensation, and their action is hindered by the "invidious duty of selection" when it comes to deciding which of a number of licensees, who have committed no fault, shall be deprived of their business in which savings may have been invested, and which provides their means of livelihood.

In addition, the statutory position of the privileged beerhouse prevents the justices from refusing the renewals of these licences merely on the ground of redundancy. The licensing authority is therefore precluded from dealing with houses which in some cases are the least desirable.

* Similar resolutions were passed on March 31, 1903, at a meeting of the Society of Chairmen and Deputy-Chairmen of Quarter Sessions.

The Act also met the second point. It made the *ante*-1869 beerhouses, like other "on" licences, liable to suppression with compensation. There can, I believe, be no question that the justices feel that their hands had been freed. Indeed, out of 514 "on" licences suppressed with compensation in 1905, no less than 315 were *ante*-1869 beerhouses.

The argument that a licence is for one year only is insisted on to support a theory that the discretion to refuse possessed by the justices could have been used at the end of any year to suppress all current licences. But this is not so. The general discretion did not extend to prohibition. The grounds of refusal must have relation to the licence refused. As was said by the Lord Chancellor in the judgment in *Sharp* v. *Wakfieeld*, the Legislature "has given credit to the magistrates for exercising a judicial discretion that they will fairly decide the questions submitted to them, and not by evasion attempt to repeal the law which permits public-houses to exist, or evade it by avoiding a plain exposition of the reasons on which they act." Lord Bramwell in the same case also emphasised the grounds of the expectation of renewal when he said "the Legislature contemplated that, ordinarily, licences would be renewed, and have most strongly shown that."

I think I have now conclusively shown that so far from the charge of reckless speculation lying at the door of those who purchased licensed premises, there were grounds of the most solid character for the belief that these licences would be renewed in the absence of misconduct.

The fact is that it is impossible to conceive a licensing system without an element of continuity. It is essential to the conditions of trade, expensive premises have to be provided and the requirements of the licensing authorities are entirely inconsistent with a precarious tenure. If a new system is to be established and the State is in the future to universally annex the monopoly value of licences, I venture to predict that it will be found necessary to provide for a measure of continuity.

Now let us look briefly at the second head of Sir T. Whittaker's thesis: That the State has created the value in licences and is entitled to seize it. Here let me leave my case in the hands of the late Mr. Gladstone, who said:

> If it be necessary, if Parliament should think it wise to introduce any radical change in the working of the Liquor Laws in such a way as to break down the fair expectations of persons which have grown up—whether rightly or wrongly, it is not their fault; it is our fault—under the shadow of those laws, their fair claim to compensation ought, if they can make good their case

to be considered, as all such claims have been considered, by the wisdom and liberality of the British Parliament.

I submit that the Trade has made out its case, and would only notice in passing how differently from the present proposals Mr. Gladstone treated rights which had been acquired by the *laches* of the State. He said, "It is not their fault." It is that of the State, which should recognise the equitable claim. Sir Thomas Whittaker argues it is the fault of the State, but the penalty should fall on the Trade.

I have admitted that the State would have done better to exact a payment when licences were first granted as is now done in the case of new licences. But how does this affect the present position where the existing licences have been bought in the market by their present holders at full value? To confiscate these values not on the plea of the public advantage of a reduction of licences, which is now fully provided for, but in order that the State may obtain a purchase price for them from other holders is to advocate public plunder. Even the United Kingdom Alliance admits this distinction. A document issued by the London Auxiliary of the Alliance last year says:

> The present holders of licences would thus be dispossessed without any compensation, while the traffic, with all its social evils, would still be imposed upon the locality. It is impossible to imagine that Parliament would sanction a procedure the injustice of which would be so apparent.

Not only is it now proposed that the process of writing off capital values is to take place during a strictly limited time, but also during that period the compensation charges are to be made national and compulsory and increased indefinitely, so as "to render it possible to get rid of as many licences as it is deemed desirable to refuse to renew." The Trade must find the funds for the wildest schemes of suppression from increased profits which, to say the least, are extremely problematical, and at the same time to use them to write off the heavy liabilities they have incurred, as I say, with ample justification from the action of the Executive.

The practical effect of Sir Thomas Whittaker's proposals, if carried out, will be that the least desirable licences, which were first suppressed, will have received full value. Then would follow a period of fractional compensation during which many others will have been eliminated. At the end of this the remainder, consisting of those which fulfil an undoubted public need, will all be suppressed without any compensation and regranted to others, notwithstanding the fact that they have contributed to the fund

forming, in his own words, the "compulsory mutual insurance" from which their redundant rivals were compensated. To put it briefly—the worst are compensated, the best confiscated.

I have glanced at his argument that compensation funds for an unlimited suppression of licences in a short time can be wrung from the trade. Even this pales before a further assertion. "The levy for compensation purposes," he says, "is only a portion of the larger payment which the State might justly demand for public purposes, but which it defers taking in order that compensation may for a time be paid. The compensation is, therefore, really a gift from the Chancellor of the Exchequer." Let us see what this comes to. The whole profits of a widespread industry, constantly supported by intelligent supervision, are to be transferred to the nation. In the meanwhile, its owners are not entitled to the reward of their capital or labour. Any fragments left to the workers are gifts from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. This is truly Oriental finance; in fact, it is closely analogous to the assumption by the Sultan of Turkey of the Tobacco Regie to satisfy his own necessities.

When the practical proposals for its accomplishment are so wild, and when the clean slate is only to be obtained by wiping out the whole rights of those carrying on a legitimate industry—rights which I venture to assert are admitted and not "assumed"—it is a little difficult to concentrate attention on the aftermath of what Sir Thomas Whittaker proposes to inscribe on his cleansed tablet. Moreover, the pursuit is rendered less interesting because there are few of his practical constructive designs—I am not now expressing any opinion on their merits—which might not be accomplished without the preliminary holocaust. His objects could be attained by ordinary measures. The reduction of licences is now going on at a growing pace. In 1905 the number of on-licences suppressed with compensation was 514. The figures for 1906 will, it appears, be three times as large. Most careful observers will agree that the process has all the more chance of success if it is not unduly hurried. Sunday closing, earlier closing, and so forth, have all figured in Bills before now. They could do so again, and be taken or rejected on their individual merits without trying to reconcile the public to them by the hope of profit for themselves. With regard to such measures, however, Sir Thomas Whittaker admits that though many of them are in force in Scotland, "intemperance and all the evils of the drinking system abound there." The moral he draws is that without the remedies the sad state of Scotland would be worse. That is as it may be, but it is not an

encouraging method of argument. Other objects, like the temperance recreation rooms, do not need any licensing legislation to call them into existence.

In regard to clubs, I sympathise with Sir Thomas when he tilts at them. Clubs are the favoured children of the State, because powerful classes are apt to ask how they themselves would be affected by troublesome restrictions. The clubs Sir Thomas is thinking of are those established for the purpose of getting behind such restrictions. They are free as to hours. They are open all Sunday. Gambling is permitted. Outside sales of liquor are rife. Membership itself is exceedingly loose. By a system of affiliation great numbers of clubs are banded together in a common association. A person carrying a ticket of membership is free to enter any one of fifty or sixty others where perhaps he is totally unknown. Many of these clubs are nominally political. The police have no right of entry except by warrant. They are free from licence duty and compensation charges. Will the Government, taking its courage in both its hands, assimilate the clubs as regards these matters to public-houses ?

Past experience has made me sceptical. Attention has constantly been drawn to the continuous multiplication of "unlicensed public-houses," as Sir Thomas Whittaker calls clubs, and Parliament professed to deal with them a few years ago. They were required to register and to pay a nominal fee, and that was the mouse which the mountain produced. The Act has no restraining effect whatever. The fact is that a club, whether it be called the Petticoat Lane Radical Club or the Carlton, is a private association of individuals who agree to keep house for their mutual pleasure. Their home is their castle, and these clubs resent interference as much as individuals would do.

May I be permitted a brief retrospect and a forecast ? Parliament has not been invariably successful in its licensing legislation. The Statute Book is strewn with laws subsequently condemned by the reformers themselves. In 1830 the period of unlimited beershops was inaugurated by the reformers. In 1860, legislation, much vaunted in the interest of temperance, brought grocers' licences into existence. 1869 saw the birth of the privileged beerhouse. Each of these reforms in succession has had its period and fallen into disfavour with its authors.

Is 1907 to see a new era and a new class of liquor-houses raised to a favoured position ? Whether intended or not, that will be the effect if fresh taxation is piled on to public-houses together with restrictions, old and new. The reduction of

public-houses to half their number will inevitably act as a stimulus to the formation of clubs; Sunday closing will powerfully aid the movement. It will be a strange irony if a certain party, eager to lay hands on controlled licences, doubtless from the best of motives, only succeeds in establishing for them unlicensed houses, which are as free of control as the Palaces of Pall Mall.

In conclusion, I cannot pass over Sir Thomas Whittaker's charge against the brewers of forcing the trade. He compares the select body of gentlemen with "the ordinary publican who would almost certainly be little better than the bondslave of a brewer who would compel him to push the sale of drink in every possible way." Everybody within the Trade knows that such a policy would defeat itself, because it would be resented by the publican and resented by his customer. However, I will content myself with quoting some one who will not be accused of undue advocacy, and yet who knows something of the Trade. Mr. Joseph Malins, at a temperance meeting held at Bradford on October 13 last said: "there was less pushing in the sale of drink than in any other business in the world." Take, again, the tirade against the men and their houses as an element "which always throws the whole weight of its powerful influence into the scale against anything which makes for the real improvement of the condition of the people." What does this mean except that the Trade generally is politically opposed to Sir Thomas Whittaker? I plead guilty, not personally, but for my Trade. Is it surprising? Political opinions may be wise or foolish, but have they hitherto been regarded as a crime to be punished by ruin. Besides these opinions are shared by large bodies of men. The Local Veto Bill decided the election of 1895. Even the proposal that the State should for the first time nationalise a trade will hardly command unanimous assent.

E. N. Buxton.

GREATER BRITAIN AND INDIA

ENGLISH EMIGRANTS IN CANADA

At this season of the year the young Englishman's thoughts rightly turn to thoughts of settlement in the spacious Western reservation of the race, and I receive numerous letters of inquiry as to chances of success of this or that young fellow. It will be time enough to discuss the important questions which the Canadian representatives will raise at the Colonial Conference. Meanwhile it is to be hoped that the following notes will prove useful to the parents and guardians of intending settlers or to those English landlords who often assist their people to escape from the economic evils attending the decadence of agriculture in this country of free imports.

There can be no denying that the English emigrant is often regarded with a measure of contempt by his Canadian neighbours in the North-West. Farmers tell you frankly that they do not care to employ Englishmen ; storekeepers confess that they are chary of giving credit to English settlers ; and even the unsuccessful old-timer with a drop or two of Indian blood in his veins speaks of one's compatriots as *moonias* (Cree for "imbecile"), while the veriest town-loafer indulges in laborious jests in which the Englishman's riding-breeches and gaiters, garments never worn by the seasoned Westerner, and his alleged inability to chop firewood without standing in a bucket for the protection of his toes or to distinguish lambs from bush-rabbits, are the chief *motifs* of facetiousness. Even more wearisome are the constant allusions to "h'England," and such commonplaces of linguistic criticism beyond the Great Lakes as the assertion that English lips cannot get the "h" in "whom"—a word which the Scotch-Canadian pronounces "hwhom" in his excess of zeal for the aspirate. I have heard an Irish settler in the West, a good friend to emigrants since he kept a saloon, talk of the "English brogue," and the same distaste for the decently born young Englishman's intonation and also his alleged avoidance of the hard monotonous labour without which a homestead cannot be made into a home on

small capital, has been vigorously expressed in a rugged *Song of the C.P.R.* by a young Canadian poet :—

> Hark ! Hear them talk ! Hear the babble of the younger son
> The country softly damning. Hear his cultivated voice
> With a rising, falling wail
> Like a syren in a gale !
> All to hammer into manhood—which he'd never reach by choice.
>
> So, while at first, when he blisters in the rolling wheat,
> He'll curse his ancient heritage, the country and the rest,
> Yet the lightning glaring white
> And the thunder in the night
> And the snow-clouds in the winter-time will teach him all that's best.

And so on, until this younger son is "velvet-skinned and sun-tanned as a File Hills Cree" and "has won his own salvation from the Empire—in his sleep." What is the origin of this covert animosity? That is a question worth asking, not easily answered. I have no doubt, however, that there are faults of intolerance on both sides.

Before attempting to grasp the *racine de la rancune*—after all Froissart's phrase is somewhat too emphatic—it is necessary to explain that the feeling in question is not nearly so marked in the ranching district or in the outlying settlements of Alberta and Saskatchewan as it is in the older and more populous communities of the wheat-belt proper. In Calgary, which is the capital of the Albertan ranges, or in such a pioneering town as Battleford, which for twenty years yearned for a railway in vain, the covert dislike or distrust of Englishmen does not exist or assumes the harmless form of a slight excess of the good-natured chaff which no settler in the West on either side of the international boundary-line can hope to escape. The truth is that the English emigrant, more particularly the younger son, has always preferred the adventurous life of the ranges to the serried days of hard labour, each closing in a tiresome series of the odd jobs known as "chores," which is the farmer's road to a competence. It must be remembered that the traditional delights of an English countryside are not to be culled by the occupant of a quarter-section on the high prairies, where even the settler from Ontario, a man broken in to the silent endurance of comfortless life, often counts the suns that fall ahead of him with the eagerness of a schoolboy looking forward to the holidays. Not a few of these men become hopeless "cranks"—the western equivalent of the "hatter" of New Zealand or the rank idealist who fought with his "swag" in Lawson's Australian tales. But the rancher and his cowboys are a species of chivalry, and it is only natural that the young Englishman of

spirit should prefer the centaur's life to that of one who is the slave of a plough, even a sulky plough. Wherever in Western Canada stock-raising is the chief industry—as must be the case beyond a certain distance from the nearest railway station—the personality of the younger son asserts itself, and the hallmark of the English public school may be deciphered in the palimpsest of the community's character. There cricket-matches are played in the ancient buffalo-trails—hardened grooves in the friable prairie which make fairly true pitches ; there the visitor does not see the tobacco-chewer's pulse beating in the left cheek of every man he or she meets ; and such good old rules as that of not mentioning a lady's name in the interval between ultra-deep-marine anecdotes are well remembered. Again, the *esprit-de-corps* of the North-west Mounted Police is that of an English regiment—because in the past the younger son taught his comrades to think imperially in the "Rec" as well as on the parade-ground or along the interminable patrol-routes. Go through the roll of the Canadian Mounted Rifles or Strathcona's Horse, and count the number of Englishmen, and you will know how a rose of English manhood blossomed in the West to shed so many (too many) of her petals on the veld. Nor is this the end of the Odyssey of the much-enduring younger son. The first wave of the tide of settlement flowing northward to the limit as yet undiscovered of the "Last West," is a commingling of the lives of Englishmen and Scots (descendants of the old Company men) who have that love of adventurous living which has not many dollars, but has enlarged the Empire to the height of Chatham's imagination.

As a pioneer in the rose-starred solitudes of the North-West the wellborn young Englishman has proved himself the equal of the thoroughbred Scot or even of the "native"—a term applied in the outer circuit of North-Western settlements to the descendants of the marriages between Scots and Indian women which were so common in the old fur-trading days. Love of country life, a sentiment which some Canadians cannot yet understand, and that fellowship with wild creatures, which is the root of the Englishman's sportsmanship, were the motives that caused the younger son to live beyond the advancing frontiers of civilisation and so lose his share, more often than not, in the profits of North-Western development. The prairie has entered into his soul, and sheaves of many-crinkled dollar bills could not tempt him from his allegiance to the "land of the Manitou," the unfenced countryside which is a symbol of eternity not yet parcelled out into years.

The typical Canadian does not suffer from this obsession, and he sometimes fails to understand that it is one of the

great Empire-building forces. He goes to the West to "make his pile" and for no other reason; when it is made he builds himself a mansion (with all modern improvements) in Winnipeg or Ottawa or Toronto, according to his means. Though it increases yearly, the number of those Canadians who have a real love for country life is still small. The great majority look on the comforts of town life as the full reward of successful farming, and it is only natural that they should feel a more or less good-natured contempt for the Englishman who prefers to rough it outside. Moreover, all the Western towns I have ever visited contain specimens of the English *mauvais sujet*, who has been dumped down into the West by parents and guardians under the impression that the inability to pass trifling examinations or bear with the easy discipline of a public school or the historic universities is a guarantee that he will succeed as a colonist. Of late years a considerable portion of this traffic in the waste products of English civilisation has been diverted to South Africa. If the well-to-do established families of the Eastern States were in the habit of sending their wastrels into the West, the English failure would, no doubt, have serious rivals in the arts of misusing his "remittance," his time, and himself. These families often produce prize idiots of a peculiarly offensive type. But the American or Canadian parent wisely keeps his foolish son at home in the hope that the heavy machinery of social conventions, which is not yet installed in the West, where the saying is "nobody's holding you," may grind the folly out of him.

The English farmer and his son are not often met with in the North American prairie region. In point of fact the former is not easily dug out of his holding at home—the good, faithful fellow—while the latter, for some reason or other, has generally preferred to settle in New Zealand. But here and there in the North-West little knots of English emigrants of this staunch type have formed the *nuclei* of prosperous settlements, and I have never heard a word said against them by their neighbours. I can call to mind several little colonies of the kind which were planted in the Saskatchewan Valley many years ago. In every case the settlers were fairly successful, though a certain lack of modern business ideas, not to be learnt in English market towns, has generally prevented them from achieving more than a competence. The English farm labourer is handicapped by a lack of adaptability and of general intelligence, which often renders him less successful in the long run than the able-bodied, able-minded worker from the English towns. As things are to-day in the North-West, the value of a day's labour and that of an acre of

land are on the same economic plane; and the slow and sure "hired man" of the Mas'r Gammon type, who spends a day on a single job and cannot be rushed, is really not worth his board. Still honesty is a good asset in every country, and the Old-country farm labourer who learns to hustle need never look far for an employer. Many of the alien immigrants, who form the North-Western force of wage-labour, cannot be trusted.

Finally, it must be remembered that English emigrants of every class—younger son, farmer or farmer's boy, agricultural labourer or townsman—are superior in the matter of the civic virtues to all other types. The former come from a country where electoral corruption is unknown, and they are the one incorruptible element in the community. A limited form of the "spoils system" obtains throughout Canada, and much use is made of whisky and "cash papier" at election-time. The Galician vote, like that of the *Métis* or French-Canadian-half-breeds, always goes to the highest bidder in Dominion or Provincial elections. Even the American settler, who is the best of all, will take a hand in this bad old game—if it seems worth while. But the Englishman's vote cannot be bought, nor does he attempt to buy the votes of other men. Multiply the English settlers in Western Canada tenfold, and we may be sure that the country will never suffer from the municipal corruption and low standard of commercial morality which are characteristics of the Western States. Man for man they may make less money than the Mormons, Mennonites, and the other peculiar peoples. But they will be the conscience of the community.

The ethical value of the English settlers is now recognised by Canadian statesmen who are glad to see that steps are being taken to prevent the export to Canada of the waste-products of the English public school system. No Canadian patriot wants the dollar to become almighty in Canada. The Association of Public School men in Canada, which has been formed in Montreal with the view of assisting young fellows of good character with advice and useful introductions, should do much good work, and I am sincerely glad that it has been recognised by the Conference of Headmasters.

E. B. O.

SOUTH AFRICA

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE TRANSVAAL

It is now ancient history that his Majesty's "present advisers" before they had been in office a week, decided to withdraw

the Constitution that had been prepared by their predecessors for the Transvaal, and to take the unprecedented step of endowing a country that had been conquered three and a half years before with complete autonomy. It is also remembered that two months later, they were declared by their leader to be "woefully ignorant" of the situation in South Africa, and that a "packed" committee of their supporters was sent out there to acquire the necessary information to guide them. We now know that this committee returned to England and presented a report which Lord Elgin has found convenient not to publish. However the Government have now produced the Constitution which is destined to decide the fate of the Transvaal, and its terms are public property. To attack the details of this Constitution is not the main object of these pages but rather to explain the present political situation in the Transvaal on the eve of its plunge into Party politics, and to enter a protest against a premature policy which is damned *ab initio* by the intolerable restrictions imposed on a nation which is *ex hypothesi* autonomous and self-responsible.

As is usual with the Liberals, they have two separate and conflicting lines of argument for granting this Constitution. On the one hand we have the moralist and the idealist who say: "Let us meet our Brother Boer and invest him with powers so that he can show how much he loves us." And on the other hand we have the so-called Imperialists who say: "We admit the Constitution is a risky experiment, but it is just and fair, and we had to fulfil our election pledges. However the distribution of seats ought to secure a British majority." To the moralist I reply that Brother Boer has no intention of meeting us half-way, and that his memory is longer than three and a half years. To the Liberal Imperialist I answer that, as the seats have been distributed, a British majority is imperilled.

At the present moment there are four political parties in the Transvaal all with their own leaders and organisations, and more bitterly divided than our two great hereditary parties have often been. The first is the Progressive Party, comprising the majority of British in the country under the leadership of Sir George Farrar, Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, Sir William Van Hulsteyn, Mr. Abe Bailey, and others. This party consists of the nucleus of British strength in the Colony; the men who suffered under Krugerism and revolted against it, who fought against the Boers for two years, and staked all they had on the British flag. Their ideal is the Imperial ideal, and their conception is British; the development of the Transvaal on the lines laid down by Lord Milner and the

active participation of the Colony in the responsibilities of the Empire. Their election programme is as follows :

The federation of all the South African Colonies.

The maintenance of the Customs Union.

The readjustment of railway tariffs and the development of railways.

A firm and just native policy including prohibition of the sale of liquor to natives.

The establishment of an agricultural department and land banks.

The encouragement of immigration with the object of securing the settlement of a largely increased white population on the land.

The encouragement and development of local industries.

The restriction of immigration of Asiatics, except in the case of indentured labourers who are subject to repatriation at the end of their contract.

An Employer's Liability Act, and Factory Laws.

Opposition to monopolies.

The provision of an adequate unskilled labour-supply necessary to the development of the resources of the State, though "The Association is not concerned with the sources or nature of such supply provided that the labour obtained shall not be detrimental to the interests of the country and its people, and that the character and conditions of such labour shall be determined by the unrestricted judgment of the Parliament of this Colony."

Such then is the character and policy of the main British party in the Transvaal. It can be summed up as Imperial and Progressive, which after all is what one would expect a British party in the Colonies to be.

The second party is called the "Nationalist Party," and is the result of a newly-formed coalition of the Responsible Government Party, the Reform Party, and the Pretoria Political Association. This party has not a very large number of adherents, but it is highly organised and well led, and expects to play an important part in the coming elections. Its leaders are Mr. E. P. Solomon, Mr. Wyberg, and others. Mr. Hull, who was understood to have been one of the founders of the Nationalist Party, but who refused to appear before the scenes, has now allied himself with Het Volk. The Nationalist Party is the Radical Party of the Transvaal—the party with a grievance. Any one who has a grievance of any sort against anybody (especially a capitalist) will find a ready welcome in its ranks. We know this type of attitude so well in England, that it is unnecessary to dwell on it. Suffice

it to point out that as the Transvaal has passed through a period of the greatest depression, of war, of famine, and of drought, there are a good many persons who have suffered severely and have various personal grievances, and these form the backbone of the party. Its policy is a combination of the popular though conflicting cries that have taken the fancy of the various sections of which it is composed, as may be gathered from the programme published on September 27 last: (1) The encouragement of agriculture, mining, commercial, and manufacturing industries throughout the colony; (2) the abolition of monopolies; (3) establishment of a land bank; (4) the development of a social and industrial system on a basis calculated to attract and provide for the greatest number of Europeans; (5) reform of the mining and company laws, so as to leave to the people as a whole a larger share of the mineral wealth of the country; (6) improvement in the system of recruiting native labour, and the conditions of natives working on the mines; (7) establishment of a department of labour under a responsible minister; (8) workmen's compensation law, factory laws, regulated working hours for workmen and shop assistants; (9) effective control of Asiatics; (10) the prohibition of future importation of Chinese labourers, and the repatriation of those now employed in the Colony on the mines at the expiry of their present contracts; (11) restriction of Asiatic trading licences and of the immigration of Asiatics; (12) complete self-government in all the internal and domestic affairs of the Colony, with effective control of the railway policy and of native and Asiatic affairs within the borders of the Legislature; (13) the reduction of the cost of living, and the improvement of the conditions of labour; (14) promotion of the interests of the native races by providing for their development and civilisation, and adopting a just and consistent policy towards them; (15) the prohibition of ownership of land by natives outside areas specially reserved for them by Parliament; (16) the future appointment of Government civil servants to be as far as possible from among residents in the Transvaal.

However, this last principle, which is simply in opposition to Lord Milner's wise policy of getting able young Englishmen to restart the Transvaal, has not prevented the Nationalists from importing an Australian agitator, in the shape of Mr. Outhwaite, fresh from his triumphs in West Birmingham, where he contested Mr. Chamberlain's seat. But the whole programme is full of such inconsistencies, as a glance at the list will show. For instance, how can you possibly "encourage the mining industry" by insisting on "the prohibition of future importa-

tion of Chinese labourers, and the repatriation of those now employed in the Colony on the mines at the expiry of their present contracts?" And if you thus cripple the mining industry, how can you succeed in "attracting and providing for the greatest possible number of Europeans"? Or how can you reduce the cost of living by undertaking to promote the growth of local agriculture and manufactures, &c.? The truth being that a little of everything has been put into the pot to please every one, with the general view that you thereby obtain the maximum of contentment, and that if you only promise enough everything will come right.

The third political party is the Labour Party, at present an unknown factor in Transvaal politics, though its possibilities are great. The artisans of the Rand have never up till now had their own organisations and representatives, but it is clear that if they insisted on it they could practically control the whole British policy of the Colony. The Rand comprises nearly the whole British population in the country, and nine-tenths of the Rand are British working men. The leaders of the Labour Party are Mr. Whiteside and others, and so far—following the example of the I.L.P. in England—they have refused to identify themselves with any hitherto known set of opinions and rely on the following somewhat Socialistic programme:

(1) Retention of monopoly of skilled labour for the white man and consequent exclusion of blacks from skilled work; (2) prohibition of coloured unskilled imported labour; (3) shorter working day; (4) power to fix rate of wages by arbitration; (5) workmen's compensation law; (6) factory laws; (7) payment of members and their election expenses; (8) the abolition of the Upper Chamber; (9) taxation of land-values; (10) State ownership of all lands; (11) State confiscation of unimproved property; (12) reduction in cost of living; (13) encouragement of industries by Protection; (14) free primary education, &c. &c.

This is a very ordinary Labour programme, much on the model of the party in England, and altered only by local conditions. If it were not for the fact that all Labour parties have a conscientious hatred of capital, we might think they would be more likely to work with the Progressive Party than with the Dutch, for nothing can be imagined more antagonistic to the ultra-Conservative land-owning Boer than the modern Socialistic Labourite, but no one is so foolish as to imagine that co-operation between the working man and the source of his livelihood is nowadays possible.

In all probability the Labour Party will continue to maintain an independent attitude and will support, *pro tempore*, the party which offers them most. However the only indication

f the power of the Labourites on the Rand so far is in the ohannesburg municipal elections, at which their successes have ot been very great. But whatever their immediate achieve- ients they are a growing factor, and let no one in England nagine that they have any more intention of identifying iemselves with the Progressives or Nationalists than Mr. Keir Hardie has of serving under Mr. Balfour or Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.

Thus we have three distinct English parties in the Transvaal, ll with their own leaders, organisations, and conflicting pro- rammes, all fiercely quarrelling with each other.

There remains the fourth party, called "Het Volk" ("The People"), *i.e.*, the Dutch political party, containing practically very Boer in the country and not a single Englishman, and ossessing a perfect organisation. Its leaders are General Botha, Mr. Esselen, General Smuts, General Delarey, and General Beyers. For two years this party maintained an im- enetrable silence as to what their policy was; it was not ecessary for such an organisation as theirs to have a pro- ramme. An absence of programme did not prevent it from lourishing because it was built on a blood foundation.

But at the eleventh hour General Botha has issued a pro- ramme which, though prefixed by a set of pious sentiments to he effect that the aim of the party is to end all strife, is s follows: The Federation of South Africa; the incorporation f Swaziland into the Transvaal; the repatriation of the Chinese t the expiry of their contracts if an adequate substitute has een found; restriction of immigration of Asiatics; stringent etrenchment in all departments; promotion of agriculture; stablishment of a land bank; irrigation on a large scale; profit ax on mines; use of Dutch in schools; revision of repatriation nd settlers' debts; and revision of Civil Service list. This pro- ramme represents nothing new, and it cannot be called the rogramme of a political party in the English sense of the word, because it is not designed to appeal to the nation at large ot only to one section of the community.

Now what does it therefore amount to? A thinly-disguised Krugerism. After the first four proposals, the programme is merely a list of all the plums the Boers wish for themselves. The development of the country districts, the plundering of the mines, the fostering of the Dutch language to perpetuate the nationality, the crushing of the English settlers and the destruction of Lord Milner's Civil Service, are the aims and objects of Het Volk. Surely this is but a perpetuation of Krugerism against which the war was fought, any plainer assertion of nationality and race ideal could not be wanted.

This cannot be called the policy of the State, it is but the claims of a section within the State.

On what issue then do Het Volk really appeal to their supporters, on what do they rely for their votes? Their Nationality. General Botha knows that every Boer will vote for the Boer organisation. and uphold the Boer ideal. Every Boer knows it. Every one in South Africa knows it.

If this is not raising the racial issue I don't know what is. It is idle to suppose that you have extinguished the Boer's nationality by conquering him, or that he will enter into partnership with you and work for you because you have worsted him. The Boer has suffered so bitterly in the late war that he can never forget what he thinks he owes the English. For the last hundred years his nation has had perpetual and bitter feud with the Empire, and every ill he has he attributes to the Union Jack. When some one said to General Beyers a year ago that they hoped it would be "alright" when the Liberals came into office, General Beyers replied that he didn't care to what political party he belonged, an Englishman was always an Englishman to him! Although Lord Loreburn may feel bitterly the injustice of this accusation, yet General Beyers was only speaking the truth, and expressing the feeling of every Boer. We ought not to respect the Boer who declared he loves the Empire any more than we should respect the Englishman who declared himself devoted to the Kaiser after Germany had invaded and annexed this island. Then little wonder that the Boer nation beaten on the battlefield has organised itself politically into an organisation stronger and more perfect than any unconquered race can know, and refusing to join or mix with the English will keep itself separate to remain united and thereby regain the power of governing the land which it has lost.

In every farm, in every dorp, there exists that Freemasonry which no Englishman can hope to penetrate—the bond of blood. A foreigner might as well try to get any secret out of a Boer as out of the Sphinx, but the Boer thinks all the more for that. He will take exactly what his leaders choose to give him, ask for no explanation and give none.

A very good instance of how a stupendous national movement can go on among the Boers without any one knowing about it, is the way they silently armed themselves for four years, and then "staggered humanity" by appearing with better equipment than the British troops. Their discipline is as good to-day as it ever was, their organisation better. In every constituency the "veld cornets" and "commandants" of old days will see that every man comes to the poll, thus nobody doubts

that every rural district in the country will go solidly Boer. Then the whole party, and therefore the whole Boer nation, is controlled by the "Hoofd Komite" (head committee) of Het Volk. These gentlemen wield absolutely despotic power over their countrymen, who serve their generals in peace not worse than they served them in war.

What, then, is the political situation in the Transvaal to-day? The voting population of Dutch and British about balance each other, but the Boers form one solid phalanx, while the English are fundamentally split into three separate parties. But this would not have the great importance it does, were not the issue racial, which it is. For the Boers, the most numerous and strongest party, have chosen to continue the racial fight, and so the racial fight must go on. Het Volk, with its solid phalanx of support behind, finds itself opposed by a disunited crowd and knows that it will therefore win.

Let us look for one moment at the Constitution, in which the Liberal Imperialist trusts for British supremacy. The Rand with Krugersdorp rural has 34 members. Pretoria has 6 members. The rest of the country has 29 members.

Everybody knows that with the Het Volk organisation practically every one of those 29 rural seats will return a Het Volk candidate. It is also equally certain that both the Krugersdorp seats, Krugersdorp rural and Krugersdorp town, will return Boers, and the least number of the Pretoria seats they are expected to win is two; therefore, on the most unlikely supposition that there will be no three-cornered fights on the Rand, sufficiently close to enable a Dutchman to slip in, the minimum of members that Het Volk will have in the new House is 32, leaving 37 for the British. If, however, as is most probable, some of the Rand seats are lost to the Dutch, owing to the three-cornered contests, then Het Volk may have 35 or 36 members in the Lower House, and thus acquire a clear majority. But for the purpose of argument, let us suppose that the Dutch only get their minimum 32, and that the British get 37. How is that 37 going to be made up? Out of that 37, 32 will come from the Rand and 4 from Pretoria, perhaps one from the country, but not more than one of those Pretoria 4 will be Progressive; the others will probably be either Nationalist or Independent.

Then, again, the Progressives will not stand in all the divisions of the Rand, and in some constituencies they will support Independents, while the Labour faction may pull off one or two victories.

Therefore the most Imperialistic returns in the forthcoming elections that we can reasonably hope for are:—Het

Volk, 32; Progressives, 21; Independents, 10; Nationalists, 4; Labourites, 2.

This would make a purely Dutch party, elected simply because they are Boer as opposed to British, and absolutely controlled by a few ex-Generals who fought against us, by far the strongest party in the new Parliament.

Then I say to my Liberal Imperialist: "Where is your British majority;" and I say to my moralist: "How far has Brother Boer come out to meet you? He has given you absolutely nothing, has scarcely shown his hand, and yet he has got all he wanted." But many people are never tired of saying: "I hope the Boers *do* get a majority, they are the only people who have any stake in the country, they will therefore govern it best." That they have a stake in the country I do not deny; that they are the only people who have one, of course, is rubbish. As a matter of fact their stake is not as great as the British, but that is not the point. The Transvaal cannot only be considered from a "little Transvaal" point of view, it must be considered from an Imperial point of view, and the great question is, What part is the Transvaal going to play in the Empire? Now the Boers hate the British Empire and all its works and a glance at their programme shows that they are determined to keep up their National ideal without any reference to the welfare of the British or their Empire. Therefore from an Imperial point of view it is a disaster that the Boers should have the government of the Transvaal in their power. This fact is so obvious that the Hoofd Komite of Het Volk would prefer not to form a ministry because they know that the whole Empire would then be awakened. It would suit them much better to use a man like Sir Richard Solomon as their tool so that they could still work unobserved; and Sir Richard be it observed has now thrown aside the mask which imposed on many people who ought to have known better and is doing the Boers' work for them.

This then is the position in the Transvaal. The Imperial Government in order to redeem its election pledges has thrust self-government on this newly conquered country. The English are hopelessly divided, but the Boers are absolutely united, and have therefore chosen to fight on the racial issue. The Boers will be the most powerful party in the new Parliament, and even if there is a British Ministry it will only hold office at the mercy of Het Volk. That is to say that instead of the Transvaal being in tune with the Empire, it will sound a jarring note; instead of the Transvaal settling down to prosperity it will suffer severely from political instability.

All this could have been avoided if the Transvaal had been weaned at a reasonable rate and her resources allowed to develop, her difficulties allowed to subside before she was put to the test.

The trustees of the Empire, who have deliberately planned this catastrophe in order to save their faces and fulfil their hasty election pledges, will have to answer for it. They will have to answer for it, first, as men who refused to recognise the responsibilities of Opposition and who did not scruple to stoop to giving definite pledges on subjects on which they were ill-informed in order to gain some petty party advantages; and they will have to answer for it as the trustees of the nation who, when in office, had neither the courage nor the patriotism to admit their mistake and to refrain from plunging a portion of the Empire into strife to the endangering of the security of the whole.

INDIA

(By Our Own Correspondent in India)

Mail of January 5

The fall of the year was a period of singular quiet in India. The Viceroy went off to Kashmir on a prolonged tour in that delightful region, soon to be invaded by a necessary but still regrettable railway. Lord Kitchener, whose work does not bulk largely in the public eye, was even less in evidence than usual. The great officials of the Government of India packed their portmanteaux and descended from their mountain eyrie at Simla, and wandered with observant eyes hither and thither over the face of the land, preparatory to taking up their sojourn at Calcutta for what is by courtesy termed "the cold weather." An unwonted peace brooded even over the city on the Hooghly. The Bengali agitators had grown weary of strife and recrimination, and they set to work to adjust their differences preparatory to the great National Congress at Calcutta. The astute nomination of the veteran propagandist Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji as President of the Congress had taken the wind out of the sails of the Extremist party in that body. They wanted to run as their candidate that apostle of unrest Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the Mahratta politician who busies himself in stirring up opposition to Government methods in the Deccan and elsewhere. But whatever his defects of temperament and view may be, the aged Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who is now eighty-two, commands the respect of all sections of the Congress by reason of his early battles on behalf of the principles it espouses; and so the Tilak faction

had to confess itself discomfited. The famous "boycott" of British goods dwindled away to inappreciable dimensions during these closing weeks and months of the Old Year. Economically it was an impossible undertaking; in practice the people of Bengal soon learned to disregard it. India cannot supply her own requirements in piece-goods for many a long year to come. The staple of her indigenous cottons is still far too short to permit her millowners to weave the finer kinds of cloth. Efforts are being made by Government to improve the staple, and large areas in Sind are being successfully placed under Egyptian cotton. When India can grow a longer staple in sufficient quantities to furnish her own needs, the doom of the Lancashire export trade of piece-goods to this country must be inevitably inscribed; but the handwriting is not yet upon the wall. Meanwhile, by November even the most rabid Bengali newspapers were confessing that the "boycott" had been an utter failure. What disconcerted them still more was that the silence of uneventful contentment even pervaded the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. The new Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Hare, commenced his term of office by doing little outside the ordinary routine of his duties, and saying even less. Within two months of his advent the whole province was as calm and peaceable as well-ordered Madras. There may be those who will say that the contrast proves that the disappearance of Sir Bampfylde Fuller from the scene was necessary and desirable. I do not take this view. Nothing is more certain than that if Sir Bampfylde Fuller had stayed at his post, the new province would still have become just as placid as it is now. The turn of the tide had already set in when unhappily he resigned. He had completed the work of organisation, and had set the machinery of administration in motion. Mr. Hare would probably be the first to acknowledge that he has reaped the advantage of the arduous initial labours of his predecessor. Yet, by the irony of things, he will go down in the minor annals of India as a successful administrator, while his ill-starred predecessor, who courageously and silently faced much undeserved obloquy, will be chiefly remembered as the central figure in a greatly misunderstood controversy. Sir Bampfylde Fuller can console himself with the thought that he is only a sharer in the fate which India has meted out to many more illustrious forerunners. From the days of Almeida and Albuquerque, right down to the most recent instance of Lord Curzon, the most brilliant and distinguished men of the West who have lived and worked and struggled during the best years of their life in India, seem to have been almost always doomed to meet

in the end with injustice and unmerited denunciation at the hands of their own countrymen. Lally, Dupleix, Clive, Warren Hastings, Dalhousie, Canning, and many another—how the long line of figures of the past point to the heavy price which India never fails to exact from such as they!

With the approach of Christmas came a revival of political activity. The Viceroy entered Calcutta in state, amid the usual accompaniment of guards of honour and cavalry escorts. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji landed at Bombay, and drove in a motor-car in the midst of a torchlight procession through that usually unemotional city, which for once was quite fervid in its demonstrations of greeting. Mr. Naoroji is tolerably well known in England nowadays, and the measure of his not illimitable capacity must have been accurately taken at Westminster. The fact that at this critical juncture of Indian native politics no abler man could be found to voice the aspirations of the National Congress, suggests some instructive reflections. When his zeal and undoubted devotion to the cause of Indian national aspirations are duly reckoned up, what qualities remain to entitle Mr. Naoroji to be the professed champion of three hundred millions of people? His mental range is distinctly narrow, he has not the divine gift of oratory; like Mr. Gokhale, he knows practically nothing of international politics, which have so large a bearing on Indian questions; he has always been very impressionable, and prone to colour his views according to the environment of the moment; he was almost unregarded in Parliament; and his notions of political manœuvring and electioneering tactics are distinctly unusual, as Finsbury and the National Liberal Club can testify. Yet he was the best spokesman the Congress party was able to put forward; and they must not be surprised if England remains unimpressed. The fact is that, able though some of them are in platform speeches, there is not at present in India a single native politician fit to be compared, when in contact with practical affairs, with even the second or third-rate men in public life in England, Germany, and the United States. And when home-staying audiences have got over the novelty of hearing themselves addressed fluently in their own tongue by men of another race and colour, they may in time come to realise the truth of this assertion, which carries its own plain lesson.

The results of the Christmas Congress at Calcutta can be very briefly summed up. But first, I would say that I wonder whether people in England have any real notion of the outward characteristics of this much be-trumpeted assembly. They

seem to picture it as an orderly and well-controlled conclave, managed after the fashion of the great conferences in England, a sort of unofficial Parliament of the nation where regulated debates precede a final expression of considered opinion. In reality it is perhaps the most badly devised, inconsistent, and paradoxical junta of the kind in the world. Anybody can be a delegate who likes to attend, and the consequence is that each gathering is swamped with representatives of the city in which it happens to be held, who have obtained admission by the simple expedient of procuring a ticket. Last week's Congress was packed with Bengalis, who swarmed to the estimated number of sixteen thousand into a structure designed to hold eight thousand. Many delegates from other provinces were unable to obtain entry at all, and returned to their homes disappointed and disgusted. The hubbub was so incessant that many of the speeches were only audible in the immediate vicinity of the platform. What is more remarkable is that there was not the slightest semblance of any debate on any of the resolutions. Speaker after speaker rose and delivered his speech—frequently he read it—and those in the front rows alone heard what he said. Then the Chairman put the motion to the vote, and a forest of hands went up, though sometimes many could not possibly have known what they were voting for. The *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* points out that in the whole of the twenty-two meetings of the Congress, there is hardly an instance on record of an amendment having been proposed to any resolution. Yet this is the "national assembly" which is supposed to demonstrate the fitness of the people of India to debate and to manage their own affairs. It has not yet even learned to manage itself. The methods now adopted are typical of Indian notions of political organisation. It is argued that a primary principle must be to prove to the outside world that there is absolute solidarity within the Congress. There must be no dissension in discussion, no amendments, no differences of opinion at the public session. Everybody must speak and vote alike. The Congress therefore first resolves itself into a "Subjects Committee," which is really a committee of the whole body. The committee meets in private, and decides upon the nature and text of the resolutions to be submitted and voted upon in public. At Calcutta, with the exception of one or two protests against the utterances of individual speakers, the public meetings were outwardly harmonious; but the scenes in the "Subjects Committee" are described as "a perfect pandemonium!" The Extremists are said to have "shouted and raved"; they insulted Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, the Bombay lawyer who is

still the controlling spirit of the Congress, though he is not loved in Bengal; and they even abused and hooted Mr. Naoroji. Finally, in the midst of a quarrel about a resolution concerning the boycott, about fifty of their number, headed by Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, caused the utmost confusion by marching out of the hall in a body, as a protest. Yet next day, at the public meeting, Mr. Pal, the leader of the recessional throng, was found actually seconding the resolution he had withdrawn rather than support. Outward unity was sought to be preserved at any cost; such is Indian native politics.

Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the keynote of the Congress was moderation and conciliation. The Extremist party was for the time being utterly routed. The collapse of Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal and his supporters was the most notable feature of the whole proceedings. The Punjab delegates deserted Lala Lajpat Rai, the Extremist leader in Northern India. Mr. Tilak, a far more astute person than Mr. Pal, who was expected to come forward and put himself at the head of the irreconcilables, at once realised that they were in a hopeless minority. He promptly assumed the part of Brer Rabbit, left Mr. Pal and his associates forlorn and isolated, and watched their ultimate discomfiture without a word. Political prognostications have been so far falsified that it is plain that the Extremist party not only does not represent the preponderating bulk of opinion in most provinces of India, but at present is rapidly losing ground even in Bengal. After the outbursts of the last few months, in short, a wave of returning sanity is visible in native politics. The Moderate party have more than held their own. The most careful effort was made to exclude from the Congress utterances any passages savouring of open hostility and irrevocable antagonism to British rule. Mr. Naoroji, whose public deliverances have not always emulated the cooing of the sucking-dove—witness his extravagant harangue at a Socialist Conference in the Low Countries—took his cue from the influences which he found at work on his arrival in India. His Presidential speech, though marred by one or two oratorical excesses, was on the whole almost colourless in its restraint. The bitter issues which have convulsed Bengal were dismissed with a word or two of commonplace comment, even the partition question was handled in a couple of sentences, and on the boycott he remained completely silent. Truth to tell, Mr. Naoroji's address was dull and disappointing; and this conclusion remains unchanged even when allowance is made for the difficulties imposed by his obvious resolve not to inflame dying

animosities. In general purport it was a plea, copiously reinforced by quotations from the speeches of British statesmen, for the granting of the full privileges of British citizenship, including the right of self-government, to the people of India. Mr. Naoroji sought to establish the argument that the inhabitants of India should be on the same footing as the people of the self-governing British colonies, and he laboured to support his contention by reasons some of which at least must be ruled inadmissible. There is no need to traverse here his main assumptions; there was nothing new in them, and they have been answered many times already. That it is desirable gradually to increase the share of Indians in the administration of their own country is not now contested; but existing conditions do not favour undue acceleration of the process, and in any case India is very far from being qualified to receive that large measure of self-government delineated in outline by Mr. Naoroji. Of course the Congress afterwards passed a resolution condemning the partition of Bengal, but it was surprisingly mild in tone, and its adoption was a mere formality. Most people now recognise that the partition question cannot be reopened, and there is not the slightest reason why it should be. Every month sees a diminution of feeling on this point, and the general tendency may be said to be towards indifference, if not positive acquiescence. The partition, in short, has ceased to be a live issue, except among certain Members of Parliament who delight in stirring up the dying embers of antagonism in Bengal. The really crucial question that came before the Congress was that of the boycott of British goods, and in this respect it followed an extremely stupid course. Practically the whole of the delegates from all the other provinces disapproved of the Bengal boycott, and did not hesitate to say so openly. But owing to the difficulty caused by the packing of the Congress with Bengali delegates, it was decided to put forward a resolution declaring that the boycott inaugurated in Bengal "was and is legitimate." One speaker after another rose and supported this motion, but at the same time insisted that while they did not mind a boycott in Bengal, they would strongly disapprove of extending it to their own provinces. The absurdity of an affirmation that the principle of boycott was right in Bengal, but wrong elsewhere, did not seem to strike anybody. Indian political convictions are often very queer; but although the motion was eventually carried unanimously, it was strongly manifested that outside Bengal the boycott has very little support, so that the final inference was satisfactory enough. For the rest, the Congress framed new rules of

business which have in them the seeds of wise reforms. The Subjects Committee will be in future strictly limited in number, while a series of provincial and district organisations will be arranged which will place the Congress on a rather more representative basis; but no limit has been placed on the number or qualifications of delegates, and future gatherings will be as casual mobs as ever. On the whole, however, the Calcutta Congress may be said to have appreciably eased whatever tension remained in India. It has let off a great deal of pent-up steam without working any perceptible mischief, it has set an example of sobriety of statement which its adherents might well follow, and it has strengthened its claims to an attentive hearing from the powers that be. If all the supporters of the Congress were as moderate outside as they are within its portals, it might yet accomplish much; but unfortunately some of its leaders seem to think that if they chasten their ardour at Christmas, they may run amok for the rest of the year.

Simultaneously the Mahomedans are quietly carrying out their notified intention of forming a political organisation of their own. Their proceedings were heralded by an exceedingly ill-advised circular from the Nawab of Dacca, who declared that the time had come when Moslems all over India should bind themselves together to fight the Congress propaganda. The Nawab did not use precisely these words, but he left no mistake possible about his real meaning. Calmer and wiser counsels, however, speedily prevailed. It was pointed out that it would be in the last degree injudicious to create a Mahomedan association expressly antagonistic to the Congress, and that the only necessity which might be incumbent upon Mahomedans was to form a central association, with a network of local associations in affiliation, to watch the special and separate interests of the Mussulman community, and to place their views before Government whenever occasion arises. It was upon these lines that a great gathering of Mahomedans at Dacca, from all parts of India, have decided to form their organisation, which is to be styled "The All-India Moslem League." The proceedings at Dacca were purely tentative in character, and are to be considered further at a meeting at Lucknow at Easter. However much the inability of Indians to separate their politics from their religious divisions may be deplored, it is probable that the new Moslem League will not add a new factor of perplexity to the complicated task of controlling India. As a community, the Mahomedans of India dislike aggressive agitation, and there is no reason to suppose that the projected League will go beyond the bounds it has

laid down for its activities. At present it is in the hands of men of matured wisdom and experience, who may be trusted to guide it along safe paths. The need of Mahomedans for some central machinery for safeguarding their special interests is generally admitted ; but among themselves jealousy and dissension are rampant to an even greater extent than among Hindus. Moreover, many of the more conservative Mussulmans look upon the new movement with as much dislike as the British farmer first evinced towards motor-cars.

India is turning with mild curiosity towards the Amir of Afghanistan, who reached Peshawar two days ago. Many wild rumours have been current regarding the real object of the visit, but the plain fact is that the ruler of Afghanistan has been invited to India in the hope that closer acquaintance will cement and solidify the relations subsisting between him and Great Britain. The great defect about Afghanistan is its serene and quite unjustified belief in its own strength and prowess. The Kabul ruler and his Sirdars have hitherto lived in a state of complete isolation which has produced in their minds a good many misconceptions. They have argued to themselves that if Japan could beat the Russians, it ought to be easy for them to accomplish the same feat; while as the Russian army is vastly larger than the British, it is an easy transition to the same assumption in regard to Great Britain also. The vanity of the average Afghan is proverbial. Until this week, the Amir had never even been farther than Jellalabad even in his own dominions. Perhaps his travels during the next month or two may prove a corrective, and induce a better sense of proportion. It should always be remembered, in considering the question of Afghanistan, that the Amir is in a somewhat difficult position. He is not by any means the strong man his father, Abdur Rahman, was, and under him both the military capacity and the general condition of the country have drifted backward. What is more unfortunate is that, though their influence is not visible from without, he is very much in the hands of his Sirdars. Habibullah himself is believed to be a man of reasonably progressive tendencies. He has more than once acknowledged, for instance, that the construction of railways would develop Afghanistan's resources; but the Sirdars fear that the locomotive would only be the precursor of ultimate annexation, and they will have none of it. If during his peregrinations amid the wonders of modern India, the Amir and his followers modify their apprehensions, and resolve to break down some, at any rate, of the barriers they have reared around themselves, the visit will not have been in vain.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of THE NATIONAL REVIEW

SIR,—A paragraph, in which my name appears, at the end of the summary of events in your January number appears to me to call for comment, especially as you omit the chief part of the provocation I received from the *Spectator* and appear to make me responsible for an expression which I did not use.

On November 24 a letter appeared in the *Spectator* which I regarded, under the circumstances, as highly offensive. It represented Mr. John Bright as speaking in a very slighting manner of his own "nearest relatives who were prominent advocates" of women's suffrage, calling them "silly girls," and putting into his mouth the expression, whatever it may mean, "The *best* women do not care for this sort of thing." (The italics were in the original.)

At the date when this effusion appeared, Mrs. McLaren, the only lady among Mr. Bright's "nearest relatives" who could with propriety be described as a "prominent advocate of women's suffrage," had been dead about a fortnight. She was widely known and greatly beloved. I took this letter in the *Spectator* as a little handful of mud thrown, through the medium of a brother whom she adored, at Mrs. McLaren's memory. The daily papers of both Edinburgh and London had had long obituary notices of her; her funeral in Edinburgh was quite a public event, and a simultaneous memorial service, the first ever held there in honour of a Quaker, had been solemnised at St. Margaret's, Westminster. I do not think, therefore, that I was unjustified in assuming that her death was known, or that the foolish anecdote was aimed at her. The editor of the *Spectator* said, however, on December 1 that he was unaware of Mrs. McLaren's recent death, and, on December 8, the writer of the letter said he referred to some other lady members of Mr. Bright's family, though none among his "nearest relatives" had taken so prominent a part in advocating women's suffrage as Mrs. McLaren.

On November 24, however, the editor of the *Spectator* put his offensive letter in, and made it worse by adding his own note to it, as follows: "We have decided to publish no letters of an argumentative or polemical nature in regard to the question of Women's Suffrage, but cannot refuse so valued a correspondent as Mr. Tallack," &c. &c.

An editor is well within his rights in deciding what subjects shall or shall not be discussed in his columns; but if he decides to taboo a subject, is it not clear that he should at least refrain from making faces, so to speak, at those who are identified with it? When a man says he will not argue, but cannot

refrain from insult, what is the proper way of dealing with him? I suggested "personal chastisement," but I named no instrument. The horsewhip is entirely your own contribution to the dispute. I admit that I was extremely angry when I wrote the letter. I resented the petty insult to my friend. I did not care a straw for the pinprick at women's suffrage.

The fact that Mr. Bright, who had voted with John Stuart Mill in 1867 for women's suffrage, afterwards opposed it was, of course, well known to me. If this had been placarded on every hoarding in London it would not have moved me to wrath. John Bright was a great orator, but he was not infallible. It is seventeen years since he died, and no one, however appreciative of him, would maintain that he had spoken the last word on any political question. He was a man in whom family affection was strong. He and his sister were much alike in many ways. It was exceedingly painful to them to differ. But I cannot imagine his allowing any one to speak disrespectfully of Mrs. McLaren without administering an effectual rebuke.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

January 10, 1907.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW

Edited by L. J. MAXSE

February 1907

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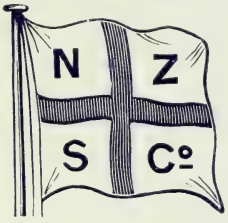

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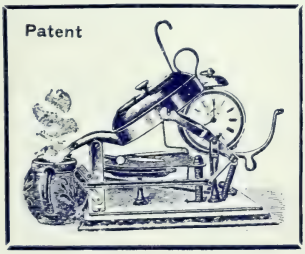

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THE NATIONAL REVIEW

No. 288.—February 1907

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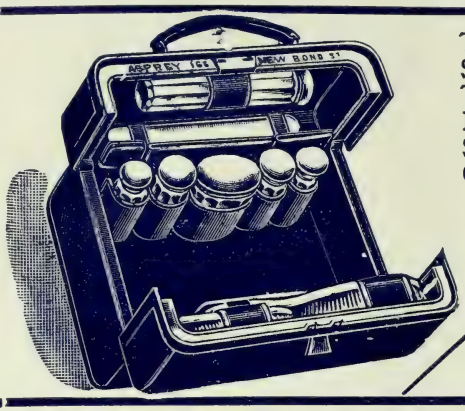

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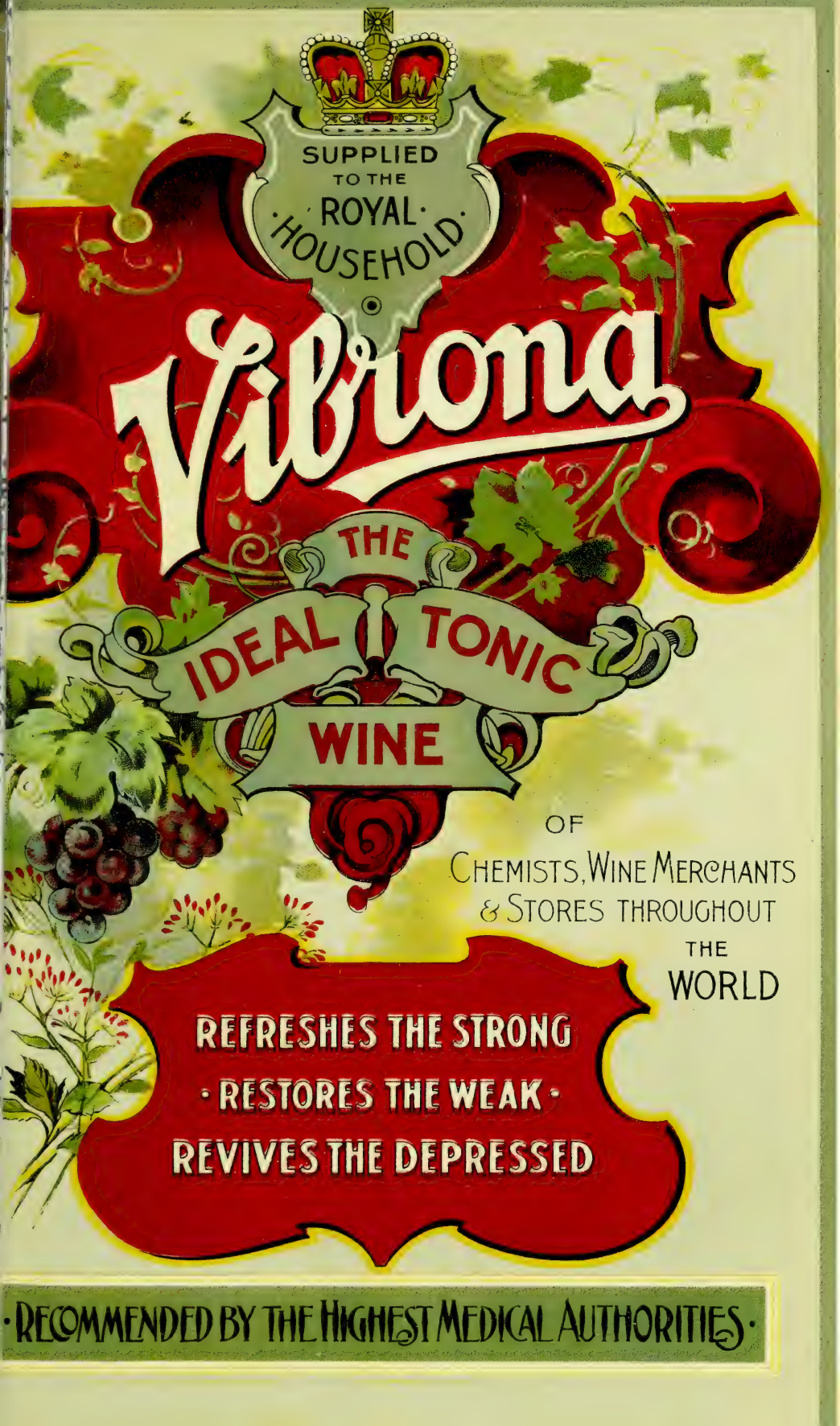
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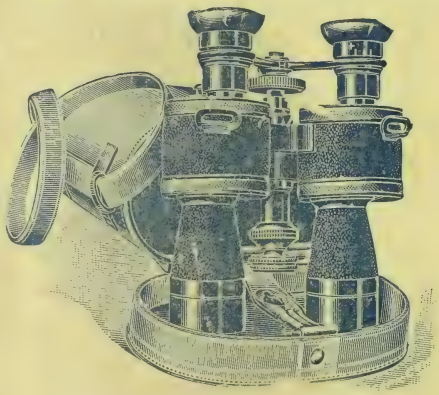

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